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THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA

AND

METHODOLOGY.

ON THE BASIS OF HAGENBACH.

BY

GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D.,

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PREFACE.

OUR American and English theology has been singularly destitute of a general introductory work to the theological sciences. The following Encyclopædia and Methodology is designed to supply this lack. It aims to give an outline of the importance, nature, and history of the four great divisions of theological study, together with a bibliography of the Continental and Anglo-Saxon literature. The volume on this subject by the Rev. Dr. Karl Hagenbach, who taught Historical Theology many years in Basel University, has been so highly esteemed that we have made it the basis of our work. We have greatly enlarged the bibliography by adding the titles of English and American books in each department. To meet the wants of students, we have also placed, in an appendix, a selection of the English and American literature of the relations of religion and science, and a list of histories of Christian Churches in the United States. We have endeavoured, by utilizing the rich material of Hagenbach, to make a handbook for the theological student; a guide to show him the right path of inquiry; a plan or draft of the science, so that by the help here afforded he can see its exterior lines, the boundaries of its subdivisions, and can take the whole into the compass of a complete survey.

GEORGE R. CROOKS,
JOHN F. HURST.

NEW YORK, *March* 1, 1884.

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INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA is a survey of all the departments of theology, with a statement of what has been accomplished in each. It is a branch of Universal Encyclopædia. It does not aim, however, to unite within itself the substance of *all* that deserves to be known, but rather to comprehend the further development of the science as conditioned by its historical character; and, also, to describe its form and extent in their inward and outward relations by correctly indicating its limits.[1]

Definition of Theological Encyclopædia.

The position of Theological Encyclopædia is outside the organism of theological science, since its office is to describe that organism and open the way into it for the student. On the other hand, however, it forms a part of the larger, universal organism of *science*, and in the character of *theological* encyclopædia constitutes a fragment of encyclopædia in general. Every student should endeavour, at the outset, to gain a general idea of the range of human knowledge, not for the purpose of superficially determining every question, but that he may recognise his true place upon the *orbis doctrinæ.*[2]

Its position.

[1] With regard to the force of ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα (*orbis doctrinæ*, Quinctil., i, 16), see Lobeck, Aglaophamus, tom. i, p. 54; Philo, comp. Dähne, Alex. Rlgsphil., i, 90; Clem. Alex., Strom., i, pp. 333, 373 (ed. Potter); vi, 781, 787 (in opposition to Philosophy in the proper sense); vii, 839. The compound form, ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία, is first (?) found in Galen († A. D. 201); comp. Staudenmaier, Theol. Encykl., p. 3, *sqq.*; Pelt, Theol. Encykl., p. 6, *sqq.*; Pauly, Realencykl. der klass. Alterthumswiss., s. v. *Educatio*, p. 39; and my article, Encyklopædie, in Herzog's Realencykl., iv, p. 9, *sqq.*

[2] "The recognition of the organic whole of the sciences must precede the definite pursuit of a specialty. The scholar who devotes himself to a particular study must become acquainted with the position it occupies with relation to this whole, and the particular spirit that pervades it, as well as the mode of development by which it enters into the harmonious union of the whole—hence the method by which he is himself to estimate his science, in order that he may not regard it in a slavish spirit, but independently, and in the spirit of the whole."—SCHELLING, Method., p. 7. "Philosophy is substantially encyclopædia, inasmuch as truth can only be a totality, and it is only by observing and determining its differences that the necessity for them,

Both general and special (theological) Encyclopædia aim to concentrate rather than to dissipate the mental faculties. Encyclopædia should not degenerate into a pattern-card, but rather resemble a map—a comparison that demonstrates itself. But few works of recent times fulfil the required object.[1] While German resolution and thoroughness, in a form that is no longer adequate to the needs of science, appear in Ernesti (Initia Doctrinæ Solidioris, first ed., 1736, and often), the so-called French encyclopedists brought the science of encyclopædia into bad odour,[2] so that an encyclopedist, like a philosopher, became synonymous with a freethinker. The lexical method followed by those writers, which now became popular, and was adopted also by the German encyclopedists,[3] suffered from the additional disadvantage of being limited to the discussion of subject-matter only, and might as readily be made to serve the superficial mind for destructive purposes, as to aid the cautious scholar in referring to matters that deserve to be known.

History of Encyclopædia.

As the material deficiencies of the science became apparent, there arose also a demand for its organic and comprehensive treatment; that is, for a proper science of encyclopædia. Eschenburg was the first to employ the title of Wissenschaftskunde (Introduction to the Sciences, third ed., Berlin, 1809), and Jaesche (Prof. at Dorpat) wrote an Architektonik der Wissenschaften in 1816.[4] Large and far-reaching views into the organism of the sciences were opened by Schelling's Vorlesungen über die Methode des akademischen Stu-

and the freedom of the whole, can be made to coexist. Hence it follows that an encyclopædic treatment of science is not to present it in the thorough development of its particulars, but must be confined to the beginning and fundamental ideas of the particular science."—HEGEL, Encykl. der phil. Wiss., secs. 7 and 9.

[1] Concerning the older works—Martianus Capelia (about A. D. 460), Cassiodorus († after 562), Isidore of Seville († 636), Hugo de St. Victor († 1141, see Liebner's Monographie, p. 96, *sqq.*), Vincent of Beauvais († about 1264), Louis de Vives († 1540), Gerh. Joh. Voss († 1649), Grotius († 1645), Lord Bacon († 1626), J. G. Alsted († 1638), D. G. Morhof († 1691, Polyhistor., fourth ed., Lübeck, 1732), Joh. Matth. Gessner († 1756, Isagoge, see Herder's Sophron., Werke zur Phil. und Gesch., x, p. 253)—see Pelt, *l. c.*

[2] (Diderot et d'Alembert) Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers, etc., Paris, 1751–1772, 28 vols. Comp. Herzog's Encykl., iv, p. 1, and M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclop., s. v. Encyclopædia, French, etc.

[3] Deutsche Encykl. od. allg. Realwörterbuch aller Künste u. Wissenschaften, etc. Frankfurt, 1778–1804, (A–Ky), and other works of that day, which have been supplanted by later productions; *e. g.*, H. A. Pierer, Univers.-lex. od. vollst. Encykl. Wörterbuch. Altenburg, 1822–1836, 26 vols., 8vo., fourth ed.; ibid., 1857–1864. A fifth edition was begun at the close of 1867; and especially the (not yet completed) Allgem. Encykl. d. Wissenschaften u. Künste, by Ersch and Gruber.

See Pelt, pp. 12, 13, where additional works are cited; Scheidler, Hodegetik, p. 51.

diums (second ed., Tüb., 1813); and still earlier Fichte had considered the "Vocation of the Scholar" (Bestimmung des Gelehrten, Berlin, 1794) and his Character (Wesen des Gelehrten, 1806) in an ideal light. The works by Heidenreich,[1] Tittmann,[2] Beneke,[3] Scheidler,[4] Mussmann,[5] Leutbecher,[6] Kirchner,[7] von Schaden,[8] and others, are better adapted to practical requirements, and are of a more methodological character.

Differs from the Real Encyclopædia, or Dictionary.

With reference to the nature of the encyclopædia of theology it should be observed that the real encyclopædia, or dictionary, which contains the subject-matter of theological knowledge, is distinct from the encyclopædia in our sense. The value of the former consists in the completeness of the matter to be imparted,[9] while the latter seeks to avoid crushing the mind beneath the weight of a mass of knowledge, and confusing the vision by the number of objects to be presented. It confines itself, instead, to the work of pointing out the road to be pursued. The aims of encyclopædia are not the objects sought by the different branches of theology, but *those branches* themselves.[10] It is, of course, impossible to separate a study from its object, or the form from its matter, for the one conditions the other; and, therefore, encyclopædia will be compelled to put on flesh, unless it is to become a naked skeleton. The matter, however, which it con-

[1] Ueber die zweckmässige Anwendung der Universitätsjahre. Leipsig, 1804.

[2] Ueber die Bestimm. des Gelehrten u. seine Bildung durch Schule u. Universität. Berlin, 1833. (The Vocation of the Scholar: The Nature of the Scholar, and its Manifestations. Both translated by Dr. Wm. Smith. London, John Chapman, 1848.)

[3] Einl. ins akad. Studium. Göttingen, 1826.

[4] Grundriss der Hodegetik od. Methodik des akad. Studiums. Jena, 1832; second ed., 1839; third ed., 1847.

[5] Vorlesungen üb. d. Studium d. Wissenschaften u. Künste, etc. Halle, 1832.

[6] Abriss d. Methodologie d. akad. Studiums. Erlangen, 1834 (p. 15, *sqq.*—the older and more recent literature in this field). The same author has translated Van Heusde, Socrat. Schule, parts 1 and 2, Encyklopädie. Erlangen, 1840.

[7] Akad. Propädeutik od. Vorbereitungswissensch. zum akad. Studium. Leipsig, 1842. Hodegetik od. Wegweiser zur Universität für Studierende. Leipsig, 1852. Compare, also, Fritz, Vers. ub. die zu d. Studien erforderlichen Eigenschaften. Strasburg, 1833.

[8] Ueber akad. Leben u. Studium. Marburg, 1845.

[9] Real-encyklopädie für protestant. Theologie u. Kirche, by J. J. Herzog, assisted by other Protestant scholars and theologians. 22 vols. Gotha, 1854–1868. Partially translated by Bomberger, of Philadelphia, 1856, *sqq.* Of Roman Catholic works: Jos. Ashbach, Allgem. Kirchen-lexikon. Frankfurt, 1846–50, 4 vols., 8vo. Wetzer and Welte, Kirchen-lexikon, od. Encykl. der kath. Theologie u. ihrer Hülfswissenschaften. Freiburg, 1846–1860. 12 vols., 8vo., with index.

[10] In other words, "The object of encyclopædia is the organism of science rather than its subject-matter, since it aims to discover the relations existing between the manifold branches of knowledge."—Harless, p. 2.

nects with its descriptions is only designed to aid in comprehending the form. But inasmuch as the science is not definitely complete, being rather in process of growth, it becomes a matter of primary importance that its *ideal* object should be brought into view, by the clear pointing out of the goal it strives to reach. This likewise requires a substantial foothold, a *δός μοι ποῦ στῶ*, without which the entire structure will be a castle in the air. Care must, however, be taken that the footstool be not regarded as the topmost round in the heavenly ladder, beyond which lies an infinite perspective. Encyclopædia thus becomes not merely "a description of the circle of human knowledge as it *should be*, nor yet a discussion of the character of that circle as it is . . it is the understanding of what has *come into being*, through the recognition of its *end*." (Harless, Theol. Ency., etc., p. 459.)

SECTION II.

Relation of Encyclopædia to Theology.

The relation of theological encyclopædia to the body of theological science is twofold; it stands at the threshold of the course as an *introductory* science, and it serves a *complementary* purpose for him who has arrived at its end, by collecting together the results obtained. Upon this distinction in the relations it sustains to the whole course of study will, in great measure, depend its treatment. In the former aspect it is predominantly stimulating, methodological, working toward its object, which in the latter case has been attained and passed. The proof of every truly scientific method consists in this—that the beginning and the end correspond; and that what proceeds from a living conception of things and their relations, shall again lead to a deeper spiritual apprehension and insight of the object sought.

This distinction has generally received too little attention in connexion with the teaching of Encyclopædia.[1] Most of the recent encyclopædias have not only attempted to introduce the student into the field of theology, but also to develop the science itself. In this regard the whole of theology is greatly indebted to Schleiermacher's little book.[2] But all men are not Schleiermachers. He, like all reforming spirits, closed an old, and at the same time opened a new, era. And yet that very book presents insurmountable difficulties to the beginner. An encyclopædia for the learned (*virtuosos* was Schleiermacher's term) should certainly exist, for the study of

[1] See Harless, § 4, p. 2.

[2] Kurze Darstellung des theol. Studiums, etc. 2d ed., Berlin, 1830. (Comp. the history of encycl. at the end of Part I.) (Brief Outline of the Study of Theology Translated by William Farrer. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.)

encyclopædia, like that of the catechism, can never be exhausted; and as exponents change with varying magnitudes, so does encyclopædia keep pace with science. It forms the dial-plate to the mechanism of the clock. But to introduce the pupil into the deliberations of the masters, and allow him to participate in forecasting the future before he has comprehended the present, would be to reap where we should sow. It might, therefore, be wise to recommend that every student should give attention to encyclopædia *twice*, provided that it be presented from these two points of view—the beginning and the end of the course. The present encyclopædia professes to belong to the introductory class.[1]

Pertains both to the beginning and the end of theological study.

SECTION III.

Methodology (Hodegetics) is applied encyclopædia; for a true conception of the nature and combinations of the science will lead to its correct treatment; and as an encyclopædic comprehension is the necessary condition of a correct method, so the latter demonstrates the former.

Definition of Methodology.

In other words, Methodology contains "the regulative conclusions from the principles and historical character of a science, which are requisite for the process of appropriation."[2] These conclusions might be properly regarded as self-evident, were it not that many unpractised persons whom introductory encyclopædia is designed to aid require some guidance. Introductory encyclopædia will, therefore, in proportion as it has comprehended its task, of necessity assume a methodological character, without finding it requisite to tow methodology in its wake as a supplementary and distinct study. For works on General Methodology (Hodegetics) see on Section I.

SECTION IV.

Two dangers are to be avoided in connection with Methodology: first, that of failing, by reason of the numerous objects presented from without, to attain to a connected view and an intellectual control of the subject-matter (a false

Dangers in the treatment of Methodology.

[1] This distinction does not imply, however, that *introductory* encyclopædia differs materially from the *complementary*. The relation is, rather, that of the germ to the fruit, of the school-grammar to the fully-rounded system of instruction in language. It furnishes the first lines toward an art which must be perfected by study. Nor does it imply that the masters are in the possession of an esoteric learning, while the pupils are obliged to content themselves with mere exoteric knowledge. The lowest round upon the ladder conducts toward the highest, but no round may be overleaped. In science, as elsewhere, intermediate stages have their value; and a view from beneath creates a different impression from that obtained by a view in perspective from above.

[2] Harless, p. 6.

empiricism); and second, that of being puffed up with the conceit of idealistic wisdom, which loses sight of actual life and its conditions, as ordered of God, and consequently mistakes and fails to realize the true object of science, and, more than all, the life-object of the theologian.

Lord Bacon makes use of a suggestive figure upon this point, when he compares the raw empiric to an *ant*, the idealistic dreamer to a *spider*, and the true devotee of science to a *bee*. The previous age suffered more from the first ailment, the present languishes under the influence of the second.

"Non scholæ sed vitæ discendum," is an old maxim.[1] The school and actual life are not, however, to form a contrast; for life is itself a school, and the school is designed to prepare for life, to impart life, to beget and promote life. What do we understand by life? If it be explained to denote the multiplicity and diversity of objects among which we are placed and with which we are interwoven, without understanding our experience, life certainly forms a contrast with science, whose office it is to unify this very multiplicity of diversity, and to seek an inward comprehension of the objects presented from without. But while penetrating their nature, it first *vivifies* them, and not until this has been done can we realize that we have hitherto been employed upon dead matter. Science, however, can only give life by *entering into* things, not by taking its stand, as an abstract theory, over against them. In the latter character it is itself dead, and its corpse-like pallor is more repulsive to the mind than even the diversified and fluctuating play of life. If the life is to assume a scientific character, it will be necessary that science should also live; they must react upon each other. Kant strikingly observes, "Ideas without observation are *empty*, and observation without ideas is *blind*."

Life the object of all study.

The maxim that "theory has become gray" has often been abused in the service of a lazy empiricism. Among medical men empirics are contrasted with "rational physicians," and the term is applied especially to persons who are entirely governed by the accidental circumstances of a particular disease presented to their notice, and the accidental possession of remedies which, by a sort of mechanical routine, they have become accustomed to employ, and who lack the ability to rise into a higher and more legitimate method of treatment based on scientific diagnosis. But empirics are also found in theology; and their empiricism is manifested in two

Theological empiricism.

[1] Comp. Herder, in the Sophron. Werke zur Philos., x, p. 207, *sqq.* Ceteros enim pudeat, qui se ita litteris abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex his neque ad communem affere fructum neque in aspectum lucemque proferre. Cic. Orat. pro Archia poëta, c. 6.

different directions, and from two thoroughly opposite religious points of view. The one is *ascetically pious*, and imagines that practical piety will be all-sufficient; perhaps defending itself with the plea that the apostles themselves were unlearned men, thus misinterpreting the connexion between primitive Christianity and the requirements of the present age. This tendency has always found supporters among persons who are too indolent to study or think, or has been ironically advocated by the class which occupies the standpoint of extreme idealism, and despairs of the scientific character of theology.[1] The other is the *philanthropic*, cosmopolitan view (allied to the older rationalism), which restricts the duty of the clergyman to lecturing and enlightening the public, and, therefore, regards an encyclopædic training in a normal school as possessing the highest value. Theological knowledge and dogmatic proficiency are thrown overboard. It calls for *practical* men. Its idea of practical Christianity differs from that of pious empiricism, however—a proof that even the most trivial schemes cannot be sustained without a previous scientific explanation.

Difference between science and learned pedantry.

The bad repute into which science has been brought with both these classes is not, however, the fault of science itself, but of its caricature, which constitutes the most wretched of all empiricisms, because it is thoroughly impracticable in its nature. We refer to that dry learning which simply heaps up lumber, and smothers itself with the dust of books, without attaining to a clear consciousness of what it is doing, or of the object towards which study is directed.[2] Learnedness and scholarship are unlike. There may be very learned persons who are unable to appreciate science; and although science cannot exist apart from learning, it is yet possible

[1] Strauss, Glaubensl., ii, p. 625. "Theological study, formerly the means employed to prepare for the service of the Church, now forms the most direct road to unfitness for that service. The cobbler's bench, the writing-room, and any other place that is secure against the entrance of science, now constitute better places for preparatory practice for the ministry than the universities and seminaries. Religious idiots and self-taught theologians, the leaders and speakers of pietistic gatherings—these constitute the clergy of the future."

[2] Kant (Anthropologie, p. 164) says: "There is a gigantic erudition which is yet cyclopean, in that it lacks an eye with which to comprehend rationally, and for a purpose, this mass of historic knowledge, the burden of a hundred camels, viz., the eye of a true philosophy." With reference to this mechanical knowledge, in which the memory does not operate as the "energy of mental retention," but simply as a storehouse of perceptions, compare Carblom also (Das Gefühl, etc., p. 44, *sqq.*): "The most repulsive exhibition of this kind is afforded by the spiritual office, when simply the tongue, hand, and foot of the clergyman are engaged in it, but not his spirit, to say nothing of the Spirit of God."

to display the scientific spirit in a high degree, in cases where the learning is confined within very narrow limits (as with a youthful student). Learning without scientific culture commonly wears the garb of school-boy pedantry, except when it simply has the appearance of a superficial acquaintance with many studies; it at once dries up and inflates the mind, and, being confined within the narrow boundaries of its specialty, its estimate of other branches of knowledge is often coarse and contemptuous.

While, however, it is admitted that a false empiricism exists, whose unscientific character is manifest, even when it appears in the garb of learning, there is also a *falsely vaunted science* (1 Tim. vi, 20), which superciliously spreads itself under that usurped name, but in the end dissolves into empty vapour. The present generation should be warned against both errors, with an emphasis increasing with the separation which exists between the school and actual life, and in proportion as the contrast between scientific theology and the practical performance of clerical duties threatens to become irreconcilable.[1] If it be true, that every science which lacks sufficient support from *observation and experience* resembles the soap-bubble, in which the colours of the light are, indeed, magnificently displayed, but which bursts at the slightest breath of air, it is especially true of theological science, which can only lay claim to the name and character of a distinct science by reason of its living relations to religion and the Church. It should accordingly be required, in the interests of genuine science, that the study of theology be made *practical*, but practical in the sense that the science itself is to become *action*, that the indwelling word of life is to be made flesh, and the inhering germ of life to produce appropriate fruit. Science must become a salt that shall penetrate the entire mass; "but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith may we salt?"

True method of making theological science practical.

"The letter is not science!" True; but the mind cannot dispense even with the letter. It must achieve its results through the Word, the firm, clear, living Word, not by means of idle words; but without the letter there can be no words, and no Word. Genuine science is as far removed from a dead materialism as from a dead formalism and an empty idealism. It deals with the nature of mind and the nature of things, and in this light it becomes at once both realism and idealism. The idea of science is conditioned

[1] "Is, then, the historical knot to be so solved, as that Christianity must take sides with barbarism, and science with unbelief?" was the question of Schleiermacher, thirty years ago. Compare the preface to the Prot. Kirchenzeitung für das evang. Deutschland, 1854.

by thoroughness, clearness, depth, free activity, and originality of thought,[1] in connexion with caution and soberness of judgment, as opposed to superficial and confused thinking, shallowness, dullness, servile subjection to prejudices old and new, pedantic dryness, and boorish narrowness. It will, moreover, maintain a steady regard for the purely human while pressing toward the divine. It certainly seems as if clearness at times detracted from depth, or depth from clearness; but dullness and a fluid-like transparency carried to the verge of shallowness, should no more be confounded with clearness, than a darkly-brooding, shadow-loving stupidity should be identified with depth. Shallow-headedness finds every thing obscure that is beyond its comprehension, while wrong-headedness attributes the profoundest depth to the very thing it fails to understand.

General training should precede special.

It is no doubt true that he who would be eminent in science must confine himself to a single branch (a specialty); but devotion to a specialty should not begin too early. The general culture, which itself involves progressive gradations, must precede the special. Elementary schools call the desire to know into being; the gymnasial training strengthens and intensifies its character. The training, whose method was conditioned by the study of languages and mathematics, realizes its higher object in the departments of history and the natural sciences. The university training follows, not only to bring the whole field of science within the range of vision, but also to concentrate the efforts of the student by assigning to him a definite field of learning. Not until the university studies are ended is the practical preparation for active life in place, whether for the pastorate, or for independent scholarly investigations with a view to carrying forward the theoretical development of science by means of authorship or academical instruction.

SECTION V.

CHOICE OF THE THEOLOGICAL VOCATION.

Dan. Schenkel, Die Bedeutung des geistlichen Berufs, etc., in Stud. u. Krit., 1852, p. 205, *sqq.*; Hagenbach, Ueber die Abnahme des theol. Studiums, in Kirchenbl. für die ref. Schweiz, 1856, Nos. 6 and 7; *Ibid.*, 1862, and Gelzer's Monatsbl., 1863, January; Dieckhoff (Rom. Cath.), Ueber den Beruf u. d. Vorbereitung zum geistl. Stande, Paderborn, 1859.

Although the study of encyclopædia is necessary to the theologian for a clear understanding of the nature of his work, it is yet proper to require that every person who enters thereon should have reached a general conception of the position he expects to occupy

[1] No absolute originality is intended, but simply independent reproduction. "To accept and submit to authority," says Marheineke, "is not unworthy of an independent spirit. But the mind must reserve to itself, especially in scientific matters, the right to know and understand the authority in the principle of its necessity."

in human society, and that he should have formed a clear and satisfactory idea of the nature of the calling to which he gives himself in the exercise of his own independent choice.

Worldly motives, for the study of theology not sufficient.

We begin with the concrete, with the individual and his relation to the science. What urges you to the study of theology? Dic cur hic? we inquire of every candidate who is announced. Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores. Neither of these can come into question here (Matt. x, 8, *sqq.*), even less in our day than heretofore. Is it matter for complaint, that the time is over in which persons studied theology in the expectation that they would soon receive an assured provision for their wants, and be able to lead a life devoid of care?[1] Nor is it a misfortune that theology is no longer the outer court through which the scholar engaged in the pursuit of other objects must pass in order to secure official position in the schools. None *are compelled* to become theologians, unless they *choose.* The apostle's words, "Let a man examine himself," and "he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself," are not without significance in this connexion also, where no mere *bread-and-butter* science in the usual sense is involved,[2] but the dispensing of the bread and drawing of the water of life itself.[3]

[1] We recommend to persons who still entertain such desires, the perusal of Valentin Andreä's glorious poem, Das gute Leben eines rechtschaffenen Dieners Gottes, in Herder's Briefe über das Studium der Theologie (No. 49), lately published by Laurent (1865); and also the twenty-fourth of Herder's own letters.

[2] Hoc intelligamus, hominum duo essa genera, alterum indoctum et agreste, quod anteferat semper utilitatem honestati, alterum humanum et politum, quod rebus omnibus dignitatem anteponat. Cicero Orat. part. c. 25. Comp. Ancillon, Vermittlung der Extreme, i, 47; Herder, l. c.: "There is scarcely one among the learned classes that contains so many cripples as does the clergy; necessities, poverty, ignoble ambition, hundreds of miserable motives, urge people to that work, so that God is frequently obliged to accept the refuse instead of the firstlings of its kind."—The twenty-fifth letter: "Perhaps no study has in all ages had so few to serve it with entire faithfulness, as theology; precisely, however, for the reason that it is an almost superhuman, divine—the most difficult study." "He who devotes himself to the Church," says Daub, "and to that end studies theology, will miss his aim, if he simply desires a church office that he may have life, sustenance, comforts, ease, honour, etc.; for while he considers the office as a means, and himself or the gratification of his desires as an end, he can never become a church officer, but must remain a hireling." See Daub and Creuzer, Studien, ii, p. 67.

[3] Archbishop Leighton speaks, in like manner, of "men ministering the doctrine of salvation to others, and not to themselves; carrying it all in their heads and tongues, and none of it in their hearts; not hearing it, even while they preach it; reaching the bread of life to others, and eating none of it themselves."—Commentary on 1 Peter, ch. i pp. 10–12.

SECTION VI.

A desire for both religion and learning needful to the study of theology.

The resolution to study theology will be inspired more especially either by the influence of practical religion, or by the love of study, in accordance with the varying peculiarities of natural endowment, and of previous training and culture. It will be sufficient in the beginning that a disposition and desire for both religion and learning should exist, together with a general conviction that piety without learning is as incapable of forming a theologian, as is learning without piety.

Young men who approach the study of theology do not invariably bring from their homes an assured religious consciousness, so as to be able to say, with Schleiermacher, "Piety was the maternal womb, in whose sacred darkness my young life was nourished and prepared for entrance on the as yet inaccessible world." Not all of them are Timothies, of whom it may be said that they have "known the Holy Scriptures" from their childhood (2 Tim. iii, 15), although such characters are not, upon the whole, very uncommon. It is, after all, the correct principle, that the desire to study theology should spring from religious impulses, even though much that is confused and sickly be in particular instances involved. It is the office of study to clear up the uncertain, and to correct the sickly tone of the mind. Experience has shown that an unconquerable religious impulse to become a minister of God whether as pastor or as missionary has enabled many, even in advanced years, to surmount the difficulties which opposed their resolution; and, however superciliously the fact may be criticised (comp. § 4, note 2), it is true that the writer's desk, the cobbler's or the tailor's bench, have contributed servants to the Church of whom she has no cause to be ashamed, while the same boast will not apply to all who have simply stepped from the schoolroom into theology.

Such, however, are exceptional cases. The rule probably is, that with a majority of persons who have received a proper preparatory education, the resolution *to study* is formed before they come to decide upon the particular course in which they will engage. Practical considerations have less effect upon their determination than theoretical; and this again is proper, provided the religious factor be not reduced to zero in making the decision. When religious motives are not ignored in such a case, a real study of theology serves naturally to increase their power; for scientific interest is as certainly conditioned by religious interest, as the religious by the scientific. Each must increase with, and be nourished by, the other.

Within the circle of the sciences persons may, moreover, be determined to theology by a variety of endowments. So philology becomes for some the bridge into theology, while others come to it through philosophy, oratorical, or artistic gifts, or a talent for teaching. The future theologian may be suspected in the person who at school displays readiness in the acquisition or use of languages, just as a mind turned toward the natural sciences indicates the future physician, political economist, or technicist.[1]

Premonitions of a vocation to theology.

As a preliminary qualification, the existence of a genuinely scientific spirit must be considered important. The more a religious mind is in earnest about the determination to study, the less will it yield to the vagary that piety can take the place of learning; and the more thoroughly the studious disposition enters into science, the more powerful will be its conviction that a sound theology cannot exist without piety, since all theological truth becomes intelligible only in the light of religion. The sharp contrast between "pious" and "scientific" students can be obviated on no other principle.

SECTION VII.

Without anticipating the discussion of the special place belonging to the clergy (§ 17), we now include them in the category of *teachers*, whose high importance demands recognition first of all. We therefore remark that the order of teachers stands first among the cultivators of man's spiritual nature, and is superior, in this regard, to the legislative and artist classes.

The order of teachers the highest in society.

This exaltation of the teaching order is, however, in no wise intended to excite learned or spiritual pride. The agriculturist and the soldier are likewise of great importance to the organism of society; and they, too, may, in the hand of God, become an element of culture and development. The cultivation of the soil was the most ancient teaching of mankind, and the sword of the warrior

[1] Great importance should be attached to such natural indications; nothing is more hurtful than a human predestination to any study, and especially that of theology. The days when it was believed important to dedicate children in the cradle to God by devoting them to the pulpit, are probably over. But how many sons of clergymen adopt the paternal calling in obedience to family custom, without being inwardly moved thereto either by religious or scientific considerations! The inclinations of a child or youth are not, of course, to be held decisive in every case; but Goethe is probably correct when he says, "Our desires are premonitions of the abilities that lie in us, intimations of what we shall be able to perform. The things we can and wish to accomplish present themselves to our imagination from without and as future; we feel a longing for that which we already secretly possess." Autobiography, vol. i, pp. 331, 332.

opened the earliest furrows into which the seed of culture might fall. Commerce and manufactures became the most powerful levers of culture in the Middle Ages. It accordingly is a blinded judgment which conceives of the height that industrial life has reached in our day, as being purely materialistic. The range of encyclopædic culture involves rather that such facts, however distant from the field of theology they may lie, should be estimated in accordance with their social importance; and to theology in particular, unless it prefers to perish in monastic isolation, belongs the task of comprehending these "secular matters" in their relations to the household of God and the sacred order of his kingdom, in harmony with the apostle's thought, "all things are yours." (1 Cor. iii, 21.) In that divine order each thing is linked with every other thing, and the most material elements strive to become spiritualized. Accordingly, the military calling finds its spiritual expression in legislation, and the handicraft rises to the dignity of an art; but both legislation and art rise above the preliminary conditions illustrated by the soldier and the artisan, since the former not only controls wickedness by the restraints of law, but also establishes the fundamental principles of behaviour in the State, and the latter does not confine itself to the adorning of the sensual life, but, in addition, spiritualizes the sensual in harmony with its ideal character, and employs it for ideal purposes.

Teachers not an isolated order of society.

The legends of immemorial times, and the traditions of later ages, have always represented artists and legislators as the spiritual leaders of mankind, and as revealers of the godlike, who derived their origin from heaven.[1] They, too, are *teachers* of mankind in a certain sense, although not in the complete and highest sense; for with the one the teaching element is subordinate to the purposes of illustration, and with the other it is secondary to the idea of absolute rule. Mere law has in itself no life; its whole importance depends upon external conditions; it can only determine the outward character of human action with reference to a given case. Habit and custom may enable the power of the law to penetrate into the depths of the moral disposition, and from thence to put forth shoots; but law will never be able to develop the actual root of the moral life from within itself. Art, on the other hand, is uncertain and undecided in its effects. Every work of art is a concealed symbol, to be interpreted only

The relation of teaching to art and legislation.

[1] Odyss., xix, 179. Herod., i, 65. Plutarch. vita Lycurgi, c. 5; vita Numae, c. 4. Anthol. graeca, iv, 81. Philostrat. vita Apollonii, vi, 19. Jacobs, academische Reden, i, 362.

by the cultured person who has been initiated into the interior life of art; to the uncultivated mind it remains an unexplained hieroglyphic.[1] But what is beyond the ability of both law and art is accomplished by the *living word of teaching* alone. It goes down into the depths of human dispositions, taps every vein, passes through every stage of culture, addresses both the child and the adult; and as the magic of art calls forth a god from the rough block of marble, so does the powerful magic of the word bring into view the image of God from the undeveloped spiritual tendencies in man. In this regard the teacher unites in himself, and with increased efficiency, the functions of both legislator and artist with reference to the cultivation of mankind. He is the bearer of the divine, an administrator in the domain of holy things, a priest of God. Without an order of teachers men would still be in a savage or half-civilized state. The heritage of *culture* is forever secured and guaranteed to a people only where wise men, scholars, philosophers, orators, poets,[2] prophets, authors, in one word, the *instructors of mankind* have by vivid employment of the vernacular given their intellectual treasures to the public, and, through the medium of a free circulation of ideas, have developed a common consciousness, the results so gained being embodied in history for the benefit of succeeding generations.

SECTION VIII.

Inasmuch as the teaching-order is preëminently the spiritual trainer of mankind, it follows that only a religion which has a body of doctrine, and consequently an order of teachers, will correspond to the idea of religion in its highest form.

Religion (on its nature see infra, § 12), which we consider for the moment, in its general character, as the highest interest of man, could only appear, in any period, under the three forms of *Law*, *Art*, and *Teaching*, discussed in the preceding section. The laws of ancient peoples were religiously sacred; priests and scholars were at the same time political and religious personages. This fact rests upon the truth that ideas of right have their origin in the eternal laws of reason, and,

Superiority of the teaching of religious doctrine to law and art.

[1] Grüneisen, referring to Grecian art, observes very correctly: "It was the lack of positiveness, power, and depth, the unsettled and undecided elements in the moral consciousness, and its influence over the world-view and artistic conceptions of the Greeks, that permitted illusions and immorality to intrude upon this field also, and that in the end opposed with steadily decreasing energy the superior force of moral corruption." Compare his treatise, Ueber das Sittliche der bildenden Kunst bei den Griechen, p. 14.

[2] Poets convey art and instruction through spirit and word.

therefore, in the Divine; but what was true in the idea became perverted by the abuse of the spirit in the letter. The law can only represent the eternal by an inadequate comparison with the temporal, whose conditions are limited and modified by existing states. When circumstances undergo a change, the law becomes a dead statute. Law is moreover deficient in seizing upon only *a single* aspect of religion—that of unconditional obedience and the consequent recompense. It knows nothing of an unconstrained love and enthusiasm. Upon this latter point *art* is in advance of law. It assumes the infinite (ideal), and makes that its object; but in the qualities in which law is too rigid, art appears entirely too free and unrestrained. The *moral* element, which appears in the law under the rigid form of commandment, is here entirely subordinate; it is neither desired nor allowed to become prominent, for fear that it might injure the purposes of art which accounts for the mongrel character of all didactic poetry; but art can never displace doctrine, because its function is not, primarily, to teach.

A merely æsthetic religion, a mere "worship of genius," is quite as deficient as a merely legal religion. The latter lacks the *power*, the former the *discipline*, of the spiritual element; the one is deficient in not providing for the free exercise of the religious disposition, the other in not possessing the strict principles and the impelling power of the ethical.[1] It follows that the doctrine, the word, instruction, and sermon (*διδαχή, λόγος, κατήχησις, κήρυγμα*) occupy a higher place than either law or art, the two inadequate modes of revealing the life of religion. Teaching possesses the ability to excite the entire man to action. It arouses feeling—to create it is beyond *its* ability also—develops the understanding, and gives direction, although not ability, to the will. It lifts man out of the undecided chaos of impressions into a harmoniously-developed rational life, and treats him as a free, self-determining nature. It is the "fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death" (Proverbs xiii, 14).

SECTION IX.

The conclusion reached in the foregoing discussion may be historically illustrated by the Jewish, heathen, and Christian religions, since the development of Judaism has been chiefly in the direction of law, of heathenism in the direction of art, and of Christianity in the direction of doctrine.

The Jews were the people under the law (*οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου*). The

[1] Valuable observations on this point in Ullmann's work, Der Cultus des Genius, Hamb., 1840.

law was conditioned by the theocracy. So long as the latter continued, the law retained the peculiar importance assigned to it in the Divine economy (John iv, 22). It contained elements (στοιχεῖα) of Divine training that tended toward a higher development, and became a schoolmaster (παιδαγωγός) working toward perfection (Gal. iii, 24; iv, 3). The prophetical institution was already introduced as the necessary complement of the law, and of the priesthood founded upon law. A still more decided turning toward *doctrine* is apparent after the Captivity. Provision for teaching is made in the synagogues, which, however, affords opportunity for the perversions of Pharisaism to vaunt themselves, until the true Teacher, sent of God, appears in Israel. In ancient heathenism art formed the leading element of religion, attaining its highest development in Hellenism (the gods of Greece).[1] While, however, the Jews strove in vain to express from the rind of the law the last drop of the juice of life, and the statues of gods left the heart as cold as the marble from which they were carved, and while only a dreamy suspicion of the existence of an "unknown God" pervaded the nations, the humanized divine *doctrine*, the Logos, the Word from heaven that was made flesh,[2] was walking quietly and humbly among men in the form of a servant, and scattering the seed which should produce the Divine regeneration of the nations. Preaching gave birth to faith (Rom. x, 17), and faith to love, while love bloomed in the life that conquers death. The worship of God in spirit and in truth took the place of the law, and the altar of "the unknown God" received name and significance.

Superiority of the teaching function to law and art illustrated.

The inter-relation of these elements should, however, be observed. In each of the religious systems to which we have referred, the three, law, art, and doctrine, exist, although in vary-

[1] "Heathenism," says Rust (Philos. u. Christenthum, 2 ed., p. 103), "had no *luminous teaching* in which the result of the development of its religious life was laid down, and it had no need for it. Instead of doctrine, it cultivates a mighty *symbolism*, which has emanated from its own being, a concrete representation of its religious spirit to the senses." (Also in Grüneisen, at § 7.) "Nowhere in heathendom does the human spirit rise above natural conceptions. In the figures of his gods the heathen beholds simply the form of his own being." Schenkel, Der ethische Charakter des Christenthums, in Gelzer's Prot. Monatsbl., 1857, p. 44; comp., also, p. 47: "The pagan systems of religion exhaust their strength in the effort to construct a thoughtful and frequently artistic symbolism. They are extravagant in ceremonial manipulations and changeless customs, but indifferent about moral manifestations, and unconcerned about the eternal nature of things."

[2] It is scarcely necessary to observe that no attempt to exhaust the Logos idea, in an exegetical or dogmatic way, is here implied.

ing proportions and combinations. Not only does Judaism, by virtue of its worship, include artistic elements, and the law stand forth in religious dignity among the heathen, but *doctrine* also seeks to gain acceptance with both Jews and pagans. The prophetic order toiled for this among the Jews, as did philosophy among the Greeks. The great importance of Socrates consists in this, that he turned the attention of philosophy away from nature and toward *man*, that he aroused reflection upon moral and religious questions, and that he represented in himself the noblest work of art—a moral renovation. Christianity, on the other hand, includes in its constitution both *law* and *art;* for to the extent to which "man's highest work of art is man,"[1] will appear the representation of a pure man, which existed in Socrates only as an effort, in absolute perfection in Christ, the Divine Son of man; hence the ideal Christ represents art's highest task. Christ, in like manner, came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it; in harmony with which principle, it cannot be disguised that modern art and the public life of modern nations are essentially determined by the teachings of Christianity. That Christianity is not a *mere* abstract system of *doctrine*, but a living *word*, a higher law, and independent (art-) work of the Spirit, will appear from what follows.

Law, Art, and Doctrine co-related.

SECTION X.

The teaching function of Christianity is more strongly emphasized by Protestantism than by Roman Catholicism, since the latter elevates law and art, at least to the level of doctrine, while with the former doctrine holds the first place.

In the apostolic age teaching was the leading element, most fully developed in the Pauline Christianity, while the Ebionitish Judaizing Christianity retained a legal character, and Gnosticism severed the doctrine from its historical foundations, and carried it back into mythology. At a later period the body of doctrine, after having been speculatively and ecclesiastically developed, was held in the unyielding restrictions of dogma, and became rigid. A theoretical legalism was developed side by side with a practical righteousness of works, and as the latter manifested itself, as formerly in Judaism, only in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, a superabundance of symbolic and artistic matter was produced, which, in its turn, served to encourage the legal spirit. The two elements are combined in the established canon of the mass. The unlicensed sensuality of common life at last resulted again in heathenism; but

The teaching function more prominent in Protestantism than in Romanism.

[1] Ullmann, Cultus des Genius, p. 57.

while art celebrated its prosperous condition in modern Rome over the ruins of the Apostolic Church, the restoration of the *word* to its primitive authority, and the preaching of the free doctrines of the Gospel, were being accomplished in Germany and Switzerland.[1] From this time forward the sermon became the heart and centre of Protestant worship, to an extent which compels the admission that in some instances the element of teaching received undue prominence, to the exclusion of every thing artistic, and even that doctrine itself hardened into legalism, which gave rise to reactionary movements endangering the existence of the Protestant faith.

SECTION XI.

Although the religious instructor belongs preëminently to the order of teachers, he is still so far to be distinguished from the scientific instructor, as religion is not bare knowledge, and therefore cannot be taught and acquired directly, and without the intervention of other agencies.

The position of the religious teacher as to other teachers.

We have now reached that point in the field of learning at which the different courses and methods of study may be distinguished from each other. With respect to *methods* of instruction the clergyman, as a teacher of adults, holds a position midway between the teacher of youth and the academical professor. Being addressed to adults, his teachings will assume a more elaborate character, and take a higher range than those of the teacher of youth; but as they do not subserve a purely scientific purpose, they will be more popular and less purely didactic than those of the academical instructor. The sermon, moreover, is not to become a *mere* intellectual discourse, though the preacher should never cease to be a teacher.[2] The clergyman, in the exercise of both his catechetical and his pastoral duties, divides the function of training with the teacher of youth. The subject-matter of his instructions is determined by the peculiar nature of religion itself, to which we now direct attention.

[1] The Lutheran Reformation in Germany bore predominantly the character of a reaction against the Judaism that had intruded into the Church, while the Reformed, in Switzerland, was chiefly a reaction against paganism. This distinction is, however, only relative. Comp. Al. Schweizer in the Introduction to the Glaubenslehre der evang.-reformirten Kirche, Zurich, 1844.

[2] "The clergyman should be both preacher and teacher of religion. It is even impossible, in various regards, for him to be a genuine teacher, without being, at the same time, a preacher, and introducing one element of the sermon—illustrative discourse—into his teaching; and he cannot be a true preacher of religion without being at the same time a teacher, and basing his entire preaching upon his teaching function, so as to connect it with, and ground it in, the doctrine itself."—K. Sack, Werth u. Reiz d. Theologie, Sixth Discourse, p. 92.

SECT. XII.

RELIGION.

Elwert, Das Wesen der Religion, etc., in Tüb. Zeitschr. für Theologie, 1835, No. 3; Reich, Das Schleiermachersche Religionsgefühl, in Stud. u. Krit, 1846, No. 4, p. 845; Herm. Reuter, Die Religion als die Ureinheit des Bewusstseins, in Hanov. Vierteljahrsscrift, Gött., 1846, No. 4; J. P. Lange, Phil. Dogmatik, p. 185, *sqq.;* E. Zeller, in Tüb. Jahrbb., 1845; D. Schenkel, in Herzog's Encycl., s. v., Abhängigkeitsgefühl; Tholuck, id., s. v., Gefühl, iv, p. 704, *sqq.;* C. D. Kelbe, psychischer Ursprung u. Entwicklungsgang der Religion, Brunswick, 1853; Carlblom, Das Gefühl in seiner Bedeutung für den Glauben (Religionsphil.); H. Paret, Eintheilung der Religionen, in Stud. u. Krit., 1855, No. 2; Jul. Köstlin, in Herzog, s. v., Religion, xii, p. 641, *sqq.;* Jens Baggesen, Phil. Nachlass, 2 vols., 1858–63; Jäger, Was ist Religion? in Jahrbb. für deutsche Theologie, x, No. 4, p. 118, *sqq.;* Bobertag, Einige neuere Bestimmungen d. Begriffes d. Religion, id., xi, No. 2, p. 254; Tölle, Die Wissenschaft der Religion, 2 vols., 1865–71; Pfleiderer, Die Religion, ihr Wesen u. ihre Geschichte, 2 vols., 1869; Fauth, Ueber die Frömmigkeit, in Stud. u. Krit., 1870, No. 4; Biedermann, Bilanz üb. d. rationellen Grundbegriffe der Religion, in Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theologie, 1871, No. 1. (Comp. the literature on the philosophy of religion, § 30.)

Definition of religion.

Religion (piety, the fear of God, godliness, יִרְאַת יְהוָה, φόβος τõυ ϑεοῦ, εὐσέβεια) is, primarily, neither knowledge nor action, but rather a definite state of feeling, which is to be developed into a clear and rational consciousness through the exercise of intelligent reflection, and into a firmly established disposition through the moral determination of the will. As the true principle of life, it is to permeate the whole inner man (ὁ ἔσω ἄνϑρωπος), and to manifest itself externally as the highest fruitage of human nature.[1]

Scope of the word religion, and the distinction between it and various other terms.

An objection might be raised at the outset against the use of the Latin term religion (from religio), and "godliness" be suggested as a substitute; but if Hase's definition,[2] that, objectively considered, religion is man's relation to the infinite, and that, subjectively, it is the determination of human life by that relation, be accepted, "godliness" and similar terms will be inadequate, as indicating only the subjective side of religion. The word "faith" is likewise not entirely sufficient; for, as David Schulz (Die Chr., Lehre von Glauben, 2 ed., p. 104) observes: "In the word religion, for which the Bible

[1] On the etymology of the word (whether from relegere, Cicero, De nat. deor, ii, 8, or from religare, Lactantius, Inst. div., iv, 28; or even from relinquere, M. Sabin., in Gellius Noctt. Att., iv, 9), comp. Nitzsch, Religionsbegriff d. Alten, in Stud. u. Krit., i, No. 3; *J. G. Müller, Ueber Bildung und Gebrauch d. Wortes Religio, Basle, 1834; C. A. Dietrich, De etymol. vocis religio, Schneeb., 1836; K. F. Bräunig, Religio nach Ursprung u. Bedeutung erörtert, Leips., 1837. Also, Röhr's Krit. Predigerbibl, xviii, 3, p. 248, sqq.; Redslob, Sprachl. Abhandll. zur Theologie, Leips., 1840, and Stud. u. Krit., 1842, No. 2.

[2] Lehrbuch der ev. Dogmatik, 1838, § 2.

has no special term, but which in the New Testament is generally represented by *πίστις* and *πιστεύειν*, we conceive of all the relations of man to God in their entirety and their connexions with each other. The fear of God, trust in God, love, reverence, piety, hope, all express definite and particular relations of the rational creature towards the Deity, and therefore constitute separate features of religion." However inadequate this term may be, therefore, when the object is to illustrate a decided piety, it is yet convenient and even indispensable, whenever choice or necessity compels a more general discussion, as in scientific exposition.

Thus much on the word. With reference to its interpretation, it is to be observed that the older method, dating from Buddæus, by which "religio" is taken as equivalent to "modus Deum cognoscendi et colendi," has been shaken in both its members by the more recent definition, which, according to Schleiermacher,[1] denies that religion is either bare knowledge or action.

Religion is not merely knowledge.

1. It is not simply knowledge. Cicero's derivation (from relegere), and, to some extent, the scriptural and popular usage[2] (דַּעַת יְהוָה, *ἐπίγνωσις τοῦ κυρίου*), seem to justify the rendering of religion by "knowledge," inasmuch as it may be both taught and learned. But, practically, religion presents a somewhat abnormal appearance among the courses of study in an institution of learning; and it cannot be said, with the same propriety, that a student is a good religionist as that he is a good philologist, mathematician, geographer, etc. The maxim that re-

[1] Glaubensl., i, § 8. Schleiermacher, however, was neither the first nor the only person who regarded religion as a matter of feeling. Without recurring to the earliest period and to mysticism, we may notice that Zwingle defined religion to be devotion to God, hence an inclination and determination of the feelings, (De vera relig., p. 51; Vera religio vel pietas haec est, quae uni solique, Deo haeret.) Among moderns the emotional theory, with various modifications, has been adopted by Herder, Jacobi, Lavater (Biographie von Gessner, iii, p. 151), Clodius, Fries, de Wette, Twesten, Benj. Constant, and, with special thoroughness, by Elwert. The philologist, J. G. Hermann, expresses similar views (in his oration at the jubilee of the Leipsic reformation, p. 6): Non enim mentis, sed pectoris est pietas; and also Bulwer (England, i, 2), "Religion must be a sentiment, an emotion, forever present with us, pervading, colouring, and exalting all." An additional question concerns the adequacy of the term "feeling" itself, which must be settled by what follows in the text.

[2] It is evident, however, that the exercise of reflection and the scrupulous examination into questionable features, which are involved in the term religio, in their turn direct attention to a state of feeling that lies at the basis of all such questionings. The knowledge, moreover, to which the Scriptures refer, is a practical heart-knowledge. It is also significant that the Hebrew regarded the heart (לֵב) as the seat of knowledge.

ligion is a concern of the intellect is, moreover, subject to various interpretations. The lowest view would be that which makes it a mere matter of memory, which is often done in practice. The memory should certainly not be excluded, for all positive religion rests upon tradition, and religious instruction properly begins with impressing on the memory the facts of religion and its truths as conveyed in proverbs, hymns, etc. This, however, must be regarded simply as a method of reaching the heart, in which the scattered seed is to take root and grow, so as to exert an influence over the dispositions and the character. Such one-sided cultivation of the memory, and the contentment with such religious knowledge, constitutes a dead orthodoxy.

It is not bare knowledge as grounded in the memory.

Another doctrine advocates a different view. Religion is not to engage the memory alone, but is to be received into the understanding and wrought over by it. Some try to improve on this by substituting the word *reason*, though they often mean the understanding simply, *i. e.*, the logically analytic and synthetic faculties of the mind, or also a sound common-sense, which, without being conscious of its processes, instinctively discovers the right. No sensible person will deny that understanding is necessary in all things, and religion among the rest, and the Scriptures concur in attributing proper dignity to this faculty.[1] Experience teaches, however, that bare intellectual knowledge is by no means identical with religious knowledge. The work of the understanding in the field of religion is strictly critical, and, therefore, negative. It strips off the robes of figurative speech from religious conceptions, guards against misapprehensions and stupidity, and, like a current of fresh air, becomes a healthful corrective to religious feeling; but there is unceasing necessity that it be confined within its proper limits and reminded that the infinite cannot be embraced within the range of finite ideas. An exclusive tendency to cultivate the understanding constitutes a false rationalism.

It is not bare knowledge, as grounded in the understanding.

Science, however, presses its claims from a third point of view. In opposition to both a formal orthodoxy and an intellectual rationalism, it contends that religion belongs to the department of a higher knowledge. It takes exclusive possession of the term *reason*, and declares that religion belongs to the field of the thinking spirit, which mediates all con-

It is not a transcendental knowledge of the absolute.

[1] Jesus was pleased when the scribe answered him "discreetly" (*νουνεχῶς*), Mark xii, 34; and St. Paul counsels Christians to be children in malice, but men in understanding. 1 Cor. xiv, 20. The Old Testament, likewise, connects the religious disposition with the understanding (בִּינָה), Prov. ix, 10, and elsewhere.

trasts, and penetrates and energizes all things (knowledge of the absolute). Not the dead conception, but the living idea, forms the element in which religion lives. Short-sighted understanding cannot penetrate to the highest ideas of reason. We agree to this: but we question whether reason as here described is innate to the mind, instead of being the product of the feelings and the understanding—a resultant higher unity of the two. It is a further question whether the grasping of this idea or whatever phrase may be applied to it is itself religion and eternal life, or whether reason as thus conceived is not rather a mere phantom of the mind, so long as it is not the reflex of a profound personal feeling and experience. As the word *reason* is, with rationalists, often merely a sort of Sunday suit in which ordinary understanding clothes itself, so the same word serves with idealists to conceal an arbitrary poetizing fancy, which is incapable of satisfying either the feelings or the understanding.[1] That imagination in its proper character is not the source of religion will be universally conceded, although it must be allowed, like every other faculty, to share in the religious life.[2]

The following general considerations should be brought to bear against the assumption that religion is merely an intellectual affair:—

Evidence that religion is not exclusively the product of the intellect.

1. If religion were simply this, it would follow that knowledge and right thinking concerning it would determine the measure of piety. Our own age ought to be more pious than former ages, philosophers than the public, men than women, adults than children. Why was salvation transmitted through the Jews, rather than through the schools of Greece? Why did God conceal it from the wise men of this world, and reveal it to babes and sucklings? Why did the *renaissance* of learning simply prepare the way for the Reformation, instead of completing it? Why is the finely-cultured Erasmus eclipsed by Luther, his inferior in culture?

2. If knowledge were to constitute religion, the Church (communion of believers) would possess no value, and must become transformed into a community of the learned, or school. The different degrees of learning among its members would produce an

[1] Comp. C. A. Thilo, Die Wissenschaftlichheit der modernen speculativen Theologie in ihren Principien beleuchtet, Leipsic, 1851—a book that deserves to be noticed, despite its prudish bearing towards all religious speculation, since it urges soberness and watchfulness.

[2] Ullmann has beautifully developed this idea in Theol. Aphorismen, in Stud. u. Krit., 1844, p. 417, sqq.

esoteric and an exoteric class, so that "many men of many minds" might be said of this community, but not "one heart and one soul." If such descriptions are heard even now, it is the result of the fact simply, that in the Church undue importance has been attached to learning, and theology has been allowed to supplant religion. Sectarianism and controversial tendencies have their origin chiefly in a false assertion of the claims of knowledge, and in a lack of purity and simplicity of faith.[1]

3. If *thinking* and *investigation* constituted the peculiar organs of religion, their exercise ought to produce religious satisfaction, and religious inspiration ought to reach its highest energy during the process of thinking; and in like manner religion should decrease in moments when the faculty of thought is impaired or restrained, e. g., in old age,[2] and upon the sick and dying-bed, while the truth is, that, under precisely such circumstances, it often appears in its highest perfection. The emphasis placed upon thinking is misplaced; for in the vocabulary of religion the emphasis rests rather upon feeling. When the Quietists asserted that the most perfect prayer is that in which thought has no place, they were guilty of exaggeration verging upon the absurd; but a profounder truth lies at the basis of the apparent absurdity, which is wholly overlooked by those whose views would reduce even prayer to a mere arithmetical example.

Religion not merely action.

II. Religion is not merely action. The idea that religion is altogether a *doing*, a moral determination of the will, has even more support than that which identifies it with knowledge. "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them"

[1] A fact stated by an old Reformed Theologian, Keckermann, is generally forgotten (he himself overlooked it occasionally), namely, that theology is not simply a disciplina contemplatrix, but also operatrix. See Al. Schweizer's Ref. Dogmatik, p. 103. The members of the general synods of Bergen, beginning with A. D. 1680, were, on the same principle, required to pledge themselves to the studium pietatis as well as the studium orthodoxiæ. The excessive importance attached to the so-called Confessions is evidently owing to the misconception that religion has its seat in the cavities of the brain instead of the chambers of the heart, or that it may be preserved in formulas, as anatomical subjects are preserved in alcohol.

[2] For a remarkable psychological proof of the fact that religious ideas are capable of being clearly present to the consciousness, independently of other processes of thought, and even under circumstances when the power to think is departing, comp. John Spalding's Life of his Son, G. L. Spalding (Halle, 1804), p. 188, *sqq.*, note, and also the death of Schleiermacher, in W. von Humboldt's Briefe an eine Freundin, ii, p. 259. Schenkel's remark is, therefore, of great force: "The religious consciousness is infinitely greater than the world-consciousness, even as God is infinitely greater than the world; and it, therefore, contains a fountain of inexhaustible power and perennial comfort."—Dogmatik, i, p. 153.

(John xiii, 17.) It is sustained also by the expressions דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה, ὁδὸς τοῦ κυρίου, עֲבֹדָה, θρησκεία, θεραπεία, ἔργα, καρπός, etc., religio (in the sense of conscientiousness), and by popular usage, according to which a pious person is the same as one who is good or upright (δίκαιος), and which conceives of *virtue* and *godliness* as being identical. There are, however, different methods of conceiving religion as confined to the sphere of action. The lowest view, a counterpart of that which places it in the memory, regards piety altogether as a work to be outwardly performed (opus operatum), a mere dead, mechanical doing. It is evident that this does not deserve the name of religion. It is to be observed, on the other hand, that they who contemplate religion chiefly with the *understanding*, generally identify it with *morality* (the Kantean, rationalistic view), or, at any rate, regard as essential to religion only such elements as will promote the moral autonomy of reason. A higher view (corresponding to the speculative theory, among those who assign religion to the intellect) makes religion an internal activity, or an action of the spirit in us. If the latter expression be not a mere speculative phrase, behind which moral indifference may hide, it may be understood, in the Christian sense, as a work of the Divine Spirit in us, and therefore as equivalent to "regeneration." The supporters of this opinion add that at bottom piety is concerned to bring about the improvement or sanctification of our dispositions and our walk; so that here rationalism and pietism agree in the practical demand that religion *must produce results*. To insist upon religious action does not, however, constitute a proof that religion in its last analysis *is* action. In opposition to this view we present the following:—

Not action in the sense of a mechanical doing of works.

Religion not identical with morality.

Not identical with a supposed spiritual activity.

The reasons for distinguishing religion and morality.

1. While religion and morality coincide in their highest development, so that a true religion without morality and a true morality without religion are equally inconceivable,[1] they are yet clearly distinguished in their details as well

[1] Rothe (Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche, p. 27) remarks: "A complete morality, which is not in its positive aspects substantially religious, does not exist. In the same proportion in which morality should not have acquired the certainty of religion (the certainty of conscious dependence upon God) would its development as morality be deficient." Kym (Die Weltanschauungen und deren Consequenzen, Zurich, 1854, p. 9): "A religion that should not pass over into morality, and through this into life, would be a centre without circumference, therefore a half, and accordingly untrue, unreal religion. A morality that should have no connexion with the Deity would be without depth and without a last (?) central point.... The morality which separates itself from religion is likely to become self-righteousness and self-satisfaction, because it lacks provision for the judgment of self. Hence faith is the creative reason of love."

as their general character. A genuine piety is found to exist in which the moral element leaves much to be desired, but which cannot be justly rated as hypocrisy; and there are many poorly-behaved and ill-bred children of God who yet know that God is exercising discipline over them, and submit to his authority. This was true of David and other Old Testament characters. Without this presumption it becomes impossible to understand the Old Testament as a whole,[1] and also the Middle Ages, with their profound apprehension of God and their boundless immorality.

Morality and religion have been found separated.

The period of the Reformation and modern pietism might also furnish illustrations of this point.[2] On the other hand, the piety of many is put to shame by the existence of a praiseworthy and correct morality, which has grown beyond a mere legality, and become moral self-respect and self-control, in a measure compelling approval and admiration, which yet lacks the sanctions and the impulse of religion; *i. e.*, a definite relation towards God and eternity. This applies not only to the stoicism of the ancients, but also to the categorical imperative of Kant, and the morality of cultivated persons in our day. While, therefore, morality and religion belong together, and in their ultimate development must coincide, they may yet be logically distinguished, and bear a separate character in the lower stages of their development even in actual life. It is, however, the mark of a truly *religious* disposition, that, when moral imperfection or sin is recognized, it should be acknowledged as *sin*, and as a wrong committed against *God* ("I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight," Luke xv, 21); and that the soul should bow before God, and humble itself and repent. Morality without religion knows nothing of sin as such, but recognizes only moral deficiency; and it therefore substitutes "self-improvement" for repentance. *Sin* and *repentance* are *religious-ethical* ideas.

Religion is original spiritual power.

2. Morality presupposes *capacity*, developed by practice, and evidencing itself in a series of moral actions or denials. Religion is original *power*, original *spiritual life*, and is concentrated upon a single point. It stands related to

[1] All objections against the moral character of the patriarchs are founded on this misconception.

[2] What a contrast exists between the spiritual songs and the passionate polemical writings of Angelus Silesius (Scheffler)! a contrast so great as to apparently require that two different persons be assumed in explanation of their authorship (comp. Kahlert, Ang. Silesius, Breslau, 1853, conclusion). A similar contrast is presented by the Lutheran poet Philip Nicolai, whose hymns breathe a profound piety, while his controversial works bear witness to a morality by no means refined (comp. Schweizer, Prot. Centraldogmen, p. 584).

morality as genius to talent in the sphere of art. Men of genius may exist who possess a rich fund of intellectual conceptions, but who nevertheless are exceedingly awkward in the application of technical rules, while others may work in obedience to the highest rules of art to represent utterly commonplace ideas; and a similar distinction holds good between morality and religion. The real master, of course, is he whose talent has become subservient to genius, and impregnated by it.

Moral action determined by outward conditions.

3. Moral action is determined by the external conditions of life, and its range is confined within the limits of such conditions. The castaway cannot employ his morality in the solitude of his island, unless moral self-respect should become for him a mode of worship, and thus idolatry supply the place of religion. The religious life, on the contrary, may appear in its highest perfection under circumstances of quiet seclusion from the world.[1] Anchoretism, like Quietism, is a morbid phenomenon; but it arises from the truth that a religious person, unlike the merely moral man, has occasional need of solitude; and the ideal element in such phenomena can be properly estimated only from a religious point of view.

Religion requires more than action for its expression.

4. The moral life needs no worship; the moral action constitutes its cult. The religious life likewise finds expression in action: "By their fruits ye shall know them." But it seeks, in addition, to manifest itself symbolically in words and imagery. It seeks to express itself in prayer, to portray itself in art, to communicate itself to others, and, when rejected by them, to commune with God himself. It was because of this that the conduct of Mary Magdalene was incomprehensible to the prosaic company of banqueters; and similarly a rational morality still asks, "Why this waste?" whenever the religious life finds expression without regard to utility: "The money might be given to the poor," etc. A community founded simply on morality would not, as Kant conceived, exhaust the idea of the Church. It could only have either a negative tendency, like a temperance union, or an instructive purpose, as in schools of morality and lectures, which, however, are no longer necessary to the advanced learner, or, finally, it must aim at practical results in the outward life (benevolent and mutual aid societies). The Church-union is grounded in a totally different want, and it is a misconception of the religious idea to re-

[1] In the exercise of religion man is primarily concerned for himself; he alone is involved therein, in his relation towards God. In this he is alone with his God. . . For this very reason the view that religion in itself is the relation of the individual to the community, or of the community to the individual, is erroneous. Schenkel, l. c. p. 156.

gard a congregation of worshippers as belonging to any of the above classes. Are prayer and the sacraments simply means for the promotion of virtue? and are they necessary only to the weak? Let it be remembered that the ideal of the Church is not the *ecclesia militans*, but the *ecclesia triumphans*, the glorified community of heaven, which is exalted above all conflict. Religion is not only to *accomplish* something for God, but to *receive* something from him (the idea of grace), and is ultimately to rejoice in God, and find its perfect rest and satisfaction in him (the idea of glory).

Morality is based on independence, religion on dependence.

5. Morality is based on the ideas of independence and self-determination; religion on those of dependence and direction from above. The two do not exclude each other, and are even necessarily conjoined, though they may be separately considered. The religious element may predominate at one time, and the moral at another, in the life of every individual, and as the result of his circumstances and disposition. The most perfect state, however, is that in which religion transfigures morality, and in which the moral attests the religious character.[1]

In what sense is religion rooted in feeling?

III. Should religion, then, be considered a matter of *feeling?* Loud protest is raised against this view. Baumgarten-Crusius has most forcibly included the various objections to it in the sentence, "No one who understands himself, and who is concerned to attain to an assured and definite life, will make feeling the basis of religion."[2] The problem presented will be solved, however, if we set the idea of religious feeling in a clear light, and show that a "definite and assured life" may exist in connexion with it when properly understood.

A clear apprehension of this subject is certainly necessary, for the name of religious feeling is not due to all that lays claim thereto.[3] It will be needful, first of all, to exclude the *sensuous feeling*,

[1] "Although religion and morality are two noble buds upon a *single* stalk, they have nevertheless their respective shoots and crowns. For religion is nothing else than a conscious life-connexion with God, a conscious dependence of the finite spirit upon the infinite. The flower could not lose the feeling of connexion with its roots, were it, like man, capable of feeling. Religion is in a derived sense only a matter in which the thinking and volitional spirit is concerned; primarily, it is the feeling of the relations our life sustains to God."—Tholuck, Gespräche über d. vornehmsten Glaubensfragen der Zeit, Halle, 1846, p. 60.

[2] Einl. in die Dogmatik, p. 64.

[3] Steffens beautifully remarks: "While the term 'feeling' may be indefinite, and not entirely appropriate, *this* feeling (of Schleiermacher) was more comprehensive; it contained a life and consciousness of its own, and designated *the sacred ground of its own origin.*"—Christliche Religionsphil., p. 11.

to which some have applied the term *sensibility.*[1] It would be dangerous to assume that the most impressible, emotional, sensually and intellectually excitable persons are on that account the most pious. They who are unable to conceive the subject in a different aspect from this are entirely justified in rejecting a religion of feeling at the outset, and taking refuge in a religion of action. Spalding's essay, On the Value of the Religious Feeling, will continue to assert its force against such defenders of sentimentalism, even though, like many others, he fails to comprehend the true nature of feeling. That Schleiermacher, the keen dialectician, whose sermons have even been described as icy-cold, should have advocated mere sensibility, can be asserted only by persons who are determined to misunderstand. Nor is *æsthetic* feeling intended. A certain relation of art and poetry to religion cannot be denied; but it would be venturesome to assert that all who are unable to appreciate art, or, more boldly still, who are not endowed with creative imagination,[2] are thereby unfitted for religion; or, on the contrary, to maintain that the greatest poet, painter, or, possibly, even the most eminent actor, is therefore the most pious man. We are compelled to acknowledge that often the devotees of the beautiful and the priests in the service of genius resemble the parasitic plants, which fix themselves upon the sacred blossom of religion, and extract from it the life-giving sap;[3] while, on the other hand, the

Religious feeling not mere sensibility.

Religious not the same as æsthetic feeling.

[1] The usage upon this point is, apparently, not yet settled. It is as allowable to speak of a sensibility for religious and material things, as of feeling for them. We shall not err greatly, however, if we consider sensibility as excited more particularly by impressions received from without, while feeling is a spiritual faculty that is rooted in the inmost depths of our being. Hence it might be more proper to attribute sensibility than feeling to brutes. Sensibility is more especially related to the perceptive faculty, and to the individual object upon which it is engaged (thus, the eye is sensible of the entering ray of light); in feeling, the subject and the object are more intimately combined (I feel myself blessed). In this view we coincide with Carlblom, who finds in *sensation* single points of contact between the subject and the object, while in *feeling* he discovers the collective relations between the two—"the collective impressions made upon the subject by the object as a whole," or "the uplifting of the subject through the ideal power of an object" (inspiration). Comp. p. 2; also, Twesten, Einl. zur Dogmatik; Kym, l. c., p. 5.

[2] Ullmann, l. c., makes the just observation that "feeling and imagination, although they connect in the unity of the spirit and condition, and excite each other, are yet not one and the same."

[3] An evidence of this is found, upon the one hand, in the degenerate romancing of a Zacharias Werner; and, on the other, in the observations of a now defunct "Young Germany." The course which the young German school of poetry believed itself compelled to adopt, in its reaction against an overwhelming romanticism, serves, however, to illustrate also the damage inflicted upon poetry when it is separated from religion.

fulness of religious life, existing side by side with imperfect forms of art and a neglected æsthetic culture, justifies us in overlooking such deficiency. What else gives attractiveness to a badly-modelled image of some saint, or endows the excruciating church music of an assembled village congregation with the power to edify, nay, to excite profoundest emotion? We would not approve the bad taste which, under the influence of religious zeal, appears to have conspired against whatever is beautiful. An unæsthetic piety, and that miserable absence of taste which is so often commended as being originality, are assuredly more hurtful than beneficial to religion. Who would venture to assert, however, that a lack of religious feeling in Zinzendorf is evident, because he sometimes wrote verse in bad taste, or in Abraham a Santa Clara, whose preaching was of a like character? Such men have religion, but they lack the sense of beauty; a proof that the two are different.[1]

Religious not identical with moral feeling.

But are religious and *moral* feeling identical? They are certainly closely related, and touch upon and interpenetrate each other. It is possible, however, to distinguish the two in thought, for the purpose of scientific inquiry, in the same way as has been done with religion and morality themselves. The *moral* feeling manifests itself more particularly in its negative aspects as tact, and on the positive side as impulse or instinct. The substance in which it adheres is conduct—the doing of things, or leaving them undone. It impels or restrains. *Religious* feeling is self-centred, and finds its satisfaction in itself. It is, in short, the *sacred chamber of our inner being*, that ἄδυτον of the soul, in which all earthly changes cease to agitate, together with all opposition of desire and aversion, within whose limits the merely sensuous has its range. This inner sanctuary,[2] which is first disclosed

[1] Kähler, Sittenlehre, p. 239, distinguishes in a similar way between the religious feeling, and the pathological or æsthetical.

[2] The internal basis of life, the Ego, in which are comprehended all distinctions in their individual simplicity and their concrete lack of dissimilarity, must be regarded as the soil and ground of religion."—Deinhardt, Beitr. zur rel. Erkentniss, Hamb., 1844, p. 5. "Religion is and must remain an immediate influence, a something that lies as near to man as do the impressions which are made upon the senses by the outer world. If, for this reason, religion be defined as the 'feeling of dependence,' a real truth will be conveyed, provided a *spiritual* feeling is understood thereby; for in matters relating to the spirit there can be no reference to sensuous impressions."—Fritze, Ideen zur Umgestaltung der Kirche, Magdeb., 1844, p. 2. We can readily approve of the substitution of the term *heart* for *feeling* (in popular language), as being justified by scriptural usage, and including both the intellectual and the moral elements (לֵב). "The assurance with which genuine culture retains words like heart in their higher significance, despite the definitions of the sciences, unquestionably rests upon the assumption that the *animal* life is the counterpart of *human* being, even as

to the *penitent* alone—this heaven in the soul, whence shine the stars of faith, and love, and hope, to cheer the darkness of our night—this anchor that holds firm, upon which every thing depends and must depend if it shall not founder in the current of fleeting time—is *religious feeling.*

Religion a feeling of dependence upon God.

We designate it more closely as the *feeling of dependence;* that is, dependence upon God, the Infinite One. Objections are raised against this also. It is said, "The very dogs have the feeling of dependence!"—a cynical reflection, which is beautifully disposed of by Matt. vii, 6, and xv, 21–28. Comp. Isa. i, 3, and Athenag. Apoloog. for Christ., p. 16 (ed. Oxon).[1] Dependence is construed to mean servility, and the saying of Jansen, "Dei servitus vera libertas," or of our Lord in John viii, 32, is forgotten. We likewise discover a twofold character in religious feeling—a discouraging (humbling) and an encouraging (exalting) element; but in their inmost nature the two are one. Even the feeling of liberty and of communion with God must be derived from God; and St. Paul's exclamation, "I can do all things through Christ, which strengtheneth me," is as thoroughly pervaded by the sense of dependence as that other word, "Without me ye can do nothing."[2] To be dependent is equivalent to being conditioned

the former finds its counterpart in the organism of the visible body; or, that in this life, at least, the anatomical and physiological organization corresponds to the spiritual forms of the human soul, that it was constructed *for* and determined *by* it, so that it still conveys the shadowy image where the soul itself has fled. From this point of view the cultivated person, whom we request to undertake an explanation of the idea *heart*, will describe it as the centre, or the pulse; or, better still, as the proper source of our entire inner life."—Steffensen, Das menschl. Herz u. d. Philosophie, in Gelzer's Monatsabl., 1854, p. 281.

[1] Deinhardt, l. c., p. 9, strikingly observes: "The genius of religion lies in the *recognition of our limitations and our nothingness.* The limitation does not of itself lead to religion, for the very beasts would in that case become possessed of religion; but the consciousness of our limitations involves at the same time the recognition of the infinite, and of our relations to the infinite." And Carlblom writes (l. c., p. 180): "The feeling of unqualified dependence, freed from pantheistic and Pelagian elements, can only work advantage to our time, as a scientific principle."

[2] Kähler's remark is therefore correct (Sittenlehre, p. 324): "In their relation to God or the absolute, dependence and communion hold the same position; they are inseparable. Upon what is such communion based, if it be not upon dependence? We do not invite him to fellowship, he calls us; and we attain to the feeling of communion with him only through that of dependence upon him; through the fear of God to the love of God." Comp. Nitzsch, System of Christ. Doct., p. 18, "There is nothing religious in free consciousness but the consciousness that we are free *through* God and *in* God; that is, dependent on him." Kähler nevertheless endeavours to limit the idea of dependence, against which see Elwert, p. 79, *sqq.* It may be true that, with Schleiermacher, the feeling of dependence is connected with pantheistic assumptions; but if so, the attacks of criticism should be directed simply against his

and determined by an outward power, as is sufficiently apparent in the relations that exist between men. Who so dependent upon others as he whose life is interwoven in such a way with another life as to justify the language, "Without thee I cannot live?" The religious man depends on God in this sense, that he cannot be without God, that his life is guided and controlled by God, and that he knows himself to be so determined and controlled. It is impossible to see how *such* a feeling of dependence can impair or negative our freedom. It is, on the contrary, itself the highest freedom.

The synthesis of religious feeling with our other faculties.

If we have been successful in isolating religious feeling in the way of analysis, so that it becomes available for scientific observation in a pure and unmixed form, it will now be required that, in the way of synthesis, we shall again connect it with the faculties of the soul, by which, and through which, it finds expression. The "theory of feeling" is not antagonized simply because its opponents misconstrue the term, but because they deduce the radically erroneous conclusion that feeling alone is implicated therein, and that cognition and action are excluded by the fact that they are not made the immediate seat and organ of piety. A "definite and assured" life would, of course, be impossible, if religion were so restricted to the feelings as to never venture out of its sanctuary, either into the light of knowledge, or into the fresh air of active exertion. As the germ contains within itself the principle of development, so the nature of healthy religious feeling involves the disposition to strive for the attainment of clearness on the one hand, and of steadiness, firmness, and thoroughness on the other. The infant in the manger grows to maturity, and becomes the *light* and *joy* of the world. Kähler[1]

methods of deduction, not against the principle itself. Nor can we acknowledge that the feeling of dependence is "wanting in the moral element" (Schenkel, in Herzog's Encykl., p. 64). What is *obedience*, the source of *religious* morality, but the ethical outworking of the feeling of dependence? or sacrifice? or the devotion of love? moral self-denial? humility? When Biedermann (Dogmatik, p. 32) observes that the necessary correlative of "liberty in God," that is, in an "infinite dependence," is "freedom from finite dependence," that is, "from the world considered as world," he is simply stating in speculative language what we have expressed merely as a dictum of experience. In the same connexion that author gives some noteworthy observations concerning the interrelation between God, the infinite, and man, the finite spirit, and also concerning the "correlation of revelation and faith," although we find it impossible, from our point of view, to accept his conclusions.

[1] Christl. Sittenlehre, p. 195. Comp. also Dav. Schulz, Vom Glauben, p. 112: "When a person has attained to self-consciousness, he cannot avoid observing the movements of his feelings, which at first are possibly involuntary, and, as it were, passive, but which he will now elevate, by his free activity, into a condition of greater clearness, and consequently into convictions."

strikingly remarks: "From feeling, as it sends forth its roots, proceeds the more definite activity which is termed *thought*, and *desire* when it grows the bud." It connects itself with the understanding, and thereby attains to clearness; it joins with itself the power of the will, and thus acquires steadiness and firmness. The knowledge that is rooted in religious feeling, and supported by it, is religious *faith*. Faith, in its turn, is capable of a further development, and ripens toward a state of, as yet, conditioned sight. The *moral* power arising from religious feeling manifests itself in analogy with faith in the form of *conscience*,[1] and develops into moral disposition or firmly-established religious-ethical *principle*, ultimately resulting in that certainty of action, that devotion to virtue, which is the highest expression of true liberty.

Religious feeling connects itself with the understanding and will.

Religious feeling should become a conscious feeling. The religious feeling has correspondent religious conceptions, and with reference to these receives aid first from the *imagination*, which clothes the conceptions in figurative garb. "It is the sculptress who collects the heavenly treasure into earthen vessels."[2] The *understanding* comes to its support in the service of imagination, arranging the figurative conceptions, and combining them into a whole. Thus arise mythology and mythologizing symbolism, bare, or more refined; and the greater the supremacy acquired by logical sequence over the original fresh and vivid poetical conceptions in such a system of symbolism, the less will it be able to satisfy the *reason*, which seeks to discover a higher unity. It will be only a shell, a dry skeleton, from which the life has departed. It is the office of *reason* to recognize, by virtue of its ideal nature, the eternal character of the contents of the feelings, though given under a finite form, and to combine and reunite in a higher unity the elements *distinguished* by the understanding. While unable (supra) to regard reason as the *source* of religion, we yet consider it the pure *mirror* (reflex) of all that has its birth in the feelings; it is reason that catches and reflects the ray which emanates from that source. It does not *create* the religious life out of its own substance, but it *watches over* that life as over every other impulse, and it stamps it with the mark of intelligence. We, therefore, consider a religion

Religious feeling aided by the imagination.

Reason cooperative with religious feeling.

[1] We cannot regard the *conscience* proper as the original seat and organ of religion, after the noteworthy observations made by Schenkel upon this subject, though we cordially recognize the importance of conscience, as the moral factor within the sphere of religion.

[2] Ullmann, l. c., p. 430.

of reason as impossible as a poetry of reason or a commonwealth of reason; but we demand a rational religion as we demand a rational poesy or a rational government. True reason cannot be hostile to religious feeling, but is rather necessary to the recognition of the latter (πίστις develops into γνῶσις). Religious knowledge, thus borne upon the feelings, is no longer mere dead knowledge, but a *living consciousness.*

Objection: "Feeling if the primary is the worst form of religion."

An objector might now admit that the primitive form of religion was feeling, and that the feelings constituted its earliest seat; but he might add that this was the *worst* form, and that religion has no more urgent duty to fulfil than that of removing its seat from the feelings to the reason, from the heart to the head. This, however, is not correct.[1] It is important that the double meaning of the word "feeling" be not forgotten. Feeling certainly involves a preliminary perception. There is a spiritual as well as a physical sense of touch, which often instinctively discovers the right in either case. It must not be assumed, however, that such feeling and touching (ψηλαφᾶν) is all that is required (Acts xvii, 27); for he who does no more than feel in religious matters, "is blind and gropes with the hand," where he ought to avail himself of the eye of knowledge. The merely anticipative consciousness of feeling must accordingly give way to a clear understanding. A different principle applies to feeling in its proper character (the feeling of love, of gratitude, of devotion, etc.). This cannot be dissolved into reason, any more than music may be resolved into one of its parts, or may petrify into a building. Reason does not love, give thanks, or pray, any more than it eats or drinks; but love, gratitude, and prayer, may be justified to the reason as highly rational matters, as readily as eating and drinking. Religious feeling is the *root* of the religious life; and we certainly do not aid the tree to put on its

[1] Rousseau has already observed, "Quand on commence à penser, on cesse de sentir." On the other hand, Passavant (to Diepenbrok) says truly, "This statement is false, for the reason that *only a certain class of feelings are displaced by thought;* while the pure thought and the pure volition carry with them a higher feeling in steadily increasing power and exaltation. So the feeling of pleasure, in which the unskilled person shares, becomes a higher and more intelligent emotion to the connoisseur in music when observing the harmony of some grand composition. So, too, the indeterminate feeling of immensity caused by a view of the starry heavens changes into an intelligent admiration with the astronomer, whose thought embraces not only the magnitudes of masses and their distances, but also the laws which govern the most distant worlds and the falling grain of sand, and who realizes that he has apprehended in nature one of the thoughts of God."—Briefe von J. M. Sailer, M. Diepenbrok, u. J. K. Passavant. Frankfort, 1860, p. 100 *sq.*

crown of bloom when we cut off the root, or permit it to decay. The soundness of the root determines the brightness of the foliage and the perfection of the blossom; for "as feeling is the point at which all spiritual life begins and breaks forth in man, so it is also the goal of perfection in the cultivation of the spirit."[1]

Through conscience religious feeling becomes a steadfast disposition.

Religious feeling should be firm and steadfast. As it develops into definite convictions, it should also become a settled disposition. In this regard the *conscience* renders the service in practice which *reason* performs in theory. As the religious feeling is *enlightened* by reason, so it is *established* and morally *strengthened* by the conscience. In practical matters *law* stands related to *conscience* as the understanding to reason in the domain of theory. In the latter province, that is, theory, the cognitions, being merely logically arranged and combined by the understanding, may harden into a lifeless dogma, and become rigid; and, in like manner, the law of outward morality may become a dead statute, for the letter of the law kills, the spirit makes alive. A conscience enlightened by reason will doubtless be one in which religious feeling manifests and approves itself. But

Religious feeling not, however, resolvable into conscience.

as feeling could not be resolved into reason, *so here it cannot be resolved into conscience.* What we are accustomed to term a *good* conscience, which gives us boldness before God and happiness in him, is of itself an indication that conscience is rooted in feeling. But the fervent love-life of communion with God, which forms the crowning point of all religion, the blessed life, which, as being designed for eternity, makes use of the finite forms of earthly worship to find expression in a rich anticipative symbolism as "joy in God"—this surely is not a mere matter of the conscience! The contrary is true: for if a system of worship were to assert itself in the character of a concern of the conscience, it would degenerate into work-righteousness. Worship is altogether an expression of the feelings. Religious impulses may possibly emanate from the conscience under certain circumstances (*e. g.*, the impulse to pray); but this will be the case only when religious feeling has become dull and listless, so as to need a spur. Where the religious feeling is in a healthful state, it overflows in thanksgiving, praise, etc., without requiring

[1] De Wette, Vorlesungen über Religion, p. 73. Carlblom uses similar language (l. c., p. 184): "An absolute feeling of dependence is the proper expression for religion, even in the highest stages of its development. The Christian's heart is moved because he *believes;* he conceives himself in feeling as a personal unit before God. In the character of devotion, feeling combines *clearness of understanding* and *force of will* in a mighty ardour, that is inspired by the present God."

the admonitions of conscience. The same reasoning applies to love. Conscience may admonish to works of love, but the love that is dictated by conscience is not the highest and truest love, which loves because it must, and cannot refuse. Conscience does not love, give thanks, pray, and praise, in its own character; and for that very reason is no more capable than reason, which likewise fails in this regard of being the *organ of religion.*

We sum up in the following paragraph what has been presented:—

Summary of the argument.

Religion, far from being, in the first instance or exclusively, confined to knowledge or to action, has its seat in the centre of man's spiritual and moral nature—in the *heart*[1] (which is the scriptural and popular term for what we have hitherto designated as *the feelings*, and what others call *the spirit*). This religion of the heart, however, must develop into a living *consciousness* through the intellectual process of *rational thinking* (reflection), and must ripen into a settled disposition, and attest itself in action, through the moral processes induced and perfected by the *conscience.*

We may accordingly say that religion is a subject in which the whole inner man is engaged,[2] but whose pivotal point is in the feeling of dependence. "A healthy religion," remarks an excellent

[1] On the heart, as the seat of religion, see Prov. xxiii, 26; Josh. xxiv, 23; 1 Sam. vi, 6; Ezek. xi, 19; xxxvi, 26; Matt. v, 8; Phil. iii, 7; Col. iii, 15; Heb. xiii, 9, and many other passages. A new objection might arise here, based on the language of the Scriptures, viz.: that the heart is represented as the seat of evil, of ungodliness also. Gen. vi, 5; viii, 21; Psa. xiv, 1; liii, 1; Jer. xvii, 9; Matt. xv, 19. These passages, however, illustrate this very point, that the heart is man's central organ, the hearth, upon which both pure and impure fires may burn, the soil, capable of propagating both good and evil seed. Comp. Luke viii, 15. Hence we do not make the heart the *source* of religion; if it were, man might devise a religion in accordance with the desires of his heart. The source is *in God;* but God addresses his revelations to the heart, as the *receptive organ* of religion. God's word takes root in the heart; regeneration proceeds from the *heart*, and the peace of God, in the character of a good conscience, dwells in the *heart.* The non-identity of heart and conscience, which forbids the substitution of one word for the other, is apparent from the usage of ordinary speech, which approves of a *large* heart, but not of a large (elastic) conscience. We therefore commend the language of Julius Köstlin: "According to the ordinary usage, conscience is simply the organ for the recognition of requirements as such, etc. The recognition of gracious impressions, and, more emphatically still, the *feeling* of blessedness, which steadily becomes more profound, and connects more and more intimately with God in the truly religious, Christian life, cannot be assigned to it; for which reason the conscience may not be designated the religious organ, in an unqualified sense." Comp. also Immer, Das Gewissen, seine Gesundheit u. s. Krankheit, Berne, 1866.

[2] This is strongly asserted also by Mynster (Ueber den Begriff der. Christl. Dogmatik, in Stud. u. Krit., 1831, 3, p. 449); Olshausen (Begriff der Religion, ibid, 1830, 3, p. 644);

theologian, "exercises power over all the circumstances and conditions of life. Where its authority is acknowledged it is the heart, the silent pulse-beat of our entire being. It there consecrates and transfigures all things, however humble; and it applies a correct rule to all things, however proud and ambitious they may be. Not in states of spiritual excitement and exaltation merely does the consciousness of God's presence express itself, but in discouragement and deepest sorrow likewise does it convey peace, and exert a sanctifying power."[1]

SECTION XIII.

Threefold task of the religious teacher.

The task of the religious instructor is consequently threefold: (1) to excite and quicken religious feeling itself; (2) to cultivate the understanding and develop perception, under the guidance of reason, into a clear consciousness; and, (3,) to bring moral influences to bear upon the conscience and the will, until the religious consciousness becomes an abiding disposition. The three lines of effort in the one task are not, however, entirely separated, but are mutually dependent on each other for their successful prosecution.

Neither an exclusive attention to feeling, nor a bare exercising of the understanding, nor yet the mere inculcation of moral maxims, will satisfy the conditions of this task. The religious teacher must, at the outset, fix his attention upon the *entire man*. He is to edify, to arouse, to teach, to guide, to admonish, to reprove. The modes in which the separate features of the task acquire a more distinct prominence in the work of the Christian Church will appear hereafter.

SECTION XIV.

THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY—CHRISTIANITY.

The religious community constitutes the soil in which the religious life of the individual is rooted, in which it develops, and upon which it reacts. Hence the teacher who desires to achieve permanent results in the religious cultivation of other minds should not only be penetrated by religious principle, but also stand connected with a religious society, and hold an active relation thereto.

A purely subjective religion and a corresponding culture, after the manner of Rousseau's *Emil*, are conceivable; but they will exist in the imagination only, and be without a corresponding object in

but they do not indicate what constitutes the controlling element in this whole. For a contrary view, see Elwert, l. c., p. 46. Deinhardt, l. c., p. 4, defines religion as "the life of God in man, and the life of man in God," and joins us in limiting the term "man" to the inner nature, and in understanding by religion the living presence and efficacy of the Deity in the inner self-conscious man or Ego."

[1] Ullmann, Ueber den Cultus des Genius, p. 52.

the world of realities, besides being deficient in depth. However earnestly we may have sought to locate religion in the feelings, we have not implied that the *subjective feeling* of one person alone is sufficient to meet the requirements of the case, or that any one may construct his religion according to the likes and dislikes of his heart. Religion is certainly subjective and personal in its root, and is a natural principle, as being grounded in the human constitution, instead of being the result of accident; but that which animates a single person is designed to quicken *all.* Religion is a common interest of the entire human race. Subjective feeling must expand into the feeling of brotherhood; it requires prompting; it is rarely powerful enough to be self-stimulating.[1] When it does so manifest itself, its subjects are, humanly speaking, religious geniuses, comparable with the creative minds of art in its religious aspects; men endowed and inspired of God.

Religious feeling common to a community.

Such "elect persons" become founders of religions, about whom gather congregations of believers. An erroneous and misdirected feeling may, no doubt, likewise display such energy (as in the case of false prophets) as to be successful in founding a communion; and for this reason the communion to which one belongs is by no means a matter of indifference. He only can be a genuine and properly qualified founder of a religious system, in whom the religious feeling exists in absolute strength and purity, and in a spiritual harmony with all the faculties of the soul; in whom the God-consciousness and the self-consciousness are so *one* that all friction is removed. That such a Being has actually appeared, and that he has founded a religion which not only deserves a place beside and above all others, but which, accurately considered, is *the only religion;*[2] and that, consequently, the salvation which the individual vainly seeks in himself or others is to be found in him alone, are necessary assumptions, if we would extend our way farther into the field of *Christian* theology, within which a proper place (apologetics) will be found for justifying what we now take for granted.

[1] This should especially be asserted against the mistaken objection that the religion of feeling excludes all objectivity. Against this, see Elwert, l. c., p. 69, *sqq.*, and Schleiermacher, Glaubenslehre, i, p. 188. The feeling of beauty is excited in like manner by the study of real works of art, the sense of justice by the study of positive laws, etc.

[2] All the statements we have made concerning religion as such are actualized in Christianity. God was in Christ, and *his* life was involved in the life of God. This psychological-historical fact is the root of the entire tree. In no other positive religion does religious feeling, as a primary feeling, possess such fervid, energetic power; and no other religion has so clear a consciousness and such free determination of the will.

SECTION XV.

THE CHURCH AND THEOLOGY.

H. Schultz, Die Bewegung innerhalb der evang. Kirche u. d. Aufgabe d. Theologie derselben (Zu den kirchl. Fragen d. Gegenwart). Frankfort, 1869.

The teacher of the *Christian* religion belongs to the *Christian Church*, or to the visible religious communion of believers in Jesus Christ, and must regulate his course as a teacher of religion by that fact. To qualify himself for the duties of his calling, he must, first of all, come to regard Christianity, the kingdom of God in its historical manifestation, as divinely ordained, and a necessary, rather than accidental, fact. He must trace its origin and recognize its bearings in every direction, and appropriate to himself all the knowledge and skill made necessary by the historical progress of the Church and its present state. The scientific treatment of a positive religion as here indicated constitutes the *study of theology* in the narrow sense.

Qualifications of the religious teacher.

Every positive religion which is rooted in the facts of history presumes positive intellectual acquirements. The necessity for such historical mediation should impress the theologian at the very beginning of his studies, that he may avoid the danger, on the one hand, of falling into a false idealism, and, on the other, of pursuing, in a merely mechanical way, studies whose importance to religion he is not able to estimate. Our ideal suggests a man filled with religious fervour entering the theological school, and finding there the critical, historical, and philological apparatus, which must be regarded as the source from which theological wisdom is to be drawn. He may, no doubt, be discouraged by the thought of such a mass of apparently dead and unproductive material. It would certainly seem more attractive and profitable to draw simply from the depths of the soul, and with strong draughts to drink what nature, art, and, perhaps, history (chiefly regarded, however, in the large perspective outlines of its development), may have to offer, than to toil laboriously with grammar, and devote the greater part of student-life to the interpretation of single letters, which frequently have but a very distant relation to the word of God.[1] We cannot do otherwise than rejoice in the question, Cui bono? the very question to which encyclopædia is to furnish the answer. There is a certain kind of self-denial which does not pause to inquire about the utility of prescribed studies, but rather enters on them in the conviction that the future will throw light on this point. Such modesty is rare, however, and differs greatly from the indifference and the listlessness which lead so

The true spirit of the theological student.

[1] Goethe, Faust, i.

many to be directed by, instead of directing, their studies. They hear lectures on exegesis, Church history, dogmatics, etc., simply because these belong to the course ; they would, in the same way, pursue any other study—heraldry, for instance—if an examination at the end of the term should be required. The object of Encyclopædia is to deliver from the dullness that asks no questions.

SECTION XVI.

The theology developed by a positive religion will assume a scientific character in proportion as its body of doctrine is intelligent and complete. In this regard the highest place is held by the theology of Protestant Christianity.[1]

Conditions of a fully developed theology.

So long as a religion contents itself with the transmission of myths and legends, and with the observance of symbolical usages, it confines the wisdom of its priests within narrow limits. A higher scientific character belongs to a theology which stands related to existent *sacred writings*, whether they be found in a sacred language and accessible to the priests alone, or whether they be the common possession of the people, and consequently require interpretation. But wherever the letter of the writing is not animated by the spirit which pervades the community, and wherever the religious idea laid down in such writings is permitted to remain undeveloped, the theology will speedily become a lifeless letter. That religion only which adds to its sacred writings a *living history*, to its standard and unchangeable elements others capable of being modified, can produce a sound theology. This character belongs to Christianity. It has sacred writings in languages which, though ancient, are accessible to all. The writings are not the exclusive property of a priestly order, but belong to the people as a whole; on this account they require a thorough exposition, based on the original meaning. It has also a historical development in a higher degree than any other religion.

These conditions fulfilled by Christianity.

More than any other, historical Christianity has become the religion of the world, seizing upon every language and popular custom, and entering so thoroughly into the culture of modern times as to seem, during an extended period, its sole support. These remarks are preëminently true of Protestantism. The Roman Catholic Church, which has an authorized version of the sacred writings, but reserves their interpretation to itself, cannot demand of its servants that each individual shall so carefully go back to the first meaning of the original; and, in view of the limited use of the Bible by the people, it does not place an

[1] Comp. Schleiermacher, § 2 and 4.

equal value on the practical exposition of the Scriptures. The principle of historical development is more apparently present in Roman Catholicism (tradition) than in Protestantism. As, however, development in Roman Catholicism is restrained by outward authority, and stability is exalted into a ruling principle instead, it results that even *history* has a higher importance in Protestantism. This does not imply that, on the one hand, many individuals will not pass beyond, or, on the other, that many will not fall behind, the requirements of their Church in scientific matters. The scientific character of Roman Catholic theologians is, accordingly, a very praiseworthy opus supererogativum, while a similar character is, with Protestants, a conditio sine qua non.[1]

SECTION XVII.

THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL AND THE CLERGY.

K. Ullmann, Theologie, Theologen u. Geistliche zu dieser Zeit; preface to Studd. u. Kritt. for 1849; K. Lechler, D. neutest. Lehre vom heil. Amte, Stuttg., 1857; W. Preger, d. Gesch. vom geistl. Amte, Nördlingen, 1857; Nesselmann, Ueber Priester-u. Prophetenthum in ihrer Bedeutung f. d. Christl. Kirche, Elbing, 1860; G. F. Magoun, Theological Education in England, Bib. Sacra., xxiv, p. 531; E. A. Park, Bib. Sacra., xxviii, pp. 60–97.

Theologians and practical Church teachers—how distinguished.

In proportion as theological science widens, and its treatment becomes more profound, will a division of the work be found necessary. To some persons will be presented the duty of cultivating the science for its own sake, while to others it becomes simply a means for the practical ends of the teaching office in the Church. The former constitute the theological school, and are termed theologians, in the strict sense; the latter form the teachers of the Church (clerus), and are variously designated in accordance with local or denominational usage, or as their stations in the Church and their leading duties may suggest; *e. g.*, priests, clergymen, ministers of God's word, rectors, preachers, pastors, curés, and confessors.

Scientific theologians and pastors co-related.

It should be remembered that the Church is more ancient than the school. The latter sprang from the former. Pastors of the congregation existed before doctors of theology. The distinction between them, which has now become necessary, is not designed to result in their alienation from each other; for the life of the Christian community depends for its soundness largely upon the effects produced by the school and Church upon each other. The scientific theologian can only form a correct estimate of his science when he views it as having living

[1] The future must decide the extent to which the "Old Catholic" party, which denies the infallibility of the Pope, but nevertheless, in its own fashion, acknowledges the authority of the Church, shall secure an independent organization as a Church, and develop a theology corresponding to its character.

relations to the Church and its specific needs; while the practical clergyman can successfully measure up to the duties of his calling only when he holds friendly relations to theological science and its cultivators.[1] The pretended gentility of scholars, which, instead of seeking to train faithful servants for the Church, rather aims to deprive her of their aid whenever possible (on the ground that good heads are too valuable for such business, is quite as perverse as the boorishness of unscientific empirics, which looks with suspicion upon the advantages of learning, and seeks, to the extent of its ability, to repress all inquiry. It is, therefore, important to the preservation of the union between the school and the Church that men should be found in whom the scientific and the clerical characters combine, so as to fit them for successful labours in either field (as was the case with most of the reformers, and in a qualified sense with some in recent times; *e. g.*, Tzschirner, Schleiermacher, Sack, Nitzsch, Tholuck, J. Müller, Al. Schweizer, Rothe, Schenkel, Barrow, Wesley, Chalmers, Jonathan Edwards, Hopkins, Moses Stuart, etc.). The same rule, however, does not apply to all. All that can be required is that men should be open to influences from the one department, even while exclusively employed in the other. The Church must not be excluded from the school, nor the school bolted out of the Church.

Terms by which pastors are known.

A few words on the appellations above cited. We do not take the title *doctor of theology* in the empirical sense, which implies that the holder of it has received a diploma, but in its more pregnant meaning as involving scientific acquirements. It applies not only to academical teachers, but to all who are called to give material aid in the further development of theological science as such, and also to theological writers.[2]

All Christians are priests (1 Pet. ii, 5), for the spiritual priesthood, to which all are called, must for that very reason lead to the universal priesthood. But, inasmuch as the priestly character is to be especially exemplified in those who are called to minister in holy things in the name and in behalf of the congregation, it is not improper that the Protestant clergyman should bear the title, although not in the exclusive sense of the Roman Catholic Church. Viewed in its etymological bearings, it is very simple; for if the word priest be derived from πρεσβύτης, πρεσβύτερος, a *presbyter*, it follows that every pastor is a priest, or even a *bishop*, since ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος denoted the same officer, in the apostolic Church. But it is

[1] Comp. Schleiermacher, § 12.

[2] Comp. De Wette, Opusc. theol., p. 169 *sq.*, who compares doctors of theology to the prophets of the Old Testament.

evident that we think rather of the *Sacerdotium* (ἱεράτευμα[1]) than of the *Presbyterium*, when we use the word, and in that sense the Protestant clergyman cannot properly appropriate the title exclusively to himself.[2] This consideration, however, has not prevented defenders of the priestly character (as the possession of a privileged class) from arising even in Protestantisn. When Spalding expressed a purely economic view of the utility of the clerical office, (Nutzbarkeit d. Predigtamtes, 1772), Herder replied in the Provinzialblätter for 1774, defending its priestly character, but guarding against erroneous conclusions.[3] Marheineke[4] and Harms[5] likewise came to its support, the latter remarking that the priest need not necessarily be conceived as armed with the sacrificial knife, while the former held that the sacrifice and the priest are most intimately connected, because "every one who sacrifices is a priest, and, on the other hand, the priest exists only for the sake of sacrifice."—Lect. ii, p. 14.

Various designations of the clergy.

In the Reformed Churches the clergy are usually designated as *the spiritual order* (geistlicher stand, geistlichkeit), and the expression is employed in the confessions. Many have protested against the phrase, among them Harms (l. c.), who insists that the spiritual class should include all Christians (Gal. vi, 1, πνευματικοί). The language, however, is not intended to oppose the πνευματικός to the ψυχικός, or the σαρκικός, but has reference to the distinction between κληρικός and λαϊκός. The organized body of teachers in the Church (ordo) is now known as the

[1] Some derive the word *priest* from the Persian Perestar, *one who prays*, equivalent to the ἀρητήρ of Homer. Comp. Unger, Reden an künftige Geistliche. Leipsic, 1834.

[2] Comp. Conf. Helv., ii, c. 16: Diversissima inter se sunt sacerdotium et ministerium. Illud enim commune est Christianis omnibus, hoc non item. Luther is particularly emphatic: "In the New Testament we find no external, visible priests, except those raised up and established by the devil through the lies of men. By the testimony of the Scriptures the external priesthood is hurled to the earth in the New Testament, for it makes prayer, access to God, and teaching the privilege of all."—Werke, Walch's ed., vol. xix, p. 1311. Similarly Spener.

[3] "We are not set apart to sacrifice for the people, to be intermediate between God and man, half divine and half human, theurgists and theanthropists, in short, exorcists of the devil—nor do I know what rabble could suppose this. Not the bearer of an offering *for* the people, but bearer of God's gift *to* the people, teacher of his revelation, scatterer of the truest means of culture, and to that extent really a separated, chosen, mediating person, a messenger and an instrument of God! Not an anointed administrator of sacred usages, especially as based on human arbitrariness, but something nobler: an anointed, *i. e.*, chosen administrator of sacred functions, of the holiest duty on earth, the cultivation of the soul through the influence of religion." See Werke zur Religion u. Theologie, vol. x, p. 342, *sq.*

[4] Grundlegung der Homiletik in einigen Vorlesungen üb. d. wahren Charakter der Prot. Geistlichkeit. Hamb., 1811.

[5] Pastoral theologie, ii, 1st and 2d discourses.

clergy, and the above designations are simply familiar versions of this term. The clergy are not termed "spiritual" in the subjective sense, as being more spiritual than other persons, but in the objective sense of having in their official character to perform certain functions. This of course does not forbid that the laity also may and should be a spiritual order; and, in any case, the designation may serve to continually remind him who bears it by reason of his office, that he should be spiritually-minded beyond all others.[1]

Minister of God's word (verbi divini minister) is an expression that prevails especially in the Reformed Church. It forms the direct contrast to the term *priest*, but by that very fact becomes one-sided, since it limits the service to the Word, and disregards the liturgical element. The proper term to apply to the body of servants of the Word would, accordingly, be the *ministry* (ministerium, not clerus or clergy).

The term rector properly denotes the person who has a parish, as distinguished from the unappointed candidate, the mere administrator (vicar), or the assistant (diaconus). In this sense some derive its German equivalent, Pfarrer, from *πάροικος*, *παροικία*, comp. *διοίκησις*. If it be derived from *πάροχος*, (*παρέχω*,) it is equivalent to *dispensator*, administrator, and then every person who administers the Word and Sacraments might assume the title.[2]

[1] The German language makes a keen distinction between the outwardly spiritual and the inwardly spiritual. The outwardly spiritual should always be spiritual in its inward essence, but the latter does not always fall into the category of the former. Differently expressed, not every thing that is spiritual is the object of spiritual functions. It has been said (Wechsler, Charakter u. Zukunft d. Protestantismus, Königsb., 1844, p. 6, sq.) that "the great mission of Protestantism consists in promoting the subjectively spiritual (das Geistige), rather than the spiritual in its outward bearings, as relating to order, functions, etc. (das Geistliche). The latter merely indicates likeness to the spiritual, and is related to it about as reddishness is to red." This is an entire perversion. The subjectively spiritual is the demonstration of the spirit in the most general way, including its worldly (cosmical) relations, while the objectively spiritual expresses the relation of the finite spirit to the infinite spirit, and thus becomes a powerful exponent of the religious idea.

[2] Another etymology that is urged with much confidence—from pfaren (faren), the same as to *beget* (Vorfahren, *ancestors*, those who have previously begotten), or even from Farr, a bullock (Parr, the *herd*), is adduced simply as a curiosity. See Clamor, Die Zustände d. Christl. Kirche in d. ersten 6 Jahrhunderten, Halberst., 1856, p. 46, note. The word *Pfaffe* (out of *πάππας*), which had a good meaning in the Middle Ages, now denotes the caricature of the priestly character. The danger of becoming a *Pfaffe* threatens every clergyman more nearly than may be supposed; for, while the teaching order is a necessity for the Church, the merely professional administration of religious duties is always an unhappy indication. Only a high and enthusiastic devotion can secure against falling into the depths of vulgar frivolity or of hypocrisy. See Zollikofer's Predigten üb. d. Würde des Menschen, ii, p. 474.

Preacher (predicant) is a name derived from the leading function of the Protestant clergyman, to which those of the pastor and overseer of souls are added in a complementary way; but as the liturgical element is not included, the term is insufficient and one-sided.[1] Pastor (ποιμήν, רֹעֶה) is taken from John x, 11, *sqq.;* xxi, 15, *sqq.;* Eph. iv, 11; Heb. xiii, 20; 1 Pet. ii, 25. Comp. the *Pastor* of Hermas, and the *Shepherd* (*Hirte*) of Zwingle. Every person who, in the love of a disciple, feeds the sheep and lambs in healthful pastures, is accordingly entitled to this name. As an official title it corresponds to rector (Pfarrer). Curate (Seelsorger) in the Reformed Church, and Confessor (Beichtvater) in the Lutheran, have reference more particularly to the relation sustained by the clergyman toward the individual members of his charge.[2] In the Church of England, the word curate denotes a rector's assistant or substitute.

Supplement 1.—No reference has been made to *the missionaries*, who constitute a distinct class in the theological order. The increasingly scientific method with which missionary affairs are administered in recent times, renders it more and more imperative that Theological Encyclopædia should make room for the science of missions in its organism.

Missions in Theological Encyclopædia.

2. The officers of the apostolic age (apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, Eph. iv, 11; comp. 1 Cor. xii, 28) have in recent times been regarded by members of the Catholic Apostolic Church, better known as Irvingites, as obligatory for the future also, but without sufficient exegetical or historical authority. The fact that the lists of officers in the two passages do not correspond, is of itself sufficient to suggest a more independent view. Neither passage, moreover, refers to the office of *angels*, which is taken from the Apocalypse, nor to that of *deacons*, which occurs in Acts vi.

SECTION XVIII.

RELATION OF THE THEOLOGIAN TO SCHOOL AND CHURCH.

The Protestant student belongs to the theological school during the period of his academical studies, and derives his culture from

[1] The reason for this is found in the history of Protestantism. The *teaching* and *pastoral* office, which certainly demands the most various gifts, was exalted, in opposition to the mechanical duties of the "mass-priest." The *true* liturgist, however, deserves to be termed a *priest* (with Harms), in so far as he represents the priestly character of the entire congregation in the liturgical act—but *in this case* only, and in *this* point of view.

[2] Other, provincial, designations (*e. g.*, domine among the Dutch), or such as relate to the government of the Church, or to special official stations (bishop, abbot, superintendent, antistes, provost, dean, archdeacon, deacon, etc.), do not come under review in this place.

that source, rather than immediately from the Church. The latter is entitled, however, to demand from persons who seek a place among its teachers such evidence of theological acquirements and Christian disposition as may be necessary.

Sketch of the history of ministerial training.

The Church itself prepared its servants in the earliest period. The apostles trained their assistants, and the latter transmitted to others, in a purely practical way, what they had received. Science was as yet in the possession of the ancient (heathen) world, and Christians were in the habit of attending the schools of heathen philosophers and rhetoricians, and of appropriating to their own uses whatever of good they could thus obtain.[1] Specifically Christian training-schools were soon introduced, however, as that for catechumens at Alexandria (in the third century), and the schools at Antioch, Cæsarea, Edessa, Nisibis, etc. The monasteries, also, afforded training-schools, and during the Middle Ages the episcopal and convent schools, founded by Charlemagne and his successors, in which the *trivium* and *quadrivium*—grammar, logic, rhetoric, and arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, the seven liberal sciences — were taught, were especially valuable for the purposes of ecclesiastical education.

The rise of universities.

The rise of universities (studia generalia) in the twelfth century introduces a new era in the history of the sciences. At the first, certain universities were managed more particularly in the interests of a single faculty, the schools at Paris, Oxford, Cologne, and Louvain, being especially prominent for theology. In these scholasticism set up its throne. New universities, whose beginnings were due, to some extent, to the conflicts of the hour, were founded in or about the time of the Reformation, and generally became the exponents of some theological tendency (Wittenberg, Jena, Halle, Helmstedt). This exclusive character was gradually laid aside, and in more recent times the superiority of a university training over that received in institutions devoted to a specialty came to be properly recognized,[2] more particularly as manifested by the wide culture, the mutual exchange and free intercourse of different forms of thought, and the unrestrained liberty of teaching and study, which it involves. Against this, however, it has been remarked that a wise limitation with regard to the matter of instruction, and a more definite ideal governing the methods of instruction, would in no wise impair the object for which universities exist.

[1] Comp. Augustine, De doctr. Chr., ii, 40.

[2] See Schleiermacher, Ueber Universitäten, p. 52.

SECTION XIX.

THE UNIVERSITY.

*Schleiermacher, Ueber Universitäten in deutschen Sinne, Berlin, 1808; H. Steffens, Idee der Universitäten, Berlin, 1809; Id. Ueber Deutschlands prot. Universitäten, Berlin, 1820; F. C. v. Savigny, Wesen u. Werth d. deutschen Universitäten, in Ranke's Histor.-polit. Zeitschrift, Hamburg, 1832; L. F. Froriep, Ueber das Eigenthümliche der deutschen Universitäten, Weimar, 1834; G. O. Marbach, Universitäten u. Hochschulen in dem auf Intelligenz sich gründenden Staate, Leipsic, 1834; (Fr. Theremin, Ueber d. deutschen Universitäten, Berlin, 1836; A. Diesterweg, Beitr. zur Lösung d. Lebensfrage der Civilisation, Essen, 1836, 1838); Fr. Thiersch, Ueber d. neuesten Angriffe auf d. deutsch. Universitäten, Stuttgart, 1837; J. E. Erdmann, D. Universität u. ihre Stellung zur Kirche, in his Vermischte Aufsätze, I. Leipsic, 1846; V. A. Huber, Ueber akad. Convicte, zur innern Mission auf d. Universitäten, Berlin, 1852; Henry P. Tappan, University Education, New York, originally an article in the Bib. Repository for July, 1850; Noah Porter, American Colleges and the American Public, New Haven, 1870, from the New Englander for 1869: also Index to Bib. Sacra., pp. 242-244, title Universities.

The period of academical study is the time spent in the college or university. Usage has limited it to a brief term of years, which would seem to be scarcely sufficient, in view of the present state of science. Much has been said for or against the exclusive adoption of the lecture system in university training.[1] Scientific instruction can evidently be conveyed only in connected, uninterrupted discourse, and the mind of the hearer is stimulated to higher energy by quietly receiving and inwardly digesting what it hears, than by hastily interrupting and throwing in replies. It is by this very feature that the academical lecture is to be distinguished from that employed in the seminaries (gymnasia) and grammar-schools. A lecture of this kind[2] should of course be extempore and fresh, carrying the hearers along with the current of thought; not declamatory or pathetic, but strictly methodical, dignified, and earnest, and accomplishing its purpose by clearness and depth of thought instead of foreign ornamentation. It should even be edifying, not, however, in the manner of a moving pulpit discourse, but through the silent power of the truth. As it is not

The university lecture system.

[1] Theremin demands a more conversational method of instruction. Diesterweg goes still further, and traces much of the existing corruption to the present character of the universities. Comp. also C. F. Fritzsche, De ratione docendi Socratica in institutione academica, in the Opusc. academ. (Tur., 1846), p. 361, *sqq.*, and more recent treatises on the same subject.

[2] Comp. especially Schleiermacher, p. 62, *sqq.*; L. Thilo, Grundsätze des akad. Vortrags, 1809; Scheidler, p. 103, *sqq.* "What Pyrrhus says to his Epirots, 'Ye are my pinions!' is felt by the zealous teacher toward his hearers, whom he loves, and whose entire soul is interested in his discourse. His investigations are not facilitated merely by the desire to be clear, and not to present any thing as the truth that could be at all doubtful; but much more by the view of his audience, to whom he sustains personal relations that awaken a thousand thoughts even as he speaks." (Niebuhr, in Preface to the second edition of his Roman history. Eng. edition (Hare & Thirlwall's), pp. xi, xii. Compare also his letter to a young philologist, published by K. G. Jacob. Leipsic, 1839, p. 38.

designed for immediate effect, but to excite thought and mental activity on the part of hearers who think and act for themselves, it is desirable that these latter should seek to retain the mental image brought before them in the lecture by sketching it on paper, or reproducing it in its main outlines. College sketches of this kind, the work of the student's personal power of independent mental reproduction, and accompanied with marginal notes of inquiry, doubt, etc., form the most valuable journal of the years of academical preparation, whose direct relation to the writer forbids that any printed book should ever take its place. The mere attendance on lectures and listening to them, without subsequent writing, is often simply intellectual sloth, or, at best, awkwardness, which, however, not unfrequently conceals itself behind a screen of easy indifference. The sort of copying to be commended, by which we mean the independent recording of thought from the mind of another person, is, of course, very different from a thoughtless writing of dictated matter. Formal dictation can only become necessary through the force of circumstances, and with regard to a few leading postulates (for want of a printed guide). In other respects the teacher is no more to be degraded into an instrument of dictation than the student is to become a copying-machine.[1] While, however, the lecture should not be displaced by any other method of instruction, it is certainly beneficial to combine with it other methods. Teaching by question and answer seems adapted to primary scholars, and involves a painful element; but semi-annual examinations, following a completed course, have their beneficial side. Especially stimulating, however, are *disputations* under the guidance of the teacher; and independent societies for practice among the students, or presided over by a teacher, are likewise of value (comp. § 20).

The true method of profiting by lectures.

SECTION XX.

Public instruction should be supplemented by private industry, whose efforts are not to be limited to careful preparation for the expected lecture, and to a subsequent exact recapitulation of its matter; it must also approve itself by independent inquiry and exercises.

Private industry the supplement of public instruction.

[1] It should never be forgotten that some things can be better conveyed through the eye, and others through the ear. Names, figures, the titles of books, etc., should be before the hearer in printed form, as also the necessary documents. Against dictation, see Schleiermacher ut supra, p. 65. It is remarkable that the Jesuits in the sixteenth century were the chief originators and promoters of dictation, although the Jesuit Possevin clearly points out its disadvantages. See his Bibl. selecta, i, 26. The Pietistic school (Lange) of Halle likewise opposed the practice, while the Wolfians favoured it greatly.

Attendance on too many lectures at once works injury and confusion. In this regard the study of encyclopædia and methodology helps to produce system and rule. But private industry is not to prevail at the expense of public instruction, else the sojourn at the university will be without an object. Preparation and repetition (repetitio mater studiorum) constitute the bonds of union between private industry and the objects sought in the hearing of the lecture. The one, preparation, sharpens the vision to perceive the objects that may be presented; the other, repetition, impresses them more deeply on the mind. In one department of study, however, more of preparation will be needed, in another more of recapitulation. The former is especially necessary with studies that present philological and other difficulties which must be overcome at the outset; the latter applies here also, and likewise in the historical and systematic departments. But inasmuch as the mere appropriation of knowledge is of less importance than its digestion, the recapitulation will increasingly expand into a "volvere et revolvere in animo," while discussion with fellow-students will provide the intellectual gymnastics by which the faculties are strengthened and made trustworthy. Care must be taken, however, to prevent the spirit of disputation in religious matters from degenerating into a petulance which eats out the heart, and attacks the root of the deeper life.

Preparation and repetition to be added to the lecture.

Utility of oral discussion.

The most approved antidote against disorderly disputes and a sceptical temper is found in severe mental labour; and to this every student should subject himself during one or more periods of his course, by engaging in the *thorough investigation of some specialty;* this, too, if his aim is to prepare for the simplest duties in the Church, rather than for the work of theological scholarship. They who have themselves untied knots are alone capable of appreciating the labours of others, and they only who possess the patience and the courage to go to the bottom of what is individual and special can attain the power to comprehend the universal. It may be added that only such persons can possess the ability to derive profit from intercourse with scientific men, or deserve their notice. The chatterer will be avoided. Much, and especially discursive, reading is to be avoided; let "non multa, sed multum" be the rule in this regard.[1]

[1] Plin., Epp., vii, 9; Quinct., Inst. orat., x, 1, 59; Senec. Ep., 45; Non refert, quam multos, sed quam bonos habeas (libros). Lectio certa prodest, varia delectat; Herder's Briefe, No. 49; Niebuhr, Brief an einen jungen Philologen, p. 145: "Give up the miscellaneous reading, even of ancient authors; there are very many worthless ones even here. Eolus allowed only the single wind to blow that should bring Ulysses to his goal, and bound the others; when loosened and sweeping through each other, they prepared him endless wanderings."

Writing, whether of compilations[1] or original articles,[2] is far more profitable and improving.

SECTION XXI.

THE FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

While attaching all importance to thorough scientific culture, it should be a principle never lost sight of, that the character of a religious teacher is not only determined by the measure of his knowledge, but also by the measure of his religious and moral convictions, and the thoroughness of his spiritual culture, and, consequently, that the formation of a *theological character* upon the basis of previous Christian training is as important an object as the acquiring of knowledge and the development of skill.

Importance of character in the theologian.

No theological teacher who has comprehended his duty should avoid entering into intimate relations with earnest students. We must certainly require that he shall personally illustrate a theological character that, with all its deficiencies, shall yet possess certain features which are the involuntary expression of spiritual achievements. The whole may be

Relations of the teacher to the student.

[1] The younger Pliny boasts (Epp., iii, 5) of his uncle: Nihil legit, quod non excerperet; dicere enim solebat, nullum esse librum tam malum, ut non aliqua parte prodesset. Comp. C. Meiners, Anweisung für Jünglinge zum Lesen, Excerpiren, und Schreiben. Hanover, 1791; Scheidler, Hodegetik. Herder (Sophron., p. 153) calls excerpts the cells which bee-like industry constructs, the hives in which it prepares its honey.

[2] Herder, l. c.: "Nulla dies sine linea, not a day should pass in which a young person does not *write* something for himself, whether he record what might otherwise be forgotten, or notes and answers his doubts. The pencil, which for us means the pen, sharpens the judgment, corrects the language, develops ideas, and excites the soul to activity in a wonderfully pleasant manner. Nulla dies sine linea." Much writing with the object of teaching before having learned, or a conceit of authorship, may, however, involve its own dangers. Niebuhr—rather strong and almost extreme—expresses a contrary opinion (Brief, etc., p. 134 *sq.*): "To learn, my friend, to learn conscientiously, and always to test and increase our knowledge, this is our theoretical life-calling, and it is especially so for youth, which has the good fortune to be able to expose itself without restraint to the charm of the new intellectual world revealed in books. The writer of a treatise assumes to teach whatever he may say; and teaching is impossible without some degree of wisdom, which, if pursued, is given by God to replace the evanescent bliss of youth. A wise youth is a monster." (Accordingly, Niebuhr counsels only fragmentary writing, without any attempt at completeness and finish [?]). He continues: "Well is it with the young tree that has been planted in a good soil and is surrounded by favourable conditions, whose erect growth is preserved by careful hands, and that forms a solid heart! Should excessive moisture accelerate its growth, should it be soft and weak, exposed to the storm-wind's blast without protection and support, the result will be that its wood is spongy, and its growth deformed throughout the entire period of its life."

comprehended in the language of one of the most esteemed theologians:[1] "Decision without exclusiveness and repulsive boldness, independence freed from all vain self-sufficiency, dignity without unkindness, firmness without harshness and passion, and all these resting on the basis of a Christian spirit, together with wealth of intellect and of knowledge—these are the elements that constitute the theological character."

The student of theology who is in earnest will speedily discover that this ideal cannot be realized by the way of study alone, however indispensable this may be; the causes that so often dampen the courage and intensify the struggle are more deeply rooted in the moral nature. If newly-gained conceptions excite alarm and fears arise that faith may become unsettled, while the desire to avoid the conflict suggests that it would be better to leave things as they are, it is wise to inquire whether *indolence* has not begotten the desire, and *cowardice* the unwillingness to sustain the fight. When novelties impress us, and we feel ourselves driven into opposition against the existing order, we may ask what share in our condition is due to *vanity*, *dogmatical* or *quarrelsome dispositions*.[2] In this way the student has opportunity to constantly apply to himself that beneficial discipline of spirit, to which all were obliged to submit who attained to eminence in theological character. In this way, too, the maxim of the ancients, "Oratio, meditatio, tentatio, faciunt theologum," receives its meaning and confirmation. The practice of quiet and frequent self-communion, even though it may oblige him to read some pages less, *meditatio*,[3] the trustful look and elevation of the soul to God, the Living One, in prayer, *oratio*,[4] courage, and endur-

The temper in which doubt should be met.

[1] Ullmann, Theol. Aphorismen, in Studd. u. Kritt., 1844, No. 4, p. 448.

[2] "We can battle for nothing nobler than the truth; and it is worth battling for when the mode of conflict leaves love and liberty unharmed. But to quarrel, hate, and become alienated about opinions or the authority of councils, synods, faculties, journals, or human decisions and forms of doctrine in general, is the most miserable business under the sun for men to follow."—Menken, Leben u. Wirken, ii, p. 108.

[3] It was an early custom at commencements to open a book and *close* it again, in order to suggest reflection upon the instructions now brought to a close. But incessant reading deprives our generation of the opportunity for thinking.

[4] "Dimidium studii, rite precatus habet," said the Fathers, and Herder recommends prayer and reading of the Bible in the morning and the evening as a daily food (l. c., p. 174). In like manner, a Swiss theologian of recent times remarks: "I therefore hold that no person is suited to the sacred office of proclaiming the word, who does not come before God with prayer and pleading and sighs day by day, and who, with every new hour in which he is to learn some lesson, does not beseech the Lord anew in his heart, and so secretly as to escape observation, that he would bless him in that hour, so that he may be able to learn the grace and mercy of God, and the

ance in the conflict against doubt, and against the influences of sloth and pride, hypocrisy and passion, bitterness and discouragement, *tentatio*—these are the methods by which the theologian is developed into a *man of God;* and such he must become if he would be a divine in the favour of God.[1] A theologia irregenitorum is, when carefully examined, a contradictio in adjecto.

true welfare of man, from the study upon which he is now to enter."—Zyro, Die evang. ref. Kirche, p. 12, *sq.*

[1] It is usual to demand physical qualifications, also, of the future servant of the Church, and not without propriety. The Old Testament was prescriptive in this as well as other regards. Lev. xxi, 17, *sqq.* In the Roman Church, too, the authoritative Canon law recognizes the principle, sacerdos ne sit deformis. The greater liberality of Protestantism appears in this respect also, since it prescribes no formal rule. A sound, physical constitution is, however, a fundamental condition of ministerial effectiveness. Good lungs are a manifest necessity for the preacher. Much may be accomplished in this direction by dieting, and imperfections of the vocal organs may be modified by continued exercise of the parts (Demosthenes). *Reading aloud*, and also *singing*, are to be particularly recommended, and no less *outdoor exercise.* Even study may be carried to excess, and a walk in the open air is as important for the mind and feelings, no less than the body, as a few hours spent beside the student's lamp. Lord Bacon read much, but never to weariness and satiety. The beneficial change of a walk, a ride, or a daily game of ball, always succeeded the time devoted to study (see Rawley in Vauzelles, Hist. de Bacon, ii, p. 197). There has been a narrow age which condemned physical exercises like gymnastics, as not suitable for a theologian to practice (through a perversion of 1 Tim. iv, 8). We had supposed that such opinions were no longer held, until an article in Hengstenberg's Kirchenzeitung for 1863 endeavoured to show the incompatibility of gymnastics with a Christian disposition; it, however, received an answer, to which we assent, in the columns of the same journal. On the advantages of gymnastic exercises for students, comp. Scheidler Hodegetik). The great importance of *social intercourse* for the cultivation of manners is admitted, and it is greatly to be desired that students associate together in a cheerful, joyous way; nor should they isolate themselves from other society, lest they fall into unbridled license. Schleiermacher, Ueber Univers. p. 126, *sq.*

PART I

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

ITS RELATIONS TO OTHER SCIENCES, AND ITS AIMS.

SECTION I.

THEOLOGY AS A POSITIVE SCIENCE.

THEOLOGY is a positive or applied science (Schleiermacher, § 1), and its scientific character is consequently not determined by any thing within itself, as is the case with a pure science, but from without by an existent and historically-conditioned fact, namely, the Christian Church and its manifestation in time.

The word *positive* is sometimes employed in a more limited sense, so as to denote, not simply what is conditioned in the circumstances of outward life, but also what is at the same time commanded by outward authority—positive law in distinction from natural. The progress of our discussion will show, when treating of the relation between reason and revelation, that theology is a positive science in this sense also—which is likewise true of jurisprudence, but not of medicine. But the three sciences referred to may be termed "positive" without referring to that question, if the word be interpreted to mean "a combination of scientific elements whose collocation is not required because they form a necessary constituent in the idea of science, but simply because they are needed for the solution of a practical problem" (Schleiermacher).[1] In this view natural philosophy is a *pure* science, in so far as it investigates nature and its phenomena for their own sakes and without reference to the relation of nature to the practical necessities of the human race; while medicine, although based on a knowledge of natural philosophy, is still a positive, or applied, science, because it selects and collocates simply

Sense in which theology is a positive science.

[1] Similarly Pelt: "The whole of theology has reference primarily to an external phenomenon, whence its positive character is derived; for we designate a science as *positive* when it does not originate in a supreme principle developed by free investigation in harmony with its own peculiar laws, but when it relates to an organism having its beginning in time as an object, such as the ethical associations of the State or the Church."—Encykl., p. 15, *sq.* Comp. Harless, Encykl., p. 25.

what concerns the relation of the human organism to the organism of external nature; *i. e.*, the relations of health and disease.[1] If diseases should cease, medical science would come to an end. And similarly, in connexion with theology, Hellenistic Greek and Hebrew have a different significance for the philologist,[2] and Church-history for the historian, than they have for the theologian; and the comprehension, *e. g.*, of exegesis, Church-history, etc., in a single course, can be understood only in view of the common object to which they relate. "These very sciences cease to be theological, and take their places respectively with the particular science to which they belong by reason of their contents, if they have been acquired and are held without reference to the life of the Church and its direction." "The great varieties of scientific knowledge stand related to the purpose of participating in the guidance of the Church, as does the body to the soul; and without such purpose the unity of theology disappears, and its constituents fall into distinct elements." (Schleiermacher, § 6, 7). This, however, is not universally admitted.[3]

The guidance of the Church the object of theology and its kindred sciences.

While in former times empiricism prevailed, and the mere thought of future practice frequently served to prevent thoroughness in study, we now find dominant a scientific spirit that mocks at life, and, with cruel harshness, drives from its presence the most crying demands of actual conditions. The example of Dr. Griffin (in the Mémoires de Paris) affords a melancholy illustration of the manner in which the very hospitals are made to afford opportunities for scientific observations on the part of medical men. In like manner, a certain theology claims the right to undertake its merciless vivisections on

Dangers of the excess of the scientific spirit.

[1] The anatomy of man, for instance, is simply a contribution to comparative anatomy with the natural philosopher, while with the medical man it forms the soil upon which his practical activity is based. To the botanist each plant is of equal value with any other; while the physician has a distinct science of therapeutics (materia medica), etc.

[2] A genius for language is generally regarded as at the same time a theological genius, and a certificate of philological talent passes for the best assurance of theological fitness; but real philologists (by profession) have themselves comprehended that the one does not necessarily involve the other. "The connexion of theology with philology is more properly an accidental one, arising from the fact that the principal documents of the former are written precisely in that language to which the latter ascribes the highest classical character."—Passow's Leben u. Briefe, pp. 38, 12.

[3] Sartorius, Die Lehre von der heil. Liebe, Part I, 3d ed., Stuttgart, 1851 (new 1 vol., ed. 1861)—in harmony with the Victorines and Middle Age mystics generally—makes the sound observation: "Theology is a practical science, a knowledge that pervades the affections, and stands connected with the disposition." (The term "pectoral theology" has been invented for purposes of ridicule; but the adage, "Pectus est, quod disertum facit," cannot be limited, in its application, to the orator alone.)

the body of the Church, in order to observe the palpitating spasms of the heart which the anatomical knife has laid bare to the view. The recent times furnish terrible illustrations of this spirit. Are men determined not to comprehend that such inconsiderate assertion of the claims of science forces science itself to become unnatural, and that, whatever may be thought about the height to which such methods may seem to force it, they yet sever the root upon which the life of science depends, and thus ensure its death?[1] Let it be observed, however, that the very organization of universities in *faculties*, which has hitherto prevailed, is based on the distinction between the pure and the positive or applied sciences, which we have indicated.[2] Philosophy, as a distinct university science, has to do with pure knowledge, and therefore deserves, not the last, but the first, place.[3] Medicine, jurisprudence, and theology are *internally* allied with it, though in their *external* bearing they face toward actual life, and derive from life their peculiar character as determined by its conditions.

Relations of theology with law and medicine.

When compared with law and medicine, the remaining positive sciences, theology is found to present numerous points of contact with both, and even to manifest a closer relationship with either than they bear to each other. It rests upon the foundation of historic fact, like jurisprudence, and presupposes the Church, as jurisprudence does the State. The courses and apparatus of study in law and theology present a similar appearance (exegesis, history, dogmatics, Bible, and Corpus Juris), and in their practical application each involves public discourse and the functions of direction and administration. The two meet and interpenetrate each other in the department of ecclesiastical law. But the regulative principle of theology is, nevertheless, wholly unlike that of law; the latter has to do with firm and legally-determined forms, the former with a free development of life. A judicial theology is not what we could wish, for it would appear as a false positivism. (See the remarks on Law and Doctrine, § 7). Theology does not deal with an element of human life, such as the principle of right, in the abstract, but with the living

[1] There is a papacy and hierarchy of learning and science, a fanatical tyranny exercised by the learned classes. Their motto is, "Fiat scientia et pereat mundus."—Lücke, p. 10.

[2] Schleiermacher, Ueber Universit., p. 73 *sqq.*, p. 75: "The three faculties (excluding philosophy) do not derive their unity immediately from learning, but from an external employment, and they combine from different studies whatever is needed for that work." Comp. Herbart, Phil. Encykl., chap. 2. (On man in his relations to nature, the State and the Church, whence the author deduces the three faculties).

[3] Schleiermacher, l. c., p. 78; Kant, Ueber den Streit der Facultäten.

man in all his relations. Its work is not mandatory, but curative; and this connects the theologian with the physician, particularly in the field of pastoral theology.

The care of souls reaches over into the physical realm, in view of the intimate connexion between soul and body. The physician and the clergyman meet beside the sick bed, not only in outward form, but also in the profoundest depths of man's need of healing (medicina clerica). The moral and intellectual qualities required in the physician are also to be in many respects demanded of the clergyman, and vice versa. Humanity, apart from what is specifically Christian, forms here the connecting link. An individualizing method of treatment is even more apparent in the work of physicians and clergymen than in that of jurists; their personal contact with the subjects of their labours is more frequent, difficult to determine, and constant. The theologian is accordingly required to unite in himself qualities which are usually presumed in both the jurist and the medical practitioner. He must possess the historic sense, the disposition to labour in a legitimate way in behalf of a historically-developed society, and the gift of oratory, in common with the lawyer; and with the physician he must possess the talent for giving direction to the life of *individuals*, and for noting the mysteries of the psychical life, an observing eye, keen discrimination in the treatment of different persons, and, finally, the desire to heal and to change diseased conditions into states of health. In former times theology embraced both the other sciences, and nourished them in its maternal womb; and their subsequent separation, though resulting in advantage to them all, does not warrant a disregard of their continued relations to each other. It forms one of the advantages of a university course (in contrast with the opportunities afforded by schools devoted to a specialty), that such relations become apparent and are partially actualized before its studies are completed. The theologian may gather information from the jurist and the physician, and each is able to aid the others in behalf of science and future usefulness from his own possessions.

The qualities which should be united in the theologian.

SECTION II.

THEOLOGY AS A PRACTICAL ART.

The relations arising from a positively determined field of activity not only demand a certain measure of intellectual acquisitions, but likewise a high degree of practical ability; hence, theology is not to be onesidedly regarded as a speculative or historical science, but also as a practical art or art-theory.

Practical life the object of theology.

Pelt (Encykl., § 3) has properly called attention to this fact; for "the general interest of the thought does not predominate in theology as in philosophy; the object is not to gain a consciousness of the truth, without reference to its application;[1] the leading idea is, rather, that by means of such consciousness the Church should be brought nearer to its consummation" (ibid. p. 34). The word art (τέχνη) is here taken in its most general meaning, as denoting free action in conformity to recognized principles.

SECTION III.

THEOLOGY IN ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

Zezschwitz, G., Der Entwicklungsgang der Theologie als Wissenschaft (particularly its practical development). Leips., 1867.

Christian theology, regarded as the aggregate of the various methods and forms of positive knowledge which have reference to the Christian religion and Church, is wholly conditioned by the existence of that religion and Church; and its scientific character can accordingly be understood only in connexion with the actual state of Christianity in the corresponding period.

Christian theology conditioned by the history of Christianity.

Comp. Schleiermacher, § 4. The attempt to explain theology from the etymology of the word will surely lead to error. In its highest character it is unquestionably *divinity*, the doctrine of God and divine things; and apart from this idea it becomes a dead aggregate of the most various learning. This learning, however, enters into the body of theology, however variously modified the latter may be by the conditions of each successive period. The man who should attempt to become a "theologian" in the way of simply speculating about God, would speedily find his expectations crumbling into ruin. The theologian is obliged, rather, to give attention to very human matters, as grammar, history, etc., the knowledge of which has become necessary through the progress of historical development. The incipient theologian, placed at the very center of the present, will be unable to appreciate the complexity of his science unless he has a preliminary knowledge of its history.

The word theology passed over from heathen into Christian usage. They who, among the ancients, were able to furnish information respecting the nature and history of the gods, were termed theologians; the word was so applied to

Origin of the term theology.

[1] Fichte, however, demanded that the university should not simply transmit knowledge to the students, but that it should become a school for teaching the *art* of scientifically employing the understanding. Comp. his life, by J. H. Fichte, Part i, p. 522.

Pherecydes of Syros (Olymp. 45–49; B. C. 600) and Epimenides of Crete (Olymp. 64–68), a contemporary of Pythagoras.[1] In the earliest Christian age the word theology was understood to signify the doctrines of the divinity of the Logos, and of the Trinity; and, in accordance with this view, John the Apostle and Gregory Nazianzen were called theologians. The Middle Ages were the first to include in Christian Theology the whole body of Christian doctrine; and some (*e. g.*, Abelard) continued to employ the word preferably in connection with the doctrine of the Trinity even then. It was the leading characteristic of the scholastic theology that it was chiefly concerned with speculative representations of the Divine nature and its attributes. The mystics, on the other hand, whose modes of speech were adopted by Luther and also by Spener and Francke, understood by theology a courageous entering into the nature of religion itself, or the absorption of the mind in God—hence the title of the book, *Theologia Germanica*, and the maxim, "Oratio, meditatio, tentatio faciunt theologum." The modern interpretation, by which theology denotes the aggregate of the knowledge which bears upon the life of the Church, could only originate after a more definite organization of its several sciences had taken place; but the thing itself was previously known under different designations.

The Middle Age sense of the word theology.

The scientific treatment of religion, or rather of its doctrines, was called *θεολογικὴ πραγματεία*, *σύνταγμα πίστεως*, institutio divina, doctrina Christiana (Augustine), etc.[2] A distinction was made between *πίστις* and *γνῶσις* (*ἐπιστήμη*), the latter denoting the speculative apprehension of the doctrines of religion; and a further distinction existed between the true and the false gnosis.[3] Theological schools were formed, the speculative tendency predominating in that of Alexandria and the grammatical in that of Antioch. Various considerations led to a scientific treatment of theology: 1) the needs of apologetics; it became necessary to resist the attacks of scholars and philosophers with similar weapons (Justin Martyr *et al.*, Clement and Origen, Minucius Felix, Tertullian); 2) the interests of polemics, the various tendencies within the Church having resulted in doctrinal contro-

Theological science in the early Christian Church.

[1] Cicero, De nat. deor, iii, 21; Ernesti, Clavis on that passage; Plutarch, De defectu oraculor., xiv, p. 323, ed. Hutten; Plato, Polit., lib. ii; Arist., Metaph., x, 6; Diodor. Sic., v, 80; Stephani Thesaur. lingua, gr. *s. v.* *θεολόγος*; Pollux, Onomast., i, 19, 20. The priests of the ancients were called *ἱερεῖς*, *νεωκόροι*, *ζάκοροι*, *προφῆται*, *ὑποφῆται*, *θῦται*, *τελεσταί*, *ἱερουργοί*, *καθαρταί*, *μάντεις*, *θεομάντεις*, *χρῆσμῳδοί*, *χρησμολόγοι*, *χρησμοδόται*, *παναγεῖς*, *πυρφόροι*, *ὑπηρέται*, *θεουργοί*, *θυηπόλοι*. Ibid. 14.

[2] Semler, Introd. to Baumgarten's Glaubenslehre, i, p. 110, *sqq.*

[3] See Smith's Hagenbach, Hist. of Doctr., § 25, vol. i.

versies and in the rise of heresies. The councils, beginning with the fourth century, settled the doctrines of the faith, and furnished and prepared the material out of which a later age constructed the edifice of church doctrines (Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen, among Orientals; and Augustine in the West).

Origin of formal Christian theology.

The contents of theology continued to be Christian; but the form of the various doctrines was influenced by the philosophies (Platonism and Aristotelianism) which had from the first been transplanted from heathen into Christian soil. Various intellectual tendencies made themselves felt even within the orthodox catholic Church; one of these attached more importance to what had come down from previous ages, and contented itself with a simple figurative phraseology, while the other combined the whole of the material so transmitted into a body of doctrine, (Isidore of Seville and John of Damascus, in the seventh and eighth centuries), and sought to penetrate it intellectually, by means of a speculative apprehension and dialectic treatment of the several dogmas. The effort to reconcile theology and philosophy, faith and knowledge, the prescribed and the results of personal thought, revelation and reason, was especially apparent in scholasticism in various directions (Scotus Erigena in the ninth century, Abelard and Anselm in the eleventh). Philosophy, however, became more and more dependent on the established teaching of the Church, and filled, while deceiving itself with the appearance of independent action, a servant's place in the house of its mistress. But theology, the mistress, likewise failed to emancipate herself, and continued to bear the fetters of a dialecticism imposed upon it from without. Aristotle ruled the Bible.

Early relations of philosophy and theology.

Exegetical and historical studies, formerly cultivated, were neglected in comparison with systematic inquiries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from Peter Lombard to Thomas Aquinas. Such studies finally degenerated into an intolerable rage for disputation, and dogmatism gave way to scepticism. The mystics, however, especially in the fourteenth century, were inwardly preparing for a regeneration of the Christian life and thought, when, in connexion with the so-called humanism, philology, criticism, and history again became prominent, and exegetical studies, immediately before the Reformation, resumed their flourishing condition. (Laurent. Valla, Reuchlin, and Erasmus.) Theology was obliged to renew its youth under the influence of the Protestantism of the sixteenth century (Luther, Zwingle, Calvin), which postulated the

Middle Ages dogmatic.

Mysticism the preparation for the Reformation.

Scriptures as the only certain rule of faith, and based every thing upon them. The study of the Bible took a freer range and became more independent, and was made the broad substructure of the body of Protestant doctrine. This body of doctrine was developed by the Lutheran and Reformed theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with great thoroughness, but not without retaining something of the scholastic spirit and of polemical bitterness.

Development of doctrine in the Protestant Churches.

The effort was finally made, from the stand-point of science (Calixtus), and especially from that of practical life (Spener and Pietism), to return to the simple faith of the Scriptures, and to direct attention to properly *religious* needs, in contrast with a dead orthodoxy. When Pietism began to lose its savor at the beginning of the eighteenth century, philosophy gave it polemical support. Wolfianism, having been preceded by Descartes and Leibnitz, brought into theology a new (mathematically demonstrative) formalism, and though still wearing an orthodox garb, prepared the way for rationalism, which was still further supported by the critical tendencies of Semler and others in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Influence of the Wolfian philosophy on theology.

"Dogmatics" was confined within increasingly limited bounds and became more and more undecided in its bearing, while exegetical beginning with Ernesti, and historical theology from the time of Mosheim, acquired a more independent position. Extraordinary changes in the other departments of life (*e. g.*, the awakening of German literature in Lessing, modern pedagogics, philanthropism) exercised both an inciting and enlightening, a levelling and a secularizing influence upon the life of the Church. The *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* threatened injury not only to the doctrines of the Church, but also to the historical basis of Christianity. "Apologetics" showed itself embarrassed, and allowed outwork after outwork to be taken. At this juncture *Kant* appeared and marked out the limits of reason, within which a religion that renounced all knowledge of the supersensual and confined itself to the morality of the categorical imperative was obliged, with its practical ideas of God, liberty, and immortality, to content itself for the time. The speculative pressure of German philosophy, in Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, soon again made that its real object, which others, like Jacobi, reserved for a faith based on the feelings. Schleiermacher was as earnestly engaged in the work of separating theology from the philosophy of the schools, as in penetrating all its branches with a philosophic glance and in pointing out the germs of their life. From that time

The Wolfenbüttel assault on historical Christianity.

it has been the task of modern theology, before all else, to comprehend its own nature in the light of history, and to secure a clear idea of its relation to the present age. There is no lack of persons, however, who ignore the whole of the historical development of theology, and believe it necessary to reconstruct every thing anew from the beginning; while others still desire to conjure up the theology of the seventeenth century much rather than that of the sixteenth.[1]

SECTION IV.

THEOLOGY AS RELATED TO THE PREPARATORY SCIENCES (PROPÆDEUTICS).

Theology, like every other positive science, presumes a strictly scientific school-training, since it treats the pure sciences as in part preliminary to its work, and on the other hand continually employs them as auxiliaries.

Distinction between the preparatory and the auxiliary sciences.

A distinction may be made with Bertholdt, between preliminary knowledge (propædeutics) and auxiliary sciences (boethetics). The former gives to every person the necessary qualification, and indicates his fitness for entering upon one of the university courses; the latter are, in addition, special aids to the study of theology. A study is frequently at once preparatory and auxiliary, *e. g.*, Latin, Greek, and history. The Hebrew language—even where it is taught in gymnasia—is included among the ordinary branches of the school-curriculum solely for the sake of theology; we therefore reserve its consideration, in common with that of biblical philology in general, until the discussion of properly theological studies, where auxiliary sciences will receive attention.

SECTION V.

THE PREPARATORY SCIENCES.

Among pure sciences the languages and history hold the first place with regard to their application to theology, and mathematics

[1] In this historical *resumé* we have had reference primarily to German theology, and more particularly to that of Protestantism. Roman Catholic theology, wherever it was living, passed through the same phases, especially in Germany. All that in other lands (in either the Protestant or the Roman Catholic Church) has acquired reputation as theological *science* (which alone is here referred to, and not the practical church-life), is more or less closely connected with the course of development in Germany. In recent times a change has certainly taken place. The conflicts of German theology have been shared by other lands more and more fully as time progressed, and the liberal tendency in particular, or even the negative, has found representatives in England, France, and Holland. With reference to England, comp., among others, Mackay. "The Tübingen School and its Antecedents of the History and Present Condition of Modern Theology." London, 1868. Also, the "Essays and Reviews," Colenso, etc.

and the natural sciences the second—and this both in a formal and a material aspect. We therefore observe, that a liberal classical culture forms the only assured basis for a sound, Protestant, Christian theology.

Theological learning rests on a classical basis.

"Like him who leaves his country in his youth, so the departing student looks back over the course of studies pursued while in the school."[1] Without taking philosophy into consideration for the present (comp. § 7), we may place the remaining mass of empirical knowledge in two principal divisions, the one of which presents to us the world of bodies in space, and the other the world of spirits, or the moral world as it is developed in time. To the former belong the natural sciences in their entire extent, together with mathematics, which constitutes their formal side; to the latter belong history and its formal medium and organ, *language*.[2] While medicine, among the applied sciences, is based upon the conditions of nature, jurisprudence and theology rest upon an ethical and historical basis (comp. § 1). Without desiring to reconcile here the pedagogical dispute about humanism and realism,[3] we may say, without hesitation, that

Divisions of knowledge—philosophy, nature, and history.

[1] Herder, Anwendung dreier akad. Lehrjahre (Werke zur Rel. u. Theol., x, p. 164). Upon this entire section comp. vol. i of Noesselt's Anweisung (Niemeyer's ed., 1808, 8vo), which, however, leaves much to be modified in accordance with the present condition of the science.

[2] The French apply the term *sciences* to the so-called exact sciences, but class philology and history with "lettres," a distinction that is well-founded, although such designations are misleading, and rest upon too realistic an idea of science. It is, of course, understood that an absolute separation between the different sciences is impossible, because they stand organically connected, and the transitions from one into the field of another are frequent. Thus geography (both physical and mathematical) must be classed with natural sciences, and is seen to be most intimately related to several of them, *e. g.*, geology; but it forms, at the same time, the basis of history, and is connected with ethnography and statistics. The conditions of nature are, similarly, also the first conditions of language; and orthoepy may be connected with physiology. From this point of view J. Grimm called attention to the mysterious laws that control our organs of speech; to demonstrate these laws is the office of natural science. Comp. the preface to the Deutsches Wörterbuch, p. iii. W. Wackernagel, in his preface to his work, Voces Variae Animantium, a contribution to natural science and the history of language, 2d ed., Basle, 1869, likewise refers to this intimate connection of the sciences with each other. It may be added, too, that history has its mathematical side, in chronology, etc., and that its first beginnings (inquiries respecting the primeval world) are wholly lost in the investigations of natural history, *e. g.*, concerning the lake-dwellings. Nor can even the most recent history be properly comprehended without duly estimating the revolutions in natural science, and their influence upon civilization.

[3] Comp. F. J. Niethammer, Der Streit des Philanthropismus u. Humanismus in der Theorie des Erziehungsunterrichts unserer Zeit, Jena, 1808; A. Rauchenstein, Bemerkungen über den werth der Alterthumstudien, Aarau, 1825; F. Thiersch, Ueber ge-

a classical, liberal culture,[1] which is of advantage to the medical scholar also, is yet of peculiar service to the jurist and the theologian.

Philology the first of the preparatory studies.

On a detailed review of the preparatory studies, the first rank will be occupied by *philology*, which possesses great importance for the cultivation of the mind, irrespective of all inherent value. The whole work of instruction is based upon the power of the word; and for this reason the study of the mother-tongue alone is important. The power of language to cultivate the mind does not become manifest, however, until the ability to compare several languages with each other has been acquired. That especially the Greek and Latin, the (by way of eminence) so-called *ancient* languages, are adapted to perform this service, by reason of their wealth of forms and their definiteness, is conceded by scholars. The style of classical expression reacts upon the mother-tongue to purify and strengthen it;[2] and it is

lehrte Schulen, etc., Stuttgart, 1826, 2 vols.; A. W Rehberg, Sämmtliche Schriften, Hanover, 1828, i, p. 238, *sqq.;* F. W. Klumpp, Die gelehrten Schulen nach den Grundsätzen des wahren Humanismus u. den Anforderungen der Zeit, Stuttgart, 1829; L. Usteri, Rede am Schulfeste 1829, Berne, 1830; Selections from German Literature, Edwards & Park, Andover, 1839.

[1] "The humanities, indeed, took a much wider range with ancient Roman writers, and included every kind of science that could contribute to human culture. See the passage in Gellii noctt. Att. xiii, 15, and J. A. Ernesti, Prol. de finibus humaniorum studiorum regendis, Lips., 1738, 4to. But since knowledge among the Romans was really acquired by the reading and through the influence of good authors, and in more modern times the whole of science was restored and started on its course by the same means, that view gave way to the more limited sense in which polite literature or the humanities is now taken." Noesselt, i, p. 106.

[2] Luther well illustrates the formal as well as the instrumental value of the ancient languages in the following: "Let us cling to the languages as earnestly as we love the Gospel. And let it be remembered that without the languages we could not well receive the Gospel. The languages are the sheath in which this sword of the Spirit is contained. They are the casket in which this jewel is confined. Should it ever come to pass, which God forbid, that the languages should escape our careless grasp, we should not only lose the Gospel, but finally reach the condition of being able to speak and write in neither Latin nor German. Let us be admonished by the wretched, horrible example of the high schools and monasteries, in which not only has the Gospel been lost, but also the Latin and German tongues have been corrupted, so that the miserable people have been reduced almost to the level of brute beasts, unable to speak and write either German or Latin correctly, and almost deprived of natural reason itself." "Where the languages are cultivated there is animation and energy, the Scriptures are examined, and faith continually derives new inspiration from other and still other words and works." See the address, An die Rathsherren aller Städte Deutschlands, dass sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen. Werke, Walch's ed., x, p. 538, *sqq.* Similar passages occur in Zwingle; see Werke, Usteri and Vögeli's ed., Zurich, 1819, 1820, ii, pp. 255, *sqq.*, 268, *sqq.*

therefore necessary that the talent for philology should be developed and the intellect be strengthened by the study of the classical models themselves rather than by that, for instance, of later ecclesiastical writers. Nothing but narrow-mindedness can discover danger to Christianity in this.[1] Besides a formal value for the cultivation of the mind, however, the theologian finds the languages, and particularly the ancient languages, to be of practical utility, a point upon which but little need be said, as it is self-evident.

Value of the ancient classic languages.

The study of the ancient languages will of itself lead to the study of *history*, for which reason modern philology combines in itself both linguistics and historical inquiry.[2] It becomes absolutely necessary for the theologian to attain to a clear idea of the ancient world, if it were only to enable him to contrast it with Christianity.[3] But, in addition, the habits of

The study of history should follow philology.

[1] The Church-fathers already questioned how far the reading of heathen authors might be beneficial or injurious to Christians; comp. the celebrated dream of Jerome (Ep. xxii, ad Eustochium), the oration of Basil, Πρὸς τοὺς νέους, ὅπως ἂν ἐξ ἑλληνικῶν ὠφελοῖντο λόγων (published separately by Sturz, Gera, 1791; in German, by F. G. Uhlemann in Illgen's Hist. theol. Zeitschr., part ii, p. 88, *sqq*., and by F. A. Nueszlin, Mannheim, 1830). The monks in the time of the Reformation branded all Greek learning as heretical; but their opponents likewise doubted whether heathen antiquity could supply the Christian theologian with the most healthful food; comp. the letter of Felix Myconius to Zwingle (Opp. vii, 1, p. 258). In modern times the value of classical studies has also been abundantly debated. Comp. E. Eyth, Classiker u. Bibel in den niedern Gelehrtenschulen, Basle, 1838, 8vo. *Per contra*, K. Hirzel, Die Classiker in den niedern Gelehrtenschulen, Stuttgart, 1838. With more direct reference to theology: C. H. Stirm, De Classicis, quos dicunt, scriptoribus in usum theol. christ. legendis, in den Studien der Würtemb. Geistlichkeit, Stuttgart, 1838, vol. x, No. 2; L. Baur, Die Classiker u. deren Einfluss auf den Geistlichen, ibid. ii, 1, p. 127, *sqq.;* J. G. Krabinger, Die Class. Studien u. ihre Gegner, Munich, 1853; K. L. Hundeshagen, Die Natur u. geschichtl. Entwickelung der Humanitätsidee, in ihrem Verhältniss zu Kirche u. Staat, an oration, Berlin, 1853; J. E. Erdmann, Das Heidnische im Christenthum, Berlin, 1854; S. Hirsch, Humanität als Religion, etc., Treves, 1854; J. G. Müller, Verhältniss der Classiker zum Heidenthum, in Gelzer's Prot. Monatsbl., 1856; E. Voigtherr, Der Humanismus, a synodal oration, Glogau, 1857; F. C. Kirchhoff, Die Christliche Humanität, an oration, Altona, 1859; G. Voigt, Die Wiederbelebung des Class. Alterthums, od. das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus, Berlin, 1859; A. Boden, Vertheidigung deutscher Classiker gegen neue Angriffe, Erlangen, 1869.

[2] Schiller, What Means and For What Purpose do we Study Universal History? Works, vol. ii., pp. 346–352, Phila., 1861; J. G. Müller, Briefe üb. das Studium d. wissenschaften, besonders der Geschichte, Zürich, 1817; E. B. Rühs, Entwurf einer Propaedeutik des hist. Studiums, Berlin, 1811; W Humboldt, Die Aufgabe des Geschichtschreibers, in werke, 1841, 1; Gervinus, Introduction to History of Nineteenth Century, Lond., 1866; Droysen, Grundzüge der Historik, Leips., 1868.

[3] Christianity is assuredly appointed to overcome the world, including the heathen world, and therefore what remains in us of pre-Christian culture. This subjugation, how-

thought presented in the Bible and Christianity, so contrary to those of heathenism, can only be appreciated by him who has come to understand the *spirit of antiquity*. It is necessary to have regard, not only to the history of the Greeks and Romans, but also to the history of Oriental peoples in its relation to the Bible; and likewise to that of the Middle Ages and more recent times, without which Church history cannot be understood. But history and the attention given to it are not only of material value, as making us acquainted with matters of fact; there is also a formal, fashioning element, the quickening of the historic sense, which must not be overlooked. History should not, therefore, be considered simply as dealing with nations and states, but, in the spirit of Iselin and Herder, as comprehending in its province the entire human race. In harmony with this conception, the history of man's spiritual culture should be made prominent as its subjective feature.

Uses of mathematical knowledge to the theologian.

While the study of languages and history thus forms the real basis for theological study, mathematics and the natural sciences are not without value to its prosecution. The formative value of mathematics is unquestioned; it affords the test of the mind's demonstrative power,[1] and is sometimes called a practical logic, like the science of language. Its philosophical value has, however, been overrated. Mathematical modes of thought are as unsatisfactory in theology as juridical. Mathematics has to do with mensurable and calculable quantities (form and numbers), while the immeasurable nature of ideas cannot be forced into circles and equations. The wonderful blending of spiritual and intellectual life, the numerous and various shades of thought, which often elude the grasp of the most flexible and skilful language, cannot possibly be compressed into an expression like $a+b$. Not unfrequently that which, when broadly considered, is entirely true, becomes an untruth when the attempt is made to fix it and to grasp it with an unimaginative and ideal-less understanding. Many misconceptions have arisen in this way.[2] A notion that

ever, is not to be an expulsion, as if of demoniac powers which must be cast out to make way for the Divine Spirit. If we have recognized the connection running through the different stages of development in the human history of the past, we can regard as the ultimate task nothing else than the reconciliation in us of the contrast between the two spiritual powers which may be termed the leading factors in the history of civilization, *viz.*, Hellenism and Christianity." Curtius, in Gelzer's Monatsbl., August, 1858, p. 85.

[1] "Hence," says Herder (Sophron., p. 89), "that which Pythagoras inscribed upon a hall of learning, 'Without geometry let none enter here,' might properly be written on the doors of the higher classes in gymnasia."

[2] Goethe remarks (Farbenl, ii, p. 158), "A great portion of what is commonly called superstition has its origin in an erroneous application of mathematics." Let memory

meets with special favor among cultivated laymen, is that *astronomy* sustains a near relation to theology, because each is a science of heaven. But the astronomical heaven is not that of theology, nor does "the sublimity we seek" in the world of morality and religion, dwell even in infinite space; for not all the evidences of the stars are able to lead to the star of Bethlehem. This was acknowledged by Lalande when he had measured the entire heavens without finding God. The knowledge of the starry heavens will, nevertheless, adorn the theologian as well as other cultivated persons, and the two sciences, however they may diverge in other respects, may meet in a poetical transfiguration in the symbol of Urania. The natural sciences in their whole extent lie nearer to the theologian than does astronomy as a distinct science.

Astronomy not necessarily related to theology.

These sciences were formerly considered from a theological point of view as supports to theology; while, in recent times, they are often compelled to do duty as sign-boards of infidelity, as though their progress could no longer harmonize with the theistic belief in God and immortality, nor yet with the more distinctively Christian faith in the truths of Revelation. It will be found that they whose understanding of the subject is least perfect appeal most frequently to such progress, while many who are ignorant are afraid of ghosts.[1] With regard to the Bible it is necessary first of all to comprehend its relation to the natural sciences (which belongs to apologetics), and afterward to secure a thorough understanding of the matter in question, partic-

Acquaintance with the natural sciences important.

recall, for instance, the mathematical figures with which Gerbert (Sylvester ii) sought to demonstrate the doctrine of transubstantiation in the eucharist. Similar attempts were made in ancient times in connection with the trinity. Franz Baader, and even Hegel, toiled mightily for a time, to apply triangles and squares to the doctrine of the trinity; comp. Rosenkranz in life of Hegel, pp. 101, 102. "Mathematics," says Bengel, "affords useful aid in certain directions, but it dethrones the understanding in relation to truths that are wholly foreign to its forum. The desire for only *definite* conceptions is fatal to *living* ones. There are different organs for different conceptions; the eyes will not serve for hearing, nor the ears for seeing," etc. Burk, Leben Bengels, p. 71. Comp. also the passage from Melanchthon, *infra*, § 81, note 10.

[1] A single word of Goethe's: "Let intellectual culture continue its progress, let the natural sciences increase more and more in extent and depth, and the human intellect expand to the utmost of its desire—they will never pass beyond the sublimity and moral culture of Christianity, as it appears in the Gospel." Eckermann, Conversations with Goethe, p. 568. Fr. Fabri, Briefe gegen den Materialismus, Stuttgart, 1856; Böhner, Naturforschung und culturleben in ihren neuesten Ergebnissen, etc., Hanover, 1859. A peculiar attempt to illustrate the Bible by the book of nature, and to interpret the latter by the former, is made by Zöckler, in Entwurf einer system. Naturtheol. vom offenbarungsgläubigen Standpunkte aus, Frankfort, 1859.

ularly with reference to the primeval world and its relation to the Mosaic history of creation.[1]

SECTION VI.

THEOLOGY IN ITS RELATION TO THE ARTS AND GENERAL CULTURE.

An *artistic* preparation, the habit of regarding life in its ideal aspects, and of engaging in original efforts, particularly in the field of language is required in addition to the preliminary scientific training; a Christian culture resulting from religious instruction previously imparted, is presupposed.

Uses of æsthetic culture.

This artistic preparation is still too greatly neglected. More attention should be given to stimulating the sense of the beautiful in early youth, for an imagination nourished by poetry is as necessary a condition for the theologian as is an understanding practised in history, language, and mathematics.[2] Early practice in written as well as oral expression, and also in free discourse, will especially be of inestimable value to the future

[1] Comp. William Buckland, Geology and Mineralogy Considered with Reference to Natural Theology, London, 1837, 2 eds., 2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1 vol. 12mo, and in Bohn's Library, 12mo; Fr. Pfaff, Die Schöpfungsgeschichte, Frankf. on the Main, 1855; Böhner, Die freiforschende Bibeltheologie u. ihre Gegner, Zurich, 1859; the review by P. Kind (in the Swiss Ministerial Association, 1863, and the subsequent discussions); Reusch, Bibel u. Natur, etc., Freiburg, 1870; Zollman, Bibel u. Natur in der Harmonie ihrer Offenbarungen, 3 ed., Homburg, 1871; Jos. Huber, Die Lehre Darwin's, kritisch betrachtet, Munich, 1871; and the English and American reviews of Darwinism.

The theological works of Paley, Sander, Bonnet, Reimarus, Brougham, and the Bridgewater Treatises, nevertheless contain much that is stimulating; but far superior to these is Humboldt's *Cosmos*. Bengel, *l. c.*, observes: "It is not right that the study of physics is so neglected, and that such a parade should be made of a sublime, metaphysical comprehension of the universe. But it was likewise true of the ancients that the general ideas of philosophers were made a cloak to conceal their ignorance." In our day the neglect of certain theologians to acquaint themselves with natural science is especially inexcusable. In the face of the ignorance that results, unbelief will be able to appeal more shamelessly and defiantly to the progress of those sciences. To close the eyes against facts, and, Bible in hand, to fight against infidelity, or to meddle in a desultory way with a science which is but superficially understood, can only serve to make theology ridiculous in the eyes of specialists; and if the attempt result from a well-meant apologetic purpose it will produce more harm than good.

[2] It may be boldly asserted that a lack of poetic apprehension, for which precocious speculation is no substitute, has led to thousands of orthodox and heterodox absurdities. The secret of Herder's theology and its refreshing influence lies in this poetic vein, which the most learned minds so often miss. On the pedagogical value of the fine arts comp. Herder, Sophron, pp. 32, *sqq.*, 80, *sqq.*; concerning the improvement of the vernacular, ibid., p. 197, *sqq.* How unjust is the charge of Staudenmaier that Herder pursued theology in the spirit simply of an æsthetical coquetry! (Comp. his Dogmatik, vol. i). He was simply no scholastic.

theologian. Rhetoric and poetry in the field of art are parallel with philology and history in that of science. A practical acquaintance with the plastic arts may not be *required* of the theologian, but his mind should not be indifferent to painting, sculpture, and architecture, more than it should be closed to the charms of nature. The great importance of art will become apparent in connection with liturgics. Architecture holds the same relation to the theologian in the domain of art that astronomy does in that of science, without regard to the historical relations sustained by art toward the history of saints and the Church. Music, especially, which stands midway between the oratorical and the formative arts and is closely allied to poetry, is truly theological, and was cultivated by Luther.[1] The skilful fingering of an instrument is not the principal object to be desired, but much more the cultivation of singing and of acquaintance with the nature of music. Without the latter knowledge the theologian will be debarred from entering on an essential department of Christian worship. Inasmuch, however, as all theology stands related to *religion*, and can only be comprehended through that relation, it will be necessary that the incipient theologian should not only possess religious feeling in a general way, but that he should have acquired religious culture in the preparatory schools. Much, in this connexion, depends of course upon the character of the religious instruction imparted in such schools, which, though not designed for future theologians alone, may nevertheless be very stimulating and adapted to their needs.[2] To these must be added, moreover, the influence of the Christian home, and the impression of Christian fellowship which is produced by the worship of the sanctuary. How many an excellent theologian, especially among the older men, was first impelled to consecrate himself to this calling by beholding the shining example of some distinguished preacher. The first guiding impulse came from thence, not from the school, which can only forward the development.

School and home culture of religious feeling.

[1] Luther judged "that next to the word of God nothing is so deserving of esteem and praise as music, for the reason that it is a queen over the heart, able and mighty to control its every movement, though such emotions often rule and control man as if they were his master. I therefore desire that this art be commended to all persons, and especially the young, and that they be admonished to love and cherish this precious, useful, and joyous creature of God." Werke, Walch's ed., part xiv, p. 407. "Music is a beautiful, glorious gift from God, and *near to theology*" (in Table Talk).

[2] Comp. Hagenbach, Bedeutung des Religionsunterrichts auf höhern Lehranstalten, Zürich, 1846.

SECTION VII.

THE RELATIONS OF THEOLOGY TO PHILOSOPHY.

F. E. Schulz, Selbstständigkeit und Abhängigkeit, oder Philosophie und Theologie in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältniss betrachtet, Giessen, 1823; K. Ph. Fischer, über den Begriff der Philosophie, Tübingen, 1830, 8; Heinr. Schmid, über das Verhältniss der Theologie zur Philosophie, in der Oppositionsschrift, edited by Schmid, Friess, u. Schröter, vol. i, 1; J. H. Fichte, über Gegensatz, Wendepunct und Ziel heutiger Philosophie, Heidelberg, 1836; A. Gengder, über das Verhältniss der Theologie zur Philosophie, Landshut, 1826; G. A. Gabler, de Vera Philosophiae erga Religionem Christianam Pietate, Berl., 1836; K. Steffensen, das Menschliche Herz und die Philosophie (in Gelzer's Protest. Monatsblättern), 1854, p. 285, *sqq.*; L. P. Hickock, Theology and Philosophy in Conflict, American Presb. Review, vol. xii, 204; E. Hitchcock, The Philosopher and the Theologian, Bib. Sacra., vol. x, 166.

Philosophy the companion of theology.

Philosophy should be the constant companion of theology, but each is to retain, without interchange or confusion, its own peculiar field. Its work does not consist in the merely logical process of connecting thoughts together (arrangement), nor in the exercise of an occasional criticism (reasoning); but rather in combining the great variety of matter into a higher unity for the consciousness. This can only be done after the material has been furnished from without, by experience and history. Philosophy can neither invent the needed material in the exercise of its own authority, nor destroy or make it other than it is through a pretended transformation or idealizing process.

Relations of philosophy and theology traced historically.

We purposely designate philosophy as the *companion* of theology, in opposition to the view that the study of philosophy may be finished before that of theology begins, which affords the surest way to disgust the theologian with philosophy. The application of philosophy to theology has been the subject of controversy from the beginning. A warning against false philosophy occurs as early as Col. ii, 8. Irenæus and Tertullian opposed the Gnostic, speculative tendency in theology, while other Church fathers, the Apologists, Alexandrians, and especially Origen made use of it. The quarrel between the schoolmen and the positive theologians, Roscelin, Abelard, with Bernard of Clairvaux, turned especially upon the relations of philosophy to theology, and the philosophical dispute (realism and nominalism) between the schoolmen themselves likewise reacted on theology.

The perversion of philosophy by the scholastics, and the mistaken habit of relying on authorities, which served to poison philosophy in its inmost nature, gradually led from dogmatism to scepticism. A point was reached where it appeared necessary to distinguish between philosophy and theology in such a way as to admit of

truth in either science becoming untruth in the other. It is not surprising that, as the result, philosophy again declined in favour, and that empiricism was opposed to it as being the only trustworthy method of reasoning (Roger Bacon). Philosophy was still in its decline when the Reformation came, and the Reformation did not at all favour what then passed for philosophy; for its own origin was not due to the desire for a better philosophic system, but to the longing to possess the true sources of salvation which were found in the Scriptures. Luther employed even violent language to oppose the philosophy of Aristotle and "old Madam Weathercock, the reason;" but not so Zwingle, who made use of philosophy in a peculiar manner (his relation to Picus of Mirandola). The dogmatical works of Calvin and Melanchthon give evidence that they, too, were not unacquainted with philosophic thought; but in the Lutheran Church many, nevertheless, accepted Luther's opinions in opposition to philosophy.[1]

Luther's opposition to philosophy.

In the Roman Catholic Church the Jansenists opposed and the Jesuits favored philosophy; but which one was the Jesuitical philosophy? After the Reformation Aristotle was more favorably regarded in the Protestant Church, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century Martini, in his "Vernunftspiegel," defended the use of philosophy against the Magdeburg centuriators.[2] When Descartes (1569–1650) appeared, powerful voices were raised against him in the Church, and disputes about this matter took place in the Netherlands. The populace applied the name of "Glöbenichts" (believe nothing) to the great Leibnitz, and the zealous clergy gave their approval. Spinoza stood alone, identified with no ecclesiastical communion.

Philosophy in the Church after the Reformation.

When, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Wolf lectured on a modified Leibnitzian philosophy in his strictly demonstrative method, he was opposed in Halle by the Pietists and expelled (in 1723), but afterwards recalled (in 1740). Philosophy now received recognition, at least in its formal aspects, and its proofs were regarded as supports to orthodoxy, until Kant (1724–1804) de-

[1] Bugenhagen, too, was accustomed to write in family albums: "Si Christum discis, eatis est, si cetera nescis;" but he added, "Hoc non est philosophiam et artes liberales ecclesiæ et scholis necessarias contemnere, sed sine Christo nihil prodesse."

[2] Vernunftspiegel, *i. e.*, a statement of what Reason, together with its product Philosophy, is, its extent, and especially its use in religious matters, in opposition to all assailants of Reason and slanderers of Philosophy, but especially in opposition to some uncouth libels which have gone out of Magdeburg these two years. Wittenb. 1618. 4.

stroyed these supports. The progress of philosophy could not henceforth be ignored by theology, without degradation to its own scientific character. The one-sided influence of the Kantian philosophy upon theology was clearly apprehended by men like Herder; but the age, nevertheless, became rationalistic, possessed neither of a speculative nor of the more profound religious spirit. It was reserved for Fichte's idealism, Schelling's doctrine of the absolute, and Hegel's doctrine of the immanent spirit, to exalt the profound life-issues of Christianity, which Kant imagined he had disposed of by the introduction of a one-sided morality, into speculative questions of philosophy. Others, as F. Jacobi, Fries, etc, who laid stress upon the distinction between faith and knowledge, assigned to subjective feeling what the philosophers already named (particularly Hegel) sought to elevate into demonstration through the energetic action of thought; while Herbert and his followers assumed indifference toward theology. Schleiermacher, who was by no means averse to really profound speculation, and who was the most skilful dialectician of his day, yet desired that philosophy and theology should remain distinct, though he applied philosophy to the treatment of theological questions. His simple object was that theology should no more be lost in speculation, than religion, which he regarded as an affair of the feelings, should be lost in thinking. The Hegelian school was divided into two wings after the master's death, one of which (the right) took sides with Christianity, and the other against it, sinking even to the level of common freethinking (nihilism).[1] The speculative tendency served, on the other hand, to stimulate certain parties to attempt an independent philosophy of Christianity and to seek its reconciliation with theology. A period of exhaustion and suspicion with reference to speculative thought was, however, gradually introduced among theologians, which, in the end, resulted in the serious alienation of the two connected sciences from each other, if not in placing a gulf between them. Under the influence of the natural sciences a systematic scepticism was developed, which, on its religious side, passed over into Buddhism (Arthur Schopenhauer).

Influence of Kant on philosophy.

Schleiermacher's aim as to philosophy.

The divisions of the Hegelian School.

In England, the Deism which appeared in the time of Charles I., and was represented by a succession of writers until Hume (1776), profoundly affected the development of apologetic theology. Hobbes (1588–1679) resolved all politics into absolutism and religion into statecraft. He held it to be the business of the king to

[1] Comp. J. W. Hanne, Der Moderne Nihilismus, Bielefeld, 1842.

prescribe the religious faith of his subjects. His atheistic opinions were attacked by Cudworth (1617–1688), particularly his denial of free-will and the immutability of moral distinctions. Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1581–1648) attempted to fix the principles of universal religion, which he made to be five, and denied all of Christianity not included under these. Locke's (1632–1704) "Essay on the Human Understanding" confirmed the disposition to apply the so-called principles of reason to the judgment of Christianity; he remained himself a devout believer. Toland (1669–1722) carried the development of rationalism still further in his "Christianity not Mysterious." He denies that there is any mystery in Christianity. Anthony Collins (1676–1729) in his "Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," is the first English writer to accept the title of Free-thinker. He examines the historic foundations of Christianity, and asserts, as Strauss has asserted in our day, that Christianity is only ideally true. Lord Shaftesbury (1671–1713) argued from his doctrine of innate ideas (in opposition to Locke) and the disinterestedness of virtuous conduct that a supernatural revelation is superfluous. Matthew Tindal (1657–1733) in his "Christianity as Old as the Creation; or, The Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature," tried to show that natural religion is complete in itself and has, therefore, no need of supernatural additions. Thomas Morgan († 1743) in his "Moral Philosopher" makes moral law the test of religion, and finds reason therefrom for rejecting Christianity. These philosophers of the deistical school were thoroughly met by numerous Christian apologists. Dr. Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), besides his attempted *à priori* demonstration of the being of God, wrote on the "Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation." Bishop Berkeley (1684–1753) used his system of philosophic idealism as a means of establishing the truth of the existence of God. Bishop Butler (1692–1752) summed up the replies of the Christian apologists to the deistical writers of his age in his immortal Analogy. This work still holds its place as one of the most complete defences of Christianity ever written.

Hume (1711–1776) by his essay on "Miracles" and his "Dialogues concerning Natural Religion" gave the sceptical philosophy a new impulse. His objections to miracles received more replies than can be here named; his objection to the idea of causality, as usually received by philosophers, awakened the mind of Kant, and led the latter to work out his "Critique of the Pure Reason." Philosophic thought, as applied to Christianity, in our time has been greatly influenced by James Mills and Coleridge, the one a representative of

the sensational, the other of the intuitional school. Each has had numerous successors.

Philosophic speculation in America.

In America speculation received its first impulse from Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), who framed a theory of the human will as a philosophic basis for the Calvinistic theology. His principles were further developed by his son, Jonathan Edwards the younger (1745–1801), Samuel Hopkins (1721–1803), Nathanael Emmons (1745–1840), and Timothy Dwight (1752–1817). Some of these followers pushed the opinions of their master to extreme conclusions. Among the opponents of Edwards's theory of the will may be named Henry P. Tappan (Review of Edwards' Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will), and D. D. Whedon (The Freedom of the Will). Dr. James M'Cosh has applied the inductive method to the examination of the divine government with a view to the reconciliation of nature and revelation (The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral). Theodore Parker elaborated an absolute religion, intuitional in its character, but subversive of historical Christianity. The denial of Theism has been combated by various writers, among whom may be named Laurens P Hickock (Creator and Creation), Asa Mahan (Natural Theology), and Borden P Bowne (The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer; Theism). The denial of all philosophy by Comte has also received much attention from metaphysicians in the United States.

Fact demonstrated by the historical review.

Thus far the historical review. It shows that theology has never been able to separate itself from philosophy, but that, on the other hand, no lasting union between the two, or rather, between theology and any particular philosophy, has been practicable. To give no attention to philosophy would be the simplest expedient, but also the most objectionable, and impossible; for in this age no one can have the hardihood to pursue a theological (dogmatical) discussion without a preliminary training in philosophy, which, moreover, must not be confined to the ancient and wholly formal logic of the schools. The necessity of formal logic has always been understood, although its scientific value has been variously estimated; but the conviction has been reached that the arrangement of a system and the line of evidence to be adopted, are themselves dependent on the intellectual point of view from whence the system is controlled. The main matter is to secure the point of view. The reliance upon so-called sound common sense, with which, no doubt, many seek to supply the lack of philosophical acquirements, is likewise misplaced in the field of science; eclecticism is of little benefit to the student who

is misinformed about the things among which he is to choose.[1] It thus becomes absolutely necessary to undertake the study of philosophy; and since it can rarely be reached in the preparatory schools, it is desirable that students of theology should begin philosophy in the first period of their course, in order to be nourished by it into strength, before they approach dogmatics, the heart of theology.[2] Philosophy is simply a clear recognition by the mind of its own constitution, and all sound philosophy should take its rise in that recognition, or, in other words, *in legitimate thinking upon the ultimate grounds of all thought.*[3] It should aid every student in attaining to a clear understanding of his own nature, and thus place him in a position to easily comprehend the organic connection of the different departments of knowledge, which is the objective goal of philosophy.[4] Unfortunately, many students are more confused at the end of a course in philosophy than they were at its beginning; like the pupil before Mephistophcles, they feel as if a mill-wheel were revolving in their heads.

The object of all philosophy.

In view of this danger, the choice of a teacher and the method to be adopted are deserving of consideration. At this point the

[1] "Philosophy is most of all opposed to that intellectual barrenness, which generally ventures to assume the name of enlightenment. The elevation of the ordinary *understanding* to the position of arbiter in matters of the *reason*, will, as its necessary consequence, bring about an ochlocracy in the domain of the sciences, and, sooner or later, the further consequence of a general revolt on the part of the rabble." Schelling, Methode des akadem. Studiums (comp. Anthologie aus Schelling's Werke, p. 112.)

[2] Schleiermacher (Ueber Universitäten, p. 78) held that all students, even the non-theological, should be engaged simply with philosophy during the first year of their university career. What he exacts of all is demanded at least of theologians by Rosenkranz, Encykl., Pref., xx: "The student of medicine or law, if thorough in other matters pertaining to his specialty, may be pardoned for indifference or aversion to the study of philosophy; but it is required of the theologian that, in addition to his special studies, he should pursue as thorough a course in philosophy as may be practicable." Similarly Schenkel, Christl. Dogmatik, ii, p. 3: "A thorough philosophical training is certainly essential to the theologian, and the punishment for its neglect will be the more bitter, as great effort becomes necessary to recover in later years what has been lightly regarded before."

[3] "The recognition of self," says the younger Fichte, "is the sole substance of all (philosophical) perception, and its highest perfection is accordingly the real goal of every philosophy that understands itself, and that has thereby attained to maturity." Idee d. Persönlichkeit u. d. individ. Fortdauer, Elb., 1834, p. 42.

[4] "Every person who aims to understand a particular science in its connexion with the whole of knowledge and in its ultimate grounds, is engaged in philosophical investigation, whether he be called a student of nature or a theologian, or be employed more especially upon the works of man. Every question that proceeds beyond the presumptions postulated by the several sciences, leads him who pursues it into the domain of philosophy." Steffensen, p. 303.

incomprehensible terminology, which can scarcely be avoided under the existing methods of treating philosophy, should neither dazzle nor alarm the beginner. *The leading object in the study of philosophy is, not so much the acquisition of finished results, as of readiness in the art of philosophizing.*[1] The philosophical jargon which is especially patronized by persons who seek to cover the confusion of their minds with cheap fineries, should above all things be avoided.[2] Let the student endeavor to express in his own language what he has heard. It would be no unprofitable exercise to engage in philosophical disputations from which certain catch words (*e. g.* subject, object, etc.) should be banished at the outset. But let there be an equal unwillingness to stamp as nonsense whatever is incomprehensible by reason of the student's insufficient preparation or practice, or worse still, to repeat the childish dictum that men like Hegel failed to understand themselves. Let philosophy not receive exclusive attention, without providing real and positive food for the mind, especially through the continuous pursuit of historical and linguistic studies. The counsel given by Pelt,[3] that the student should thoroughly examine some system of philosophy (Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel), if possible in its original sources, is likewise greatly to be commended.

The hard terms of philosophy should not be feared.

Philosophy should be pursued in connexion with other studies.

The mind should accustom itself to regard each system in its relation to its own time, and the current tendency of that time, as well as in the relation of its parts to each other. Care should be taken from the first that the judgment be not biased by the influence of some one system, when matters of fact are under discussion, or when the exegetical or historical investigation of some fact is in progress, or when it is sought to comprehend some doctrine that

[1] This was Kant's desire, comp. Anthropologie, p. 167: "He insisted, again and again, in his lectures to his students, that they were not to learn philosophy of him, but how to philosophize." Kuno Fischer, Kant's Leben, p. 25.

[2] "It is childish to wear the ornamental rags and patches of others while we are able and expected to provide an entire garment of our own and fitted to our person. It is madness to destroy the eye or impair its vision for the purpose of learning to look through the glass of others." Herder, Sophron., p. 213. The Frenchman, Edgar Quinet, addresses a similar warning to his countrymen who are not in other respects unduly speculative: "Empêchez une nouvelle scolastique de naître. J'entends par là les embûches de mots, dans les quels l'instinct de la vie réelle, de la vérité politique est sacrifié à une logomachie puérile qui n'a que l'apparence et point de corps. Combien d'âmes droites sont déjà dupes de cette scolastique et s'y embarassent à plaisir! Combien surtout d'âmes serviles s'abritent aujourd'hui sous ce masque. (Révolution religieuse au 19 siècle. 1857, p. 113).

[3] Encyclopädie, p. 40.

has come down from former generations. Philosophy can invent nothing; could it hear the grass grow, it would yet be unable to produce a single blade. As natural philosophy is incompetent to originate an order of plants or a gas, so the philosophy of history is unable to necessarily deduce an historical fact.[1] It is true that reason contains the general laws by which a substance surrounded by contingencies is freed from its accidental elements and raised into the category of the universal; but in this regard also care is needed, in order that the very peculiarity of the concrete phenomenon, and the fragrance resting upon it, be not destroyed in the process of generalization.

Philosophy cannot originate theological doctrine.

Let an illustration suffice. A profound speculation seeks to apprehend the idea of the God-man as a necessary one, and as required for the completion of both the ideas *God* and *man*, since God most effectively demonstrates his Divinity in man, and man attains his true manhood only in God; but the truth that the Divine life has been manifested and actualized in a human form, in the determinate person Jesus of Nazareth, is not derived from philosophy. It cannot prove that precisely *this* person was needed for the most perfect manifestation of God in human nature; nor can it employ authoritative dicta, such as that nature does not usually lavish all her gifts upon a single person, to *destroy* an historical fact which is necessary to explain the existence of the Church. In like manner philosophy may be permitted to show that the abstract idea of unity is not adequate for the more profound recognition of the nature of God, and that only a God who knows himself as God in God, and is known by God as God (the Being that loves, the Being that is loved, and the love that forms the bond of union between them=God), can satisfy the religious consciousness.[2] The Christ-

The inability of philosophy to originate dogma illustrated.

Another illustration.

[1] Luther called reason (philosophy) the old weather-maker; it cannot, however, make, but only observe, or at the most, foretell the weather; and, even in this, it is often wrong. "The philosopher should know that without theology he can know nothing of the 'city of gold and precious stones,' and of the 'pure river of the water of life,' which St. John saw. A system of truths that must seem necessary to the natural mind, can never wash away the fear of death from the heart or beget heavenly affections in the place of beastly lusts, more than it can remedy a nervous fever, or remove the smell of decaying matter from the atmosphere of a death-chamber." Steffensen. We also adduce the maxim of Picus of Mirandola, "Philosophia quaerit, theologia invenit, religio possidet veritatem."

[2] Thus Augustine and all the more profound Christian thinkers. It is to be questioned, however, whether the speculative development of the Trinity is the proper task of philosophy. "We cannot, upon the whole," says J. H. Fichte (Idee d. Persönlichkeit, p. 86), "avoid the confession that the introduction into philosophy of this Christian dogma, which has become almost the favourite question of the day, particu-

ian doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is not to be conceived as a mere actualizing of the speculative idea, but rather as the historical development of the Christian revelation, from which, in connexion with ideas previously extant in the world, the speculative conception was itself developed, and to which it now assumes a relation similar to that of the philosophy of art to an actual work of art, or of natural philosophy to one of the products of nature. This consideration will indicate the measure of truth in the statement that philosophy stands outside of or above religion (Schleiermacher, § 38). The *above* is not to signify superiority, but simply the objective character of its point of view.[1]

SECTION VIII.

THEOLOGY NOT BOUND TO ANY ONE PHILOSOPHY.

The diversity of philosophical systems should not be permitted to mislead us. The truth is, that despite such diversity, every system of philosophy, which in any way permits a distinction between God and the world, spirit and matter, freedom and necessity, may be applied to theology.

larly at this time, has produced no little confusion, not only by destroying the boundaries between the mere *a priori* knowledge of God and a positive revelation, but even more by giving rise to the thoroughly inopportune appearance of a superficial coincidence of Christianity with the prevalent philosophy of any particular time." "To combine metaphysical and theological arguments with each other for the purpose of demonstrating that a religious tradition is metaphysical truth, or that speculative developments have a Christian or orthodox character, is a deceitful process. In this way many now attempt to construct a metaphysical trinity out of three attributes of the Divine nature, and to substitute this arbitrary union of three such attributes for the original Christian doctrine of Father, Son, and Spirit." Bunsen, Hippolytus, i, p. 281.

[1] Lord Bacon expresses himself strongly against the confounding of philosophy and theology with each other, De augment. scientiae, ix, 487: Quemadmodum enim theologiam in philosophia quaerere perinde est ac si vivos quaeras inter mortuos, ita e contra philosophiam in theologia quaerere non aliud est quam mortuos quaerere inter vivos. On the impropriety of subordinating either philosophy or theology to each other, and on the necessity for making them co-ordinates, see Rosenkranz, Encykl., p. 12. Comp. Fritze, Ideen zur Umgestalt. d. evang. Kirche, Magdeb., 1844, p. 11: "Theology is not the mistress of philosophy, nor ought it to become the servant of any particular philosophical system." Kym, Weltanschauungen, p. 33: "Although philosophy serves as the handmaid of a particular science, *e. g.* theology, it is not in the way of supporting the train of some gracious lady, but in the way of going before it to afford a light that shall conduct the science home, to its origin." On the relation of religion to philosophy and its several branches comp. Steffensen, in Gelzer, 1853, p. 109: "They who fancy that religion will ever prostrate itself before philosophy and transfer to it the keys of the kingdom of heaven, are certainly very silly. Nor would philosophy accept the office if it were offered. But it is equally certain that the spectacle will not be seen in our age, of philosophers subordinating their thinking to authorities in whose behalf the pious people of different denominations demand faith."

No sound objection to philosophy from the variety of the systems.

The objection to philosophy derived from the variety of systems is as shallow as an attempt to argue against revelation on the ground of the number of positive religions.[1] Nor do we mean that all philosophies are equally valuable, so that one or another may be preferred at pleasure. Only a single one can be the true philosophy, and to it, the absolute truth, all should strive to attain; but the more genuine the desire to attain to the truth the less hasty will the mind be in coming to a conclusion. Inasmuch too, as any particular system can present only relative truth, it will always be necessary to combine the truths of different systems into a higher truth, and to avoid their errors. Such an undertaking is not, however, adapted to the powers of a single mind, and should therefore be entered upon in and with the school, rather than outside and irrespective of it. Until the student has become a master, he will attach himself with preference to some particular school. Which one he shall select is not without importance with respect to both philosophy and theology; but it is a less serious matter in its bearings upon the latter, for the reason that theology is not so dependent on any system of philosophy as to stand or fall with it. A theologian of the Kantian school, for instance, might give evidence of more thorough theological acquirements, having grown beyond the limits of his system, than one belonging to the school of Hegel, for this, among other reasons, that the *Christian* consciousness, which is independent of all philosophical systems, is the principal qualification for a theologian.

Theology does not stand or fall with any one system of philosophy.

While, therefore, allowing freedom to speculation, we direct attention to the breakers, which threaten to shipwreck faith unless a competent hand is at the helm. It is self-evident that a philosophy which annihilates God, and denies the existence of spirit and moral freedom, a bald *materialism*, in short, (sensationalism), must be excluded.[2] But the spiritualistic philosophy (idealism), which stands opposed to materialism, which regards God and spirit as the only realities, and accordingly denies the existence of matter and the world, and which teaches an unbounded, absolute liberty by deifying the Ego, is likewise

Both sensationalism and idealism unchristian.

[1] Thus, it is well known that Schiller would identify himself with no religion out of regard for religion, and with none of all the philosophies out of regard for philosophy; but the polemical point of an epigram cannot serve as the foundation of a solid edifice.

[2] In opposition to the materialism of modern times, against which theology is called to contend, and whose representatives are Moleschott, Karl Vogt, and Büchner, comp. the works of Jul. Schaller, F. W. Tittmann, J. Frohschammer, J. G. Fichte, and F. Fabri, the last named in Herzog., Encykl., ix, *s. v.*, Materialismus.

planted in an untheological position. A god without a world is not the God of theology; a spirit without flesh to subjugate is not the Christian spirit; liberty that does not involve the feeling of dependence is not the liberty of the children of God. The Bible everywhere presupposes a dualism, or rather parallelism, of God and the world, heaven and earth, spirit and flesh, etc., not as rigid and irremediable, but yet as an actual contrast to be overcome by the might of Christianity.. In this way two other tendencies are obviated, the one of which regards such contrasts as rigidly immovable and out of all relation to each other, while the other, instead of reconciling them in thought, simply destroys them by an authoritative decision, while aiming to remove them. The former tendency is *deistic*, the latter *pantheistic*. The former was the current adversary of an earlier age, the latter is the antagonist of the theology of to-day.

Deism and pantheism antagonistic to Christian theology.

The term *deism* is applied to a conception of the world which not only distinguishes between it and God, but separates God from the world, holding that the only God who exists is an extra- and supramundane Being, who once created the world, but has now left it to the operation of its established laws. This God enters into no vital relations with man; he stands over against him, indeed, as lawgiver and judge, but does not enter into human nature, nor communicate himself thereto. The deistic conception of the relation between spirit and matter, as resembling that of two laths glued together,[1] is in harmony with the separation of God from the world, and equally rigid. Nature, too, is considered a lifeless mechanism; and the tendency of deistic morality is to make every thing promote the self-glorification of the reason. This philosophy denies the power of the inclinations, the profound influences of natural conditions on the one hand, and the vital connexion of the spirit with God on the other; it is therefore unable to apprehend the nature of sin or of redemption and grace, the mysteries of religious communion, or the significance of prayer, the sacraments, etc. Over against Deism stands the *philosophy of identities*, which unites the contrasts in question. It has much that is attractive to the imagination and natural feeling, but is unable to afford durable satisfaction;[2] for

Deism incapable of Christian ideas.

[1] Following an expression that is applied by the Formula Concordiae to the two natures in Christ, Carrière appropriately remarks that "spirit and matter should neither be separated nor identified, but distinguished and combined."

[2] Tzschirner's Briefe on the confessions of Reinhard (Leips., 1811), are instructive upon this point. Comp. p. 47 *sqq.*, where the author speaks of the impressions made on himself by the then current nature-philosophy of Schelling. The hideous charac-

inasmuch as it assumes the character of pantheism with reference to the relation of God to the world, it either loses God in the world and sinks into materialism, or it resolves the world into God and becomes idealism. In the same way spirit is reduced to matter (emancipation of the flesh) or matter is consumed by spirit (false asceticism), while moral freedom becomes a mere phantom. Upon this teaching sin becomes a natural necessity, and redemption a divinely contrived ingenious drama, while the deity attains to consciousness only through the evolutions of the human mind, and exhausts itself in time, through the endless process of the immanent development of thought.

Theological and moral outcome of pantheism.

It follows that only *that* philosophy can make a league with theology which recognizes a living personal God,[1] who is neither

ter of pantheism is admirably described by Lamartine (Dernier chant du pélerinage d'Harold, p. 18):—

> Le Dieu, qu'adore Harold, est cet agent suprême,
> Ce Pan mystérieux, insoluble problême,
> Grand, borné, bon, mauvais, que ce vaste univers
> Révêle à ses regards sous mille aspects divers;
> Etre sans atributs, force sans providence,
> Exerçant au hasard une aveugle puissance;
> Vrai Saturne, enfantant, dévorant tour à tour,
> Faisant le mal sans haine et le bien sans amour;
> N'ayant pour dessein qu'un éternel caprice,
> Ni commandant ni foi, ni loi, ni sacrifice;
> Livrant le faible au fort et le juste au trépas,
> Et dont la raison dit: Est-il? ou n'est-il pas?

With this comp. a poem by Schelling, published in the Zeitschrift für spec. Physik, 1800, and continued in the Anthologie aus Schelling's Werke. (Berl., 1844), p. 98. Much, however, may seem to be pantheism from the stand-point of abstract deism, that is not so in reality. Bunsen remarks: "The immanence of God in the world is by no means equivalent to pantheism; for the life of God and his continuance in it may be conceived without excluding the self-origination of God as the idea and will of the world, and the independence of the self-centred blessed Deity, as a necessary result." Gott in der Geschichte, p. 5.

[1] The word "personal" may, of course, be erroneously explained, so as to involve the nature of God in human limitations; but it has become one of the tasks of modern philosophy to settle this very idea of personality. It is of primary importance that the distinction between the ideas *person* and *individual* should be preserved. God is not an individual (though so eminent a thinker of former years as Hamann employed this designation) but person—not *a* person, but person in the eminent sense—absolute personality. The historical development of the doctrine of the Trinity in unity, illustrates, though in hieroglyphics, the difficulty of the problem to be solved. An idea is not to be rejected as unthinkable, simply because it is involved in difficulties to our thought; precisely the inexpressible demands the most energetic efforts of the noblest of our powers and thought. Comp. (in addition to the younger Fichte) the treatise of

excluded from the world nor included in it, and who both transcends the world and is immanent in it; and which furthermore conceives of the human soul and body as organically related, refusing to make of spirit merely sublimated matter, or of matter the precipitate of spirit, and acknowledging both personal freedom and a free personality created for eternal ends. We designate such a philosophy as *theistic*,[1] in contrast with both the deistic and the pantheistic, and accordingly observe that the only system that may be applied to Christian theology *is that of pure theism*. Whether philosophy can of itself formulate this theism, or, renouncing the attempt, whether it shall devolve the task upon the practical reason with Kant and Herbart, or upon feeling with Jacobi, or upon faith and presentiment with Fries, is a matter of little consequence; for we are not concerned to clearly demonstrate the idea of personality in a scientific light, which task may be properly reserved for philosophy. But theology can never strike friendly hands with a philosophical conception of the world, which eliminates man's personal relation to God and consequently destroys religion, the basis of all theology itself.[2] Nor would we venture to assert, *without a preliminary understanding*, that the philosophy must be "Christian." How is the word to be understood? If in a historical sense, it appears that all modern philosophy, having come into being through the influence of Christian ideas, is Christian; and this is true of such philosophies as are unchristian in their results, in so far as they have passed through a Christian development. But if it be made to signify that the doctrines of Christianity should constitute the subject-matter of the philosophy, that, for instance, it should undertake to develop the atonement or the person of Christ, the result is that a demand is made upon philosophy for which its power is inadequate.[3] Finally,

The conditions of a Christian philosophy.

The only possible Christian philosophy theistic.

The sense in which a philosophy must be Christian.

Deinhardt, Begriff der Persönlichkeit mit Rücksicht auf Strauss (in Beiträge, p. 85 *sqq.*) and Schenkel, Idee der Persönlichkeit in ihrer Zeitbedeutung für d. theol. Wissenschaft, etc. Schaffh., 1850, and also id., Dogmatik, i, p. 29 *sqq.*

[1] It must be conceded that these terms are arbitrarily applied; but they are employed in harmony with the current usage. Comp. Deinhardt, Kategorie des christlichen Theismus, in Beiträge, p. 67 *sqq.* The word *theism* is still used, however, as synonymous with *deism*, by some authors (as Kym, *l. c.*).

[2] Lotze somewhere makes the appropriate remark, that "the truly real, which is and is to be, is not matter and still less idea, but the living and personal Spirit of God and the world of personal spirits which he has created." Theology will doubtless be able to content itself with this philosophical result.

[3] Van Oosterzee presents the distinction between the *material* of philosophy and that of theology in a very satisfactory manner. This distinction once accepted, the

if its ideas are to be derived from other sources, *e. g.*, from the Bible (the thought has expression in talk about a Biblical philosophy), it must cease to be philosophy and lose itself in dogmatics. A different judgment must be formed of the so-called *philosophy of Christianity*, which does not attempt an *a priori* explanation of the Christian Revelation, but regards it as existing, and seeks to comprehend it in harmony with the fundamental principles of reason. It is accordingly a part of the general philosophy of religion, or also of the philosophy of history, and may as readily be undertaken from an unchristian as a Christian point of view.[1]

SECTION IX.

VALUE OF THE SEVERAL BRANCHES OF PHILOSOPHY.

No single department of philosophical inquiry can be made at will to possess special prominence for the theologian, since philosophy is an organic whole; but the field of ethics—moral philosophy and the philosophy of religion—will more particularly come into relations with theology, in addition to the formal elements of philosophy (logic, dialectics) and its general bases (psychology, anthropology).

Branches of philosophy which are important to theology.

In recent times the *encyclopædia of philosophy* has been included among the subjects usually presented in academical lectures; and its study should be urged upon the theologian, as of primary importance.[2] Ordinary *logic*, as it was occasionally taught in preparatory schools or more generally in the first stages of the university course, had temporarily lost much of its significance for many students, in view of the entire

confusion of philosophy and theology is readily avoided: "Theology is distinguished from speculative philosophy in this, that while the latter takes the pure human consciousness as its starting point, theology, on the contrary, must, above all, take account with an historical fact, with the belief of the community in a divine revelation. It makes the subject and ground of this belief the material for its investigation, in order to purify the idea, to develop it, and when necessary to defend it. It is 'une philosophie, dont la base est donnée' (Vinet), and thus, as a science, sustains a twofold character. It proceeds from that which is given, not in order to leave it as it is given; it reasons and philosophizes, but not in the abstract. Its material is an historical product, but it must treat this in a Christian philosophical (really critical) method." (Christian Dogmatics, Amer. ed., v. i, p. 2).

[1] Comp., however, Pelt, Encykl., p. 541 *sqq.*, and J. P Lange, Phil. Dogmatik.

[2] Herbart, Troxler, and Hegel published philosophical encyclopædias. Oppermann, Encykl. d. Philosophie, Hanover, 1844; F. C. Callisen, Propaedeutik d. Phil., Schleswig, 1846; K. Ph. Fischer, Grundzüge des Systems d. Philosophie u. Encykl. d. Phil. Wissenschaften, Erlangen, 1848–52 and 55, 3 vols.; K. Rosenkranz, System d. Wissenschaften, etc., Königsberg, 1850; H. Ritter, Encykl. d. phil. Wissenschaften, 3 vols. Göttingen, 1862–64. Comp. L. Tobler, Phil. Propaedeutik auf Gymnasien in the Neue Schweiz. Museum of Ribbeck, Köchly and Fischer, 1861, No. 4.

transformation of philosophy; but as the paroxysm wore off, the reaction caused a more zealous return to logical sobriety, without which all philosophizing becomes simply a tumultuous confusion.

Psychology, which for a period of considerable length had been moving in abstract categories, presenting the life of the soul apart from the conditions of physical life, was, after the return from this exclusive spiritualism, drawn more and more into the field of the physical sciences and brought into connexion with physiology—assuredly an advantageous change for science. This change involved the danger, however, of losing the soul-life in that of the body, and of thereby passing from spiritualism into materialism. A true philosophy of religion will always be dependent on a thorough psychology, a genuine philosophical exposition of the nature of the soul and its various manifestations (anthropology). An illustration is found in the relation between faith and knowledge, to determine which is the office of philosophy, but whose demonstration depends essentially upon psychological postulates. The old, Socratic maxim, "Know thyself," forms the underlying basis of all knowledge. A further question arises, however, concerning the extent to which even an objective apprehension of "the thing in itself" is possible to speculative philosophy—the great question to which various answers have continued to be returned since the days of Kant. This leads into fields which are often designated by the names of *ontology* and *metaphysics*. The names have been exchanged for others, indeed; but the departments to which they apply will constitute the field of so-called *speculative philosophy*.

Importance to philosophy of a sound psychology.

If we recur to the ancient Platonic and Aristotelian division of philosophy into physics, ethics, and dialectics, we obtain an analogue to the different branches of study treated of in § 5, which are also designated as philosophical studies in the broad sense. Logic (dialectics) will correspond to philology and mathematics, physics to the natural sciences, and ethics to history. If we apply the modern terminology, we have on the one hand a phenomenology of nature, and on the other a phenomenology of mind; on the one hand natural philosophy, on the other moral philosophy (the metaphysics of morality) and the philosophy of law (natural justice), of religion, and of history. It must be left to philosophy itself to determine the relation sustained by the philosophy of nature to empirical natural science, or by the philosophy of religion to religion and its historical manifestation in actual life. We likewise referred to the arts, in addition to the sciences; and we here find available a philosophy of the beautiful also—*æsthetics* the philosophy of art.

Philosophy divisible into that of nature and that of mind.

The *history of philosophy* is necessary to the study of philosophy itself; but as an auxiliary to the history of religion, Church, and doctrine, its consideration is referred to another place.

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SECTION X.

THE PREVAILING TENDENCIES OF THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

The estimate to be formed of the various theological tendencies and the choice of a position with regard to them, are naturally connected with the determination of the relation of philosophy to theology, though not dependent on it alone. A characterization of these tendencies becomes necessary at this point, because their influence makes itself felt throughout the entire science; but this is by no means designed to lead to a definite conclusion, which is rather to be attained through the medium of theological study itself.

Theological tendencies in the early Church.

The history of the subject enables us to recognize in the early Church two tendencies which came into frequent conflict with each other (comp. § 3). The one was more particularly inclined to hold fast to the legal, literal, traditional; the other, more independent, tended to pass beyond these limits. A Petrine and a Pauline tendency were manifest even among the primitive Christians. The earliest heresies took the form of Ebionitism on the one hand, and of Gnosticism on the other; but transitions from the one to the other (Clementines), or modifications of them (Montanism as a modification of Ebionitism?), took place even at this stage. The same contrast was repeated within the pale of the catholic orthodox Church, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian being on the one side, and Clement and Origen on the other. The succeeding controversies in the Church likewise presented the two opposing tendencies, though yet undeveloped and unconscious, in contrast with each other, until in a later day they assumed the forms of rationalism and supernaturalism. The strict Arians (Eunomius), for instance, insisted that Divine things could be comprehended, while the great defenders of orthodoxy in that age sought to guard their incomprehensible and mysterious character by the development of awe-inspiring formulas. In like manner, Nestorius, and with him the school of Antioch, represented a sober, intelligently discriminating tendency, pervaded by the breath of a mild piety, while Cyril of Alexandria and his party comprehended religious ideas in compact forms of expression calculated to challenge contradiction on the part of reason, *e. g.*, God has died, and similar expressions. The same contrast appears in the practical field, where Pelagius gave the first place to human liberty, while Augustine assigned the first place to the grace of God. In the domain of ethics, the former is an atomist, and the latter

a dynamist. Farther on, in the Middle Ages, the sacramental controversy shows an inclination on the part of some (Ratramnus, Berengarius) toward intelligent reflection, while others (Paschasius Radbertus, Lanfranc) hold fast the transcendental and incomprehensible even in outward things, and endeavor to embody it to the senses. John Scotus Erigena, a phenomenal character, but isolated and unappreciated, combined in himself both rationalistic and mystical elements. Among scholastics, Abelard, Gilbert of Poitiers, and Roscelin, although not absolute rationalists, yet belong to the class of rational theologians, while Anselm emphasizes faith, at the same time, however, striving to apprehend it by the reason. Bernard of Clairvaux supported strictly the positive doctrines of the Church by the weight of his personal influence. The mystics sought to intensify and give depth to the doctrines of the Church, but in their hands the positive was often transformed into the ideal, and history, as in the case of Origen, became a symbol and an allegory. They were thus unconsciously borne in the direction of rationalism. It is worthy of note that in the last period of scholasticism the prevalent nominalism introduced a sceptical spirit, which was counterbalanced by a purely external supernaturalism, based, however, on authority. The relation between faith and knowledge thus became unnatural, the renunciation of scientific apprehension on the part of faith resulting in blind credulity, while irreverent thought and speculation degenerated into frivolous unbelief.

Theological tendencies in the Middle Ages.

The Reformation cannot be regarded as exclusively the precursor of rationalism or the founder of supernaturalism. Least of all was it the precursor of rationalism in its broad manifestation and its immediate results. Luther was decidedly opposed to all subtleties (comp. § 7). Erasmus manifested far more rationalistic tendencies. Many have attempted to class Zwingle with the founders of rationalism, but certainly without cause, if the language is employed in the absolute or even the popular sense. It cannot be denied, however, that Zwingle, who combined soberness of judgment, with all his impulsive energy, and sympathized with the classical humanism of the Erasmian school, stands, at first sight, more nearly related to rationalism, than the realistic and positive Calvin, with his leaning toward strict supernaturalism; but the latter was, at the same time, by no means inferior to his opponents in the critical spirit, nor even averse to the employment of such weapons as rationalism subsequently used in its conflict with the orthodoxy of the Church (comp. his dispute on the Lord's Supper with Westphal). The rationalistic principle

Theological spirit of the Reformers.

was clearly manifested, on the other hand, by the antitrinitarians and their open and concealed friends, and it finally became settled, although as yet not fully developed, and combined with a formal supernaturalism, in Socinianism. Seb. Franck, Schwenkfeld, and Theobald Thamer, the latter especially, combined rationalistic elements with their mystical and theosophic tendencies.

Theological tendencies of the 17th century.

In the Reformed Church Arminianism broke through the limits of strict orthodoxy in the seventeenth century; and the influence of English Deism soon after the beginning of the eighteenth, led Christian apologists to grant many concessions to the spirit of the age. A system of natural (rational) theology took root beside the revealed (positive, Scripturally ecclesiastical), while the demonstrative method (beginning with Wolf, comp. § 7). drew the meshes of rationalistic categories through the substance of orthodoxy. Pietism, which had formerly been at odds with orthodoxy, now entered into a league with it for the defence of Biblical supernaturalism, which was being shattered by the attacks of criticism (Lessing, Semler). This continued until the appearance of Kant, who unravelled all that had hitherto been woven, discharged the pure reason from all participation in theology while assigning to the practical reason the inherited doctrines of God and immortality, and assigned to morality the categorical imperative as its basis. The more definite use of the terms rationalism and supernaturalism dates form that period (more particularly from the issue of the work, Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft, 1793). Kant makes a sharp distinction between rationalism and naturalism, which should always be observed.[1] German rationalism, as it was developed through the tendencies of that age, though not through the direct influence of Kant, is, in its formal character, distinguished from supernaturalism chiefly in that it considers as identical with the demands of reason, what the latter conceives to be a supernatural revelation, and in that it consequently endeavors to explain away by tricks of interpretation all that is

Theology in the 18th century.

Chief traits of modern rationalism.

[1] A distinction similar to that between radicalism and liberalism in the field of politics, although they often pass into each other. Comp. Kant, Rel. innerhalb d. Grenz. d. bloss. Vernunft, p. 216 *sq.* The designation "rationalist" is, however, of earlier date. The terms Rationistæ and Ratiocinistæ were employed as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, during a controversy at Helmstedt between the orthodox and the humanists (comp. Henke, Georg Calixt, p. 248). A sect whose adherents denominated themselves "rationalists," existed in England in 1646; and Sucro, during a disputation in A. D. 1706, classed "Rationalistæ, Naturalistæ, Libertini, Sceptici, quin imo Athei" together. Comp. Lechler, Gesch. des englischen Deismus, p. 61, and Tholuck, Verm. Schriften, ii, p. 26.

supernatural in the Scriptures, or else seeks to obviate its force as being merely the opinion of the time and people in question. It holds fast chiefly to the ethics of Christianity. This formal difference naturally implies the material, with reference to the specifically Christian doctrines of the person of Christ, the Trinity, original sin, the merits of Christ, redemption, eschatology, etc. Frequent approximations of the two systems to each other became apparent, however, at an early day. Biblical supernaturalism departed in many respects from the ancient orthodox doctrine of the Church, and often agreed with Socinianism in simply retaining the merely formal idea of a revelation, so that the controversy turned not so much upon the contents of doctrine as upon the way by which it had been reached. Rationalism, on the other hand, sought to demonstrate its agreement with the Bible in essential points, and established itself as Biblical rationalism, in opposition to doctrines of the Church as developed beyond the Scriptures, as well as to the more recent speculations. Mutual concessions led to a rational supernaturalism and a supernatural rationalism. Meanwhile, the active intellect of theologians like Herder, had already solved the contradiction in the last century, by regarding Revelation, not as an abstractly imparted doctrine from God to men, but as a Divine and human fact, to which the Bible gives a living testimony, without attempting to place in the hands of the systematic theologian a finished *corpus doctrinæ*. Kleuker, too, insisted upon the recognition of the divinely given facts, while entertaining freer views respecting the inspiration of the Scriptures which had been identified with revelation itself.[1]

Approaches of rationalism and supernaturalism to each other.

New direction given to theology by Herder and Schleiermacher.

But it was reserved for Schleiermacher, more than all others, to allay the conflict between rationalism and supernaturalism,[2] by making the historical manifestation of Christ, and acknowledgment of him as the Saviour of the world, the criterion by which to judge. The contrast between sin and grace, which had received a superficial treatment at the hands even of many Biblical supernaturalists, was again apprehended in its profound significance,

[1] Compare S. Ratjen, Johann Friedrich Kleuker und Briefe seiner Freunde, Göttingen, 1842.

[2] "I, for my poor part," says Schleiermacher, "begin to feel uncomfortable as soon as I listen to the on-rush of the 'ra-, irra-, and supra-,' because to my mind this terminology simply serves to increase the tangle of the confusion," (Zugabe zu Schreiben an Herrn Ammon, Berlin, 1818, p. 14). Concerning the influence of Schleiermacher on the development of modern theology, comp. K. Schwarz Gesch. d. neuesten Theologie, p. 29 *sqq.*, 1st ed

and the proper manifestation of God was seen to be his manifestation in Christ for the redemption of the world. Subsequent speculation likewise rendered material aid to the introduction of a more spiritual conception of the idea of revelation, and the whole of recent theology—to whose development, in addition to Schleiermacher, de Wette, Marheineke, Daub, Nitzsch, Twesten, Hase, Ullmann, Jul. Müller, Dorner, Al. Schweizer, Schenkel, Liebner, Martensen, Rothe, and Lange contributed, though occupying very different points of view—must be considered as having passed beyond the ancient controversy between rationalism and supernaturalism. It does not follow, however, that the antagonism has been removed, but merely that it has entered on a new stage. For,

Representatives of the recent theology.

1. The more modern tendency, generally speculatively mediating, is suspected by both the older rationalistic and the older supernaturalist schools of imposing a new sense on the ancient teachings of the Church, and of using words to conceal dishonest practices. At this point everything depends upon a correct apprehension of the relation of the undeveloped to the developed, the immediate contents of the Scriptures to what has been historically and intellectually inferred, as also upon a proper distinction between the religious element and the ever-changing forms of scientific expression.

The old strife in its newer forms.

2. It cannot be denied that the pantheistic spirit has often donned the garb of superior orthodoxy in an insulting comparison of itself with rationalism, although the latter honestly denied what it believed itself compelled to deny, while, at the same time, it decisively retained a belief in God and immortality according to the theistic view.[1] The reproaches of pantheism do not apply in every case, however; and, for itself, rationalism has often found it difficult while opposing pantheism, to deny the charge of sheer deism and naturalism. The vulgar rationalism, having fallen behind in the march of progress, is, with all its understanding and practical thoroughness, deficient in intellectual mobility when engaged upon details, and is deficient also in a profound ap-

[1] "It should be credited to the memory of rationalism, that it did not reject the idea of personality, nor teach an impersonal God, an impersonal Christ, an impersonal human soul, *i. e.*, one incapable of existing after death. In its more noble representatives, at least, the disciples and successors of Kant, it displays the praiseworthy ambition to secure dogmatic recognition for an absolutely perfect, personal God, who governs the world in the interests of moral ends, an ethically perfect Christ, who is educating the world for moral purposes, and a human personal soul, which is capable of endless moral perfection, and is being trained on earth by Christianity for the hereafter." Schenkel, Idee der Persönlichkeit, p. 6.

prehension of the nature of religion and Christianity, while, despite its praiseworthy morality, it also lacks the devout disposition in which all religious inspiration has its rise. This applies also, though in a different manner, to the older Biblical supernaturalism, which rests upon a more solid foundation, indeed, but without deriving an adequate benefit from this advantage.

The position of pietism in the conflict.

In the current conflict modern pietism has taken the place of the older supernaturalism. The earlier pietism[1] contrasted with the orthodoxy of its time, in that it represented the independent, active principle in the Church, and the interests of practical Christianity (Spener, Francke). It assumed a weaker position after the days of the Wolfian philosophy, and often assailed science at improper points (the pietistic opposition at Halle against Wolf). Pietism joins the older supernaturalism in holding strongly to the Scriptures; but what was a dead form with the latter, has become a living body with the former. It regards the Bible as the word of life, and like the later theology, it attaches great importance to the contrast between sin and grace, with the difference that it rejects the speculative element and confines itself wholly to the practical. It is only too prone, however, to commit the error of confounding dogmatic Christianity with practical, in its zealous defense of the letter, or to be led astray, while striving to be piously intelligent, into insipidity and arbitrariness. To this must be added a fondness for dabbling with philosophy and natural science without honestly examining their claims, or, in case it renounces every pretence to scientific character, a disposition to vaunt itself in pious phraseology, which naturally assumes the appearance of cant.

[1] The name, as is well known, came into current use in the time of Spener and Francke. At that time the pietists (as liberals) stood opposed to the strictly orthodox. Their buoyant and pious spiritual life soon, however, gave way to ascetic formalism. This was pietism on its practical side (affected piety); our concern is with dogmatic pietism. The latter clings emphatically to the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism, both the formal, as involved in the principle of the authority of the Scriptures, and the material, of sin and justification, in which connexion it strongly emphasizes the natural corruption of man and his moral inability when not aided by grace (comp. von Cölln and Bretschneider in the passages cited below). In these respects it cannot be justly charged with sectarianism; it has, on the contrary, always appealed to its orthodoxy, when brought into comparison with rationalism. But its devotion to the letter is not yet a proof of the Protestant spirit; and the words will apply here, "Duo cum faciunt idem, non est idem," and, "C'est le ton, qui fait la musique." Luther's energetic nature certainly wrought out the doctrine internally with different results, and gave to it a different outward bearing, from what a sickly languishing pietism is able to furnish. The entire life-conception of the Reformation was soundly pious, but far from being morbidly pietistic.

Mysticism,[1] which has been improperly confounded with pietism, presents a more attractive appearance. It is more ancient than pietism, being as old as the Church, and even older. It is really religion itself in the exact sense, as the latter appears when restricted to its immediate self and not aided by intelligent knowledge, or when, guided by the imagination, it wanders off into the labyrinths of theosophy, while in the practical field it either gives way to the contemplative inactivity of quietism or manifests itself as enthusiasm. Mysticism is supernaturalism, inasmuch as it rests on the assumption of an immediate enlightening influence from above and of an actual communion of the Divine with the human; it can never, therefore, come to terms with the vulgar rationalism.[2] But it differs from the formal Biblical supernaturalism in not limiting revelation entirely to the written word, listening rather to the internal word, and evincing a strong inclination to convert the positive features into allegory, and the historical facts into ideal vagaries. It has this tendency in common with the idealistic rationalism, as may be seen, *e. g.*, in Swedenborg.

The mystic tendency in theology.

Another new form of supernaturalism is the ecclesiastical positivism and confessionalism, which again asserts itself with power. This tendency, not content with Biblical orthodoxy, lays stress upon assent to the teachings of symbolical books as the necessary criterion of a correct belief, and aims

Ecclesiastical confessionalism.

[1] The derivation is from μύω, μύστης, μυστήριον, μυστικός. The examination of what is mysterious involves neither praise nor blame, aside from other considerations. Inasmuch as religion is itself the mystery of godliness, it will involve a mystical character to the apprehension of the average human understanding; and it was not, therefore, wholly an error, to distinguish between a true and a false mysticism, as some have done. The corruption of mysticism has been designated by many as fanaticism (from fanum, fanaticus); but there are fanatics of every kind, even rationalistic ones. The characteristic traits of a fanatic are a cold heart and a hot head. Enthusiasm is sometimes substituted for this term; but common usage attaches a more innocent idea to that word. The enthusiast is capable of martyrdom in the defense of his principles; the fanatic erects the stake. (Bretschneider describes fanaticism as the paroxysm of enthusiasm). Nitzsch remarks, in entire correspondence with our view, that "fanaticism is, in its inner nature, unqualifiedly cold; every fanatic is, in his inmost being, a cold nature; whatever heat he has is superficial; a passionate bearing within the limits of the external and the empirical, is cultivated as a compensation for his coldness and indifference." Akadem. Vorträge über Christl. Glaubenslehre, p. 28.

[2] "In the meantime," says Hase (Theol. Streitschriften, No. 3, page 90), "it would not harm rationalism, if it were to receive into itself as much of mystical unction as it could contain without injury to its sound common sense; and mysticism likewise would not necessarily suffer the loss of its vessel of grace, were it to receive on board a measure of good sense, as ballast, if not as a compass."

in Germany to destroy the existing union between Protestant denominations.

England in the latter part of the seventeenth century was profoundly stirred by the Trinitarian controversy, which began with the publication of tracts on the Unitarian side, by Thomas Firmin, a wealthy London merchant. Dr. John Wallis defended the Athanasian Creed, in his Letters on the Trinity (1690). In the same year Dean Sherlock contributed A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever-blessed Trinity, in which he approached tritheism, and was answered by Dr. South (1693) and Dr. Wallis. Bishop Bull's Defensio Fidei Niceanae (1685), collected the testimonies of the Fathers to the pre-existence of Christ and his divinity. In 1694 appeared his Judgment of the Catholic Church, in which he justified the anathema of the Nicene Creed. In Primitive Christianity Revived (1711), and the Council of Nice Vindicated from the Athanasian Heresy (1713), Professor Whiston, of Cambridge, set forth semi-Arianism. Whitby's Disquisitions criticised Bishop Bull's argument from the ante-Nicene Fathers. Dr. Samuel Clarke followed in the same line of argument, although he refused to be called an Arian. These works elicited Waterland's Vindication of Christ's Divinity; Defence of the Divinity of Christ; Critical History of the Athanasian Creed, etc. (1719–1724). After this controversy had run its course the attention of English theologians was directed to the Deistic controversy, already noticed (pp. 76, 77).

Theological tendencies in England.

A marked change in the tendencies of theological opinion in England may be dated from the middle of the eighteenth century. The Wesleyan revival led to a concentration of thought upon the atonement, justification by faith, and the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart of man. The effects of the revival were felt throughout the English Church in the rise of the evangelical party, and beyond the Church in the general diffusion of Wesleyan theological ideas. At the same time the attack upon the internal contents of Christianity passed on to its external evidences and called forth a corresponding apologetic literature. In this literature Lardner (1684–1768), Leland (1691–1766), Paley (1743–1805), and Lyttleton (1709–1773), became conspicuous. Towards the close of the century English Deism, became infected with the French spirit, of which Gibbon, the historian, and Thomas Paine are striking examples. The evangelical movement having relaxed church principles and prepared the way for political liberalism, awakened a counter movement, which announced itself in 1833 in the issue of the first "Tract for the Times." From this series, which was finished in

1840, the movement has taken the name of Tractarian. It maintains the regenerative efficacy of the sacraments, and the absolute authority of the Church over the individual. At the same time the penetration of the English mind by German culture has produced a rationalism which has run parallel with that of Germany. Literary Rationalism has found a brilliant representative in Thomas Carlyle, who, while urging his countrymen to give heed to the moral order of the universe, seems to deny the possibility of attaining to distinct theological conceptions. The disciples of Coleridge have endeavored to adjust modern philosophical thought and the creed of the Church of England to each other, and have produced a Broad Church party. The critical rationalistic spirit in the State Church is represented in the "Essays and Reviews," and the attacks of Bishop Colenso on the Credibility of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua. Two of the theological tendencies of the age are well typified by the lives of the brothers, John Henry and Francis William Newman, one of whom passed from the evangelical school, through Tractarianism to Rome, and the other, from the same starting-point, through Unitarianism to a religious idealism which denies all historic Christianity. During the past few years a call has been made among the Non-conformists of England and Scotland for a revision of Church standards.

In the United States the Wesleyan revival spread more widely than in England, and created a theological tendency corresponding with its distinctive religious ideas. The Unitarian movement, which dates from the time of Stoddard's proposal of a "half-way covenant," obtained fresh importance under the leadership of William Ellery Channing (1780–1842). Since the time of Channing it has shown both a conservative and a radical tendency, the radicalism going to the length of wholly destructive criticism (Theodore Parker and O. B. Frothingham). The Tractarian movement has also been repeated in the United States, but without the vigor which has marked its progress in England. The Churches of the Reformed faith, under the leadership of the American Presbyterians, have formed an alliance, which has secured a collation of all the Reformed creeds.

The modern rationalism.

As one extreme, however, always calls forth the other, rationalism, which was supposed to have been forever buried, has again arisen, but in a different form, and, in consequence, assumes the designation "modern." It is remarkable that the same philosophical school to which the defenders of modern supernaturalism belong, originated the speculative rationalism, which agrees with its older brother in denying the supernatural and the

miraculous, but in other respects is materially different, inasmuch as it denies with emphasis the very doctrines which the earlier rationalism energetically maintained, *viz.*, the doctrines of a personal God and a personal immortality, to which it adds incessant effort to undermine the historical basis of Christianity. Although this rationalism considers spirit a reality only as it attains to consciousness in man, it has yet often been confounded—by both friend and foe, and not always without its own fault—with the other tendency which ends with wholly denying the existence of spirit, and passes over into bald materialism and nihilism, theories which manifestly constitute the negation of all theology.

SECTION XI.

RELATION OF THE STUDENT TO THESE TENDENCIES.

The pupil will find no scientific charm, by the use of which he may avoid these opposing influences, and escape the mental conflict they naturally excite. On the other hand, let none who are conscious of being governed by upright intentions in the sight of God, permit mere theoretical doubts to frighten them from the study of theology. A pious disposition will be strengthened by the continued study of the Holy Scriptures as connected with the Church and its history, by acquaintance with the great heroes who stood for the truth, and who, in the midst of the most diverse complications, strove to secure the one thing needful, by sincere prayer to God. Love, which knows how to bear with divergent tendencies and how to appropriate to itself all that is good in any form, will increase with the growth of faith, and faith will hold fast the truth which has been secured; and wherever a living faith and love are found, hope in the full triumph of the truth will not be wanting.

The spirit in which these conflicting tendencies should be met.

Many approach theology with false expectations; either they have retained an unthinking faith, or they are affected by doubts conceived in the course of their preliminary studies. The former are easily disturbed in this study, when its critical processes threaten to destroy what they have hitherto cherished with devoted love. The latter become impatient when knotty doubts become still more involved, instead of giving way. Shall hard questions be concealed from sight, and the untenable be represented as admitting of defense? Shame on the science which would lend its aid to the attempt! Others advise, on the contrary, that persons who cannot keep from doubting should leave the study of theology untouched. They urge that believing theologians are needed, particularly in this age. The latter is certain-

True method of dealing with doubt.

ly true; but we prefer a faith that has been tested in the conflict, to the dullness of spirit which is often confounded with a believing disposition. Accordingly, eminent theologians, possessing the most loyal faith, have always valued courage in youthful aspirants. So Bengel,[1] who expresses the idea that "all doctrinal tenets must needs pass through a conflict, and their truth be won afresh." Harms, the man of robust faith, remarked while standing by the grave of a rationalistic student, "He who doubts religiously, has the true religion."[2] Neander is said to have expressed an analogous sentiment, with reference to a young theologian who died before the age of youthful doubts had passed, to the effect that he died in his calling, and that to die thus is to die well. But let the questioning be in a religious spirit, and with a holy determination of heart which consents to part with every thing for the sake of securing a single pearl of truth.

Testimonies of great theologians.

An earnestly religious character, even if it exists only in its most general form, will assuredly become more positively Christian under the influence of a sound course of theological study. A vivid apprehension of Christ, even in his human nature alone, will, if joined with enthusiasm for the ideal, erelong beget in the heart faith in his Divine character, although the intellect may yet be struggling to find a satisfactory expression of its views. Such idealism[3] is at all events, better than the dry prosaic disposition of a mind wholly given up to the influence of ordinary outward realities, which, precisely because of unbelief, demands that every thing shall be signed and sealed and trebly hypothecated, and which prefers to confine its attention to what lies on the surface, to the end that its sleep may be undis-

Sound theological study will increase faith.

[1] See Leben Bengel's, by Burk, p. 17, and comp. the Göttingen Memorial, Ueber die gegenwärtige Krisis des kirchlichen Lebens (Gött., 1854), p. 18: "As in the field of morals importance attaches not simply to what is done, but even more to the reasons, purposes, and motives of our action; so in the religious field the great question is in no wise chiefly, *who* believes, but more especially *how* and *why* he believes;" and page 20: "Inasmuch as the spiritual office, however important its relation to the organism of the Church may be, does not ask to be considered a talisman before whose very appearance the diseases of our age must fly, it follows, that theological faculties will be required still further to impress upon the future servants of the Church, entrusted to their guidance and care, to the utmost of their ability, the necessity for inward religious and moral culture rather than the mere memorizing of the tenets of the creed, in order that they may not merely attain to a correct belief, but also come to hold it in a correct manner, and that thus a clergy firmly established in the faith of our Church be perpetuated among us."

[2] See Rheinwald's Repertorium, xxx, p. 54.

[3] Comp. Kähler, Christl. Sittenlehre, p. 23, where genuine ideality is emphasized, as against a mere giddiness of ideas.

turbed. Let, therefore, the picture of a living Christ, adapted to compel the attention of every human soul struggling after God, be made the central feature of the theological school. It will then become speedily apparent that "to love Jesus is the true supernaturalism, to comprehend Jesus the true rationalism, and to illustrate Jesus in personal character the true mysticism; and that these three constitute true Christianity."[1]

Let the student remember, too, that the question of rationalism is largely a question of method. He who has, through a Christian experience, attained a clear Christian consciousness, is fixed upon a rock, from which he cannot easily be moved. Anselm has taught us that we must believe in order to understand, and has also reminded us that we are negligent if, "after we are established in the faith, we do not seek to understand what we believe."[2] We may be rational and yet not rationalistic; inquiring and yet thoroughly believing; philosophical and yet not unchristian. In the spirit of Anselm Coleridge has pointed out that "in order to an efficient belief in Christianity, a man must have been a Christian; that this is the seeming *argumentum in circulo* incident to all spiritual truths, to every subject not presentable under the forms of time and space, as long as we attempt to master by the reflex acts of the understanding what we can only know by the act of becoming."[3] Christ's words will furnish the student a sure clue through the tangled thicket of rationalism: "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God."

Respecting the extent to which the theological school may contribute to the cultivation of a right disposition, comp. § 22.

THE LITERATURE OF THE CONFLICT.

Compare K. G. Bretschneider, Systematische Entwicklung aller in der Dogmatik vorkommenden Begriffe, etc. (vol. 4, Lpz., 1841, p. 189); and die Literatur über Religionsphilosophie, p. 75.

I. ON RATIONALISM AND SUPERNATURALISM.

a. ON THE SIDE OF RATIONALISM.

J. F. Röhr, Briefe über den Rationalismus. Aachen (Zeitz.), 1813.

J. Schulthess und J. K. v. Orelli, Rationalismus und Supranaturalismus; Kanon, Tradition, und Scription. Zürich, 1822.

J. F. Röhr, Grund- und Glaubenssätze, der evang.-protest. Kirche. 1832–34. (Vgl. Bretschn. a. a. O. S. 194.) 3. Aufl. Neustadt a. d. O. 1843.

Ch. F. Fritzsche, de rationalismo commentat. II; in den opuscul. academ. (Tur., 1846) p. 85 ss.

L. J. Rückert, der Rationalismus. Lpz., 1859.

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[1] Kähler, *infra*, p. 334. [2] Cur Deus Homo? book i, chap. ii.
[3] Biographia Literaria, chap. xxiv, p. 349.

Exponents of the Extreme Modern Rationalism:—

Kradolfer, über Glauben und Unglauben. Bremen, 1868.

Schwalb, der alte und neue Glaube und Christus. Ebend. (In reply: Zahn, der alte und der neue Christus, oder Glaube und Unglaube. Sendschreiben an Schwalb. Bremen, 1868.)

The best known organ of the older rationalistic tendency for a long time was Röhr's Predigerbibliothek (Neustadt a. d. Orla), 1820–1848, twenty-eight volumes and some pamphlets, continued by L. Lange until 1851 in nearly two volumes. Earlier still were Schulthess' Annalen, Paulus' Sophronizon, der Denkgläubige, and other periodicals; also die Darmstädter Kirchenzeitung, under the editorship of Bretschneider. A product of the vulgar Rationalism (which is partly mixed with pantheistic young Hegelian ideas) is the so-called Deutsch-Katholicismus, and the Lichtfreundthum. Compare the writings of Ronge, Uhlich, Wislicenus, König, Rupp (Brun's Repertor. 1845, vol. iv, page 26). Organs of the same tendency are: Hofferichter und Kampe: Für freies religiöses Leben, Breslau, 1848; Blätter für christl. Erbauung, by R. Fischer and afterwards by Zille; Lucifer, Fliegende Blätter für Kirchen- und Schulreform by C. Schäffer. Much different from the above-named tendency is the Rationalism which, more or less connecting itself with the results of the Hegelian philosophy and Tübingen criticism, adopted as its highest standard "the modern consciousness." Its organs were the Zeitstimmen aus der ref. Kirche der Schweiz (from 1859), and the (Berne) Reformblätter (from 1866), both published since 1872 as Reform, Zeitstimmen aus der Schweizerischen Kirche. See also § 69.

b. ON THE SIDE OF SUPERNATURALISM.

J. A. H. Tittman, über Supranatur., Rational., und Atheismus. Lpz., 1816.

Cl. Harms, Thesen Luthers mit andern 95 Sätzen. Kiel, 1817. (For the controversy arising therefrom, see in Deegen's Jahrbuch der Litera., ii, p. 139, and iii, p. 73.)

—— dass es mit der Vernunftreligion nichts ist. Kiel, 1819.

Ch. T. Zöllich, Briefe über den Supranaturalismus, eine gegenschrift zu den briefen über den Rational. Sondershausen, 1821. (In reply thereto Gebhard, die letzten Gründe des Rationalismus. Arnst., 1822.)

T. F. Kleuker, über das Ja und Nein der bibl.-christl., und der reinen Vernunfttheologie. Hamburg, 1819. (Compare also über die Altonaer Bibel, 1818.)

H. Steffens, von der falschen Theologie und dem wahren Glauben; eine Stimme aus der Gemeinde. Breslau, 1831.

E. Sartorius, die Religion ausserhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft. Marburg, 1822.

—— über die Unwissenschaftlichkeit und innere Verwandtschaft des Rationalismus und Romanismus in den Erkenntnissprincipien und Heilslehren des Christenthums. (Beiträge zur Vertheidigung der evangelischen Rechtgläubigkeit. Heidelberg, 1825.)

A. Hahn, de rationalismi, qui dicitur, vera indole et qua cum naturalismo contineatur ratione. Lips., 1827. (Compare also the polemical treatises which were called forth by it from Hase, Krug, Richter, Clemen, and others. Bretschneider, Syst. Entw., p. 192.)

—— über die Lage des Christenthums in unserer Zeit, und das Verhältniss des christlichen Theologie zur Wissenschaft, überhaupt. Lpz., 1832.

T. A. Voigtländer, der Rationalismus nach seinen philosophischen Hauptformen und in seiner historischen Gestalt. Lpz., 1830.

W. Steiger, Kritik des Rationalismus in Wegscheiders Dogmatik. Berlin, 1830.

With Sharp Antagonism to the Modern Tendencies:—

Agénor de Gasparin, les écoles du doute et l'école de la foi. Paris, 1853.

Vilmar, die Theologie der Thatsachen wider die Theologie der Rhetorik. 4th edit., Marburg, 1876.

Scheele, die trunkene Wissenschaft und ihr Erbe an die evangelische Kirche. Berlin, 1867.

Periodical Organs of Supernaturalism:—

Hengstenberg's Evangel. Kirchenzeitung (Berlin, 1827); since 1869 by L. H. Tauscher; earlier, Bengel's Archiv (continued by Steudel); Heidenreich's and Hüffell's Zeitschrift; Schwarz's Jahrbücher; Tholuck's Literar. Anzeiger.

Organs of the Extreme Orthodox (Lutherans):—

The Erlanger Zeitschriften by Harless, Rudelbach, and Guericke (Guericke and Delitzsch to the end of 1878); by Dieckhoff (earlier, Meyer) and Kliefoth; Luthardt's Allgem. evang. luth. K. Z. (Lpz., 1868).

An organ of the extreme reformed tendency is, die Evang. Ref. Kirchenzeitung, by Thelemann (Detmold, 1851); in place of which has appeared lately the Elberfelder Reform. K. Z. As an organ of the now so-called "positive Union," the Neue evang. K. Z., by H. Messner and others (Berl., 1859), may be consulted.

c. THE MEDIATING THEOLOGY.

1. *From the Standpoint of Rationalism.*

H. G. Tzschirner, dass die Verschiedenheit der dogmatischen Systeme kein Hinderniss des Zwecks der Kirche sei. (Vgl. Bretschneider S. 191.)

Ch. F. Böhme, christl. Henotikon. Halle, 1827.

K. G. Bretschneider, über die grundprincipien der evangel. Theologie. Altenburg, 1832. (The same author's two letters to a statesman. Lpz., 1830.)

C. G. W Theile, Christus und die Vernunft. Lpz., 1830.

—— Aphorismen zur Verständigung über den sogenannten alten und neuen Glauben. Lpz., 1839.

D. G. K. v. Cölln and Dav. Schulz, über theologische Lehrfreiheit auf. den evangelischen Universitäten. Breslau, 1830.

2. *From the Standpoint of Supernaturalism.*

E. L. Nitzsch, über das Heil der Theologie durch Unterscheidung der Offenbarung und Religion als Mittel und Zweck. Wittenb., 1830.

L. Hüffell, Friedensvorschläge zur Beendigung des Streits zwischen bibl. christlichen Theologen und Rationalisten (Zeitschrift für Predigerwissenschaften, vol. II).

K. Ruthenus, der formale Supernaturalismus oder der einzig mögliche weg zu einer Ausgleichung der streitenden theol. Parteien. Lpz., 1834.

von der Goltz, die Grenzen der Lehrfreiheit in Theol. u. Kirche. Bonn, 1873.

3. *From the Speculative Standpoint.*

de Wette, Religion und Theologie. Berl., 1817; 2. 1821.

—— über den Verfall der protestantischen Kirche in Deutschland und die Mittel, ihr wieder aufzuhelfen (Reformationsalm. 1817. Pp. 296 ff.).

—— Theodor oder des Zweiflers Weihe. Berlin, 1822, 28. 2 Bde.

L. A. Kähler, Supernaturalismus und Rationalismus in ihrem gemeinschaftl. Ursprunge, ihrer Zwietracht und höhern Einheit. Lpz., 1818.

K. Ullmann, theolog. Bedenken, auf Veranlassung des Angriffs der evang. Kirchenzeitung auf den Hallischen Rationalismus. Halle, 1830.

Alex. Schweizer, Kritik des Gegensatzes zwischen Rationalismus und Supranaturalismus. Zürich, 1833.

—— Nach Rechts und nach Links. Lpz., 1876.

K. Hase, theolog. Streitschriften. Lpz., 1834–37. 3 vols.

Jul. Wiggers, kirchlicher oder rein biblischer Supernaturalismus? Lpz., 1842.

K. R. Hagenbach, über die sog. Vermittlungstheologie, zur Abwehr und Verständigung. Zür., 1858.

—— über Glauben und Unglauben; two lectures delivered at Basel. Berne, 1872.

* R. Rothe, zur Dogmatik. Gotha, 1863. 2. ed., 1869.

A. E. Krauss, die Lehre von der Offenbarung. Gotha, 1868.

Dan. Schenkel, Christenthum und Kirche im Einklang mit der Culturentwicklung. Wiesbaden, 1867.

J. W Hanne, der Geist des Christenthums, seine Entwickelung und sein Verhältniss zu Kirche und Cultur der Gegenwart. Elberf., 1867.

Periodical Organs of the Mediating Theology:—

Theolog. Studien und Kritiken, by Ullmann and Umbreit, with the co-operation of Gieseler, Lücke, and Nitzsch, now conducted by Riehm, Köstlin, and Beyschlag (Hamburg, now Gotha); also the Deutsche Zeitschrift für christl. Wissenschaft und christl. Leben, conducted by K. T. Th. Schneider, with the co-operation of Jul. Müller, Aug. Neander, K. I. Nitzsch, later by W. Hollenberg. Other organs are: die Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, by Liebner and others (1858 until the end of 1878); die Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie (Lpz., 1875), by Hase, Lipsius, Pfleiderer, and Schrader; Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie (Lpz., 1858).

An organ of the freest critical tendency is the famous Tijdschrift of Leyden by A. Kuenen and others (1867); on the other hand there are the alike famous Tijdschrift of Groeningen (1875); also Kalkar's Danish Tidskrift (Copenhagen, 1871), belonging more to the mediating tendency.

The more practical tendencies are represented by the Allg. Kirchl. Zeitschrift, by Schenkel and others (1860–72), and lately as the Protest. K. Z., the chief organ of the Protestant Union. The Protest. Kirchenzeitung für das evang. Deutschland, was founded in 1854 by Jonas, Sydom, Krause, Pischon, and others. It opposed reactionary tendencies, but held fast to the results won since Schleiermacher (yet disposed more to the left than to the right). A mediating position was held also by the Kirchenblatt für die ref. Schweiz, which ceased at the end of 1868; compare among others the treatise Zur Orientirung über die gegenwärtigen theol. Parteien. (Jahrg., 1859. Nos. 22–25.) Holding the same position, yet still more popular, is, at Berne, the Volksblatt für die ref. Kirche der Schweiz (since 1872).

Historical:—

E. F. Stäudlin, Geschichte des Rationalismus und Supranaturalismus. Gött., 1826. Amand Saintes, krit. Geschichte des Rationalismus in Deutschland. Lpz., 1845–47. In English, London, 1849. Schenkel, die religiösen Zeitkämpfe. Hamb., 1847. Tholuck, Gesch. des Rationalismus. Gotha, 1865. J. F. Hurst, History of Rationalism. New York, 1865; London, 1867. G. Frank, Gesch. des Ration. und seiner Gegensätze. Lpz., 1875.

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J. Spalding, über den Werth der Gefühle im Christenthume. Lpz., 1764 u. ö.

J. L. Ewald, Briefe üb. die alte Mystik u. den neueren Mysticismus. Lpz., 1822.

E. A. Borger, disputatio de mysticismo. Hague, 1820. From the Latin by Stange, with preface by Gurlitt. Altona, 1826.

Dn. von Cölln, histor. Beiträge zur Erläuterung und Berichtigung der Begriffe Pietismus, Mysticismus und Fanaticismus. Halberst., 1830.

G. Chr. R. Matthäi, der Mysticismus nach seinem Begriffe, Ursprung und Unwerth. Gött., 1832.

Mad. de Staël, de la mysticité. Ed. stér. Paris, 1815. In her work on Germany, vol. iii, p. 290.

A. Liebner, Hugo von St. Victor. Lpz., 1832. Pp. 222.

K. G. Bretschneider, die Grundlage des evang. Pietismus. Lpz., 1833.

J. H. v. Wessenberg, über Schwärmerei. Heilbronn, 1834. 2. ed., 1848.

G. Binder, der Pietismus und die moderne Bildung. Stuttg., 1838.

Chr. Merklin, Darstellung und Kritik des modernen Pietismus. Stuttg., 1839.

J. A. Dorner, der Pietismus, insbes. in Würtemb., und seine speculativen Gegner, Binder, und Märklin. Hamb., 1846.

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Thompson, William, Editor. Aids to Faith. A Series of Theological Essays by several writers, being a reply to Essays and Reviews. Am. ed. 12mo, pp. 538. New York, 1862.

Ulrici, Herman. Strauss as a Philosophical Thinker. A Review of "the Old Faith and the New Faith." From the German. 16mo, pp. 167. Philadelphia, 1874.

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Worcester, Samuel. Letters to the Rev. W. E. Channing, on Unitarianism. 8vo. Boston, 1815.

Although Strauss, in his life of Jesus, first demolishes the rationalistic interpretation of the gospels in order to prepare the way for his mythical theory, he has yet been the occasion of the writing of lives of Christ in which the supernatural view of the person and work of our Lord is maintained, and which are therefore directed against rationalism. Among these are:

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Bayne, Peter. The Testimony of Christ to Christianity. 12mo, pp. 195. Boston, 1862.

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Ellis, Geo. E. Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy, with particular reference to its Origin, etc., 8vo, pp. 536. Boston, 1857.

Farrar, Adam Storey. A Critical History of Free Thought in Reference to the Christian Religion. Bampton Lectures for 1862. 12mo, pp. 487. New York, 1863.

Hagenbach, K. R. German Rationalism. Its Rise, Progress, and Decline. From the German. 8vo, pp. 405. Edinburgh, 1865.

Hurst, John F. History of Rationalism. Embracing the Present State of Protestant Theology. 8vo, pp. 643. New York, 1865.

Lecky, W E. H. History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe. 8vo, 2 vols. New York, 1873.

Leland, John. A View of the Principal Deistical Writers that have appeared in England in the Last and Present Century. 8vo. London, 1836.

Saintes, Amand. A Critical History of Rationalism in Germany, from its Origin to the Present Time. 8vo, pp. x, 379. London, 1849.

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Tulloch, John. Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 463, 500. Vol. I. Liberal Churchmen. Vol. II. The Cambridge Platonists. Edinburgh and London, 1872.

For an account of the Dodwell Controversy on the Natural Immortality of the Human Soul, and also the Literature of the Controversy, see Dr. Noah Porter's Appendix to Ueberweg's History of Philosophy. Vol. II, pp. 371–375. See also Dr. Ezra Abbott's Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life, Titles 2114–2129 inclusive.

For the Bibliography of the Unitarian Controversy in New England, see the Appendix to H. M. Dexter's Congregationalism as seen in its Literature. The list of the titles extends to the year 1879. Chap. VI of O. B. Frothingham's Transcendentalism in New England contains a brief account of the rise of New England Unitarianism. See also "Historical Introduction" in Sprague's Annals of the Unitarian Pulpit, and, for review articles on both sides, Poole's Index, pp. 1340, 1341.

On the Trinitarian Controversy in England during the last years of the Seventeenth Century, and the first years of the Eighteenth, see Hunt's History of Religious Thought in England from the Reformation etc. Vol. II, pp. 200–221, and Vol. III, pp. 20–23.

APPENDIX TO PART FIRST OF THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

F. Zyro, Revision der christl.-theologisch. Encycklopädik, in Stud. u. Krit., 1837, No. 3, p. 689, and Hagenbach's art. in Herzog, Eucykl., vol. iv.

The encyclopædia of a science as a whole can only come into being after the science has been rounded into a *κύκλος*; and Theological Encyclopædia, accordingly, could not originate before theology had been an organism of various departments. The beginnings of this science were apparent in the Church, however, at quite an early period, though rather in connexion with other branches of theological study, than as a distinct subject of inquiry. Their most natural expression was found in connexion with practical theology. The installation of a clergyman in his office, would involve, in addition to remarks relating to its particular duties, the necessity of pointing out the kinds of knowledge and ability required. Chrysostom (*περὶ ἱερωσύνης*) already furnishes hints as to what would be proper qualifications for the servant of God, in the matter of scientific acquirements, as well as with respect to his religious and moral character, adding many beautiful reflections on the manifold gifts required for a worthy administration of the spiritual office (Books v and vi).[1] Augustine likewise (De doctrina Christiana) indicates the scientific acquirements needed for the exposition of the Scriptures and the duties of the pulpit, among which he already places a knowledge of the languages in which the Bible was originally written; and he recommends, as helps, the use of the Septuagint and the old Latin (Itala) versions. He also insists that natural sciences, *e. g.*, natural history, botany, etc., should be admitted into the course of study, but only so far as they can aid in ex-

Beginnings of theological encyclopædia in Chrysostom.

Qualifications of the minister according to Augustine.

[1] The passage in v, 5, is remarkable, as already distinguishing between the empiric and the cultivated minister, and between the different degrees of obligation devolving on them, *Ὥστε τοῖς σοφωτέροις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἀμαθεστέροις μείζων ὁ πόνος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡ ζημία ἀμελοῦσι τούτοις κἀκείνοις, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον αὕτη πλείων, ὅσον καὶ τῆς κτήσεως ἑκατέρας τὸ μέσον. Κἀκείνοις μὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἐγκαλέσειέ τις, μηδὲν ἄξιον λόγου παρέχουσιν· οὗτοι δὲ εἰ μὴ μείζονα τῆς δόξης, ἧς ἅπαντες ἔχουσι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀεὶ προφέροιεν, πολλὰ παρὰ πάντων ἕπεται τὰ ἐγκλήματα*, (ed. Tauchn., p. 66). Comp. Neander, Der heil. Chrysost., i, 57, *sqq.*

plaining the Scriptures. The writings of the Greeks and Romans should receive judicious attention, and dialectics should be mastered. Rhetoric, and its employment in sacred eloquence are considered in Book iv, which may be regarded as an essay on Christian homiletics. The work of Ambrose (De Officiis Ministrorum), is, on the contrary, rather morally edifying than scientific.

The work, De Disciplina Scholarium, which is attributed to Boethius (the pupil of Augustine, † 525), belongs to a later age; but the De Institutione Divinarum Literarum of M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, which follows the precedent of Augustine in urging the study of the Scriptures, and indicating a method for that work, is deserving of attention (Opp., ed. Garet, Rouen, 1679, and Venice, 1729, 2 vols. fol., p. 537, *sqq.*). It also recommends the study of the Church Fathers, the decisions of œcumenical councils, and Josephus and Eusebius, and attaches importance to a knowledge of natural science.

The Encyclopædia of Isidore.

A sort of general (real) encyclopædia, in which a place was assigned to theology, was undertaken by Isidore of Seville (sixth and seventh centuries), in the work, Originum sive Etymologiarum libri xx. He also wrote instructions for monks and clergymen, which, however, are, like those of Ambrose, of a more practical than scientific character. More, though still a very moderate, stress, is laid upon the scientific element, by Rabanus (Hrabanus) Maurus, the abbot of Fulda, in his work, De Clericorum Institutione, (in the first half of the ninth century); but even he was far in advance of his age.[1] In the third book he urges the study of the Scriptures, and especially of their hidden meaning, and also familiarity with the liberal arts and with preaching, generally in harmony with Augustine. In the Middle Ages the mystic and schoolman, Hugo of St. Victor, († 1141), published the Didascalion (Eruditio didascalica), a work which obtained for him the honourable epithet of Didascalus. The work was designed to embrace an outline of the whole circle of studies preparatory to the higher theology, and fell into two principal parts, the first of which (books i–iii) contained a methodology of the secular sciences (propædeutics), and the second (iv–vi) an historical introduction to the books of the Bible and the ecclesiastical writings, besides a methodology of Scripture study.[2] The Dominican sub-prior, Vincent of Beauvais, (Bellovacensis, † about 1264), did meritorious work for encyclo-

The Didascalion of Hugo St. Victor.

[1] Comp. the biography by Kunstmann (Mayence, 1841), p. 55, *sqq.* Opp., ed. Colverius, 6 vols., fol., Cologne, 1627.

[2] See Liebner, Hugo von St. Victor, p. 96, *sqq.*

pædia and methodology as a whole, in his Speculum Doctrinale, and added useful hints for the study of theology, generally agreeing with Augustine and the school of St. Victor.[1] Toward the close of the Middle Ages John Gerson (De Reformatione Theologiae)[2] and Nicholas of Clemange (De Studio Theologico)[3] furnished practical hints on the study of theology.

While encyclopædia thus connected itself with practical theology, it could readily combine with the Introduction to the Study of the Bible. When, therefore, the latter regained in the time of the Reformation the independence of which the influence of scholasticism had long deprived it, the opportunity was given for discussing the new culture needed to adapt theologians to the character of the age. It was improved by Erasmus, in connexion with the publication of his New Testament. He prefaced the second edition of 1519 with his Ratio seu Methodus Compendio perveniendi ad veram Theologiam, an essay which was soon after (1522, Basle) given to the public, in a somewhat enlarged form, as an independent work,[4] and which after subsequent republications and revisions,[5] became the basis of similar undertakings. Erasmus determines the proper aim of theological study to be that the learning acquired in a pious spirit and with prayer should exercise influence upon the student's personal experience, and, so to speak, be moulded and transformed into life, hence, that the Christian and moral culture should keep pace in all respects with the scientific. He specifies as particularly important the study of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the latter of which had seemed necessary even to Augustine, though he was not personally well acquainted with it. Dialectics, rhetoric, arithmetic, and music are considered useful to the theologian; but also, for interpreting the Scriptures, natural philosophy, cosmography, and astronomy. On the other hand, he censures an excessive regard for Aristotle and scholastic philosophy, however useful such studies might be for preparatory practice.

Erasmus's preface to his edition of the New Testament.

With reference to dogmatic studies, he recommends that the student should personally make a collection of passages from the

[1] Comp. Schlosser, Vincenz von Beauvais, Frankfort, 1819, vol. ii, p. 240. The teachings of Vincent esp., p. 257, *sqq.*

[2] Opp., T. I., with which comp. Epp. duae ad Studentes Collegii Navarrae, etc.

[3] In d'Acherii Spic., i, 473, *sq.* (Stäudlin, Gesch. der theol. Wissenschaften, i, pp. 9–14).

[4] See vol. v of his collected works, Basle, 1540.

[5] By Halbauer (1724) and Semler (1782). The work of Jacob Latomus of Lieven (De trium linguarum et studii theologici ratione, 1519), written against Erasmus, experienced no such revivifications.

Scriptures and the Fathers, and arrange them into a definite system. The theologian should be thoroughly familiar with the Scriptures, so as even to be able to repeat them from memory; but this result will not be attained by a parrot-like rehearsing of passages; a living acquaintance with the Word and a profound penetration of its mysteries are necessary to this end. Many correct and sensible thoughts are added, relating to the method of study, the use of commentaries and other books, etc. He gives the first place among the Christian Fathers to Origen. The love of fruitless disputation is to be avoided; for it is "not merely from the syllogism, but rather from the life, that the theologian receives his attestation." The work of Erasmus, however, is no longer adequate to the demands made upon encyclopædia in the present age, beautiful and appropriate as much of its matter is found to be. It is impossible that it should be adequate, for the theology of which it furnishes a sketch, was itself only beginning to emerge from chaos and assume a definite shape. Under such circumstances the scholarly author named much that is no longer included in encyclopædia, being relegated to the history of the canon, to patristics, to the life of Christ, to exegesis, dogmatics, or ethics. But despite this fact, the little book may still be read with profit.

Merits of the work of Erasmus.

Among the reformers the learned Melanchthon would naturally be the first to feel moved by his own inclinations and the obligations of his station, to direct the adherents of the new school into the right course of study. His Brevis ratio discendæ theologiæ, limited to three folio pages,[1] breathes the Protestant spirit in recommending an intimate acquaintance with the Bible as of primary importance. With an almost undue preference Melanchthon places the Epistle to the Romans at the head of the list of exegetical studies, assigning to it the service of introducing the theologian to the body of St. Paul's teaching, which, in turn, is to conduct the learner back to the teachings of our Lord. The Gospel by St. John is to close the cycle as the Epistle to the Romans begins it, so that the doctrines of faith and justification may constitute the beginning and the end of the scriptural theology of Christianity. The New Testament is to be completed and its *loci communes* to be systematized, in order to throw light upon the contents of the Old Testament, the study of which is to follow. Melanchthon also recommends the study of the Fathers with that of the Bible, but assigns to Origen, whose allegorical mode of interpretation he condemns, a much lower place than is allowed him by Erasmus, while

The little tract of Melanchthon.

[1] In the Basle ed. of his works (1541), vol. iii. pp. 287–89.

he exalts Augustine with a certain degree of favoritism. He demands, however, and with entire propriety, that practice shall be added to study, and makes the cultivation of style obligatory on the religious teacher, to which end the study of the classics is above all recommended. Nor should philosophy be slighted, as is customary with many who are ignorant of its character; but care is to be taken that worldly wisdom be not substituted for the teachings of Christ, or the ethics of society (politics) for the ethics of Christianity.

Although the outward form of such guides gave them but little claim to the name of scientific encyclopædias, they yet contained indications of a newly awakened scientific spirit, and involved the elements of an encyclopædia which should be adequate for its needs. Accordingly, a pupil of Melanchthon, Theobald Thamer, who subsequently separated from the evangelical Church, published an Adhortatio ad theologiæ studium in academia Marburgensi, 1543, in which he welcomes the theology of Protestantism as a glorious product of the times, in contrast with the earlier ματαιολογία, and particularly recommends the study of the Bible, of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and of the vernacular as well, the latter for the sake of preaching. To these he adds natural science, in order that the Bible may be correctly understood and applied, when it treats of the works of God in nature; and ethics, rhetoric, dialectics, and history. He characterizes the study of theology as difficult, but encourages students not to be repelled from it on that account, but rather to make greater effort. (Compare A. Neander, Theobald Thamer, der Repräsentant und Vorgänger moderner Geistesrichtung in dem Reformationszeitalter. Berlin, 1842.)

The Adhortatio of Theobald Thamer.

The age immediately following the Reformation contented itself with mechanically recapitulating, and constructing far-fetched expositions of, what its predecessor had provided, or with reviving the former scholasticism, instead of seeking to rear an organic intellectual edifice upon the given basis and out of the existing materials.

David Chytræus at Rostock,[1] a disciple of Melanchthon, and Jerome Weller,[2] a pupil of Luther and inmate of his home, published instructions closely harmonizing with those of their great

[1] Orat. de studio theol. recte inchoando, (1557,) and Regulae studiorum seu de ratione discendi in praecipuis artibus recte instituenda. Lips., 1565. Comp. Schuetzii Vita Dav. Chytraei, (Hamb., 1720–28, 3 vols.,) lib. i, p. 171, *sq.*; Pelt, Encykl., p. 51; Krabbe Chytraeus, pp. 50, 51.

[2] Consilium de theologiae studio recte constituendo, Norimb., 1565.

masters. In the seventeenth century the great dogmatical Johann Gerhard published an encyclopædia, entitled Methodus studii theologici publicis praelectionibus in acad. Jenensi a 1617 exposita, (1st ed., 1620, 2d ed., 1622, 3d ed., posthumous, Jena, 1654.) He demands adequate preliminary studies in language and philosophy (Aristotle's especially), and afterwards a theological course of five years, three of which should be devoted almost exclusively to the Holy Scriptures. In the third year attention should be directed to questions in controversy between Roman Catholics and the Reformed, while the fourth should be divided between such studies and practice in preaching ; and not before the fifth (!) year were Church History and the writings of the fathers, the schoolmen, and Luther, to receive attention.[1]

The Encyclopædia of John Gerhard.

In the Reformed Church,[2] Bullinger († 1575) wrote a Ratio studii theologici, which is distinguished by sound practical judgment, and affords admirable methodological hints, reaching to the minutest details—among other things, to the diet of the student. The naturalist and man of multifarious learning, Conrad Gessner, published a general encyclopædia, the last book of which is devoted to theology.[3] Andrew Gerhard, of Ypres (Hyperius), professor at Marburg, also wrote a Theologus seu de ratione studii theologici (libri iv).[4] The latter work affords the first indications of a future division into departments, the book treating first of exegetical, next of systematic, and finally of practical theology, the last in connexion with historical; but no attempt is made to clearly distinguish the several branches from each other or give them suitable names, nor yet to apprehend and describe them in their relations to each other. The material already

The Theologus of Andrew Gerhard.

[1] Pelt, Encykl., p. 52. Among Lutheran writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the following deserve mention: J. Andreae, Oratt. de studio sacrarum literarum, Lips., 1567; N. Selnekker, Notatio de studio theol. et ratione discendi doctrinam coelestem, Lips., 1579. Abr. Calov, Isagoge ad s. theol., Vitemb., 1652, 85; Das gute Leben eines rechtschaffenen Dieners Gottes von J. V. Andreae, (copied as a poetical supplement in Herder's Briefe.) A closer examination of the above works is found in Pelt, p. 53, *sq.*

[2] Many elements are scattered through the works of Zwingle, (the very history of his life is a living encyclopædia.) Comp. his work, Der Hirt, etc., 1524, (ed. Schulthess and Schuler, vol. i. p. 631.) Respecting Bullinger, comp. his letters to his son Henry (on the study of theology) in Pestalozzi, Heinrich Bullinger, p. 594, *sqq.*

[3] Pandectarum universalium Conr. Gessneri liber ultimus de theologia, (Tiguri, 1549.) Comp. Hanhart, Conr. Gessner, (Winterthür, 1824,) p. 160, *sqq.*

[4] Balse, 1572, 82. The first ed. (Basle, 1556) bears the title De recte formando theologiae studio. It should not be confounded with Methodus theologiae, etc., Basle, 1567, the latter being a systematic theology and by no means a methodology, as the title would suggest.

becomes unmanageable because of its abundance, the whole of biblical and ecclesiastical dogmatics being discussed in the limited compass of the book, and likewise other matters, which belong more properly to criticism and hermeneutics. The work is, however, characterized by sound judgment, which looks upon learning as an aid to true piety, and directs attention to the connexion between theology and the Church.

The Methodus of John Henry Alsted.

The dogmatist Joh. Heinr. Alsted, wrote a work in eight books entitled, Methodus sacrosanctae theologiae (Hanov., 1623, 4); to this he prefixed Praecognita in two books, which afford a noteworthy review of the science, as wholly governed by a new scholasticism.[1] The second book (De theologiae studio recte formando) alone demands notice in this connexion, as treating of the object of theological study, which is made to consist in the promotion of the glory of the triune God, and in the working out of man's salvation, together with the perfecting of his nature. A distinction is made between the theology of the schools and the practical theology of the Church, and the advice is given to students, "Scholasticam theologiam ex professo et semper evolves, et auctores, qui illam scriptis comprehenderunt, tibi reddes quam familiarissimos." The period of study should be neither too extended nor too brief (although no limit is fixed), and special attention should be given to prayer, the study of the Scriptures, and a godly walk. Detailed prescriptions concerning this militia Christi are given. Among the requisite natural qualifications the author includes sound health, a clear and flexible voice, a well-organized brain, and a good bodily constitution, to which a good memory, etc., must be added.

Among preparatory requisites he reckons acquaintance with the vernacular ("dicunt theologi nostri : a preacher should not make use of town-clerks' German") for the study of which he recommends, with assured judgment, Luther's version of the Bible ; and to the mother-tongue he adds Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The relation between philosophy and theology is stated to be such that they can never reasonably come into conflict with each other. Logic is considered a prime necessity, and after it physics and mathematics (which are included under philosophy), and also metaphysics and practical philosophy ; nor should the theologian be ignorant of ju-

[1] Mention is made, for instance, in the first book, in addition to the theologia falsa, of a theologia archetypa, (quae est sapientia indubitata rerum divinarum,) theologia ectypa, (in which the archetypa is actualized,) theologia unionis in Christo, theologia visionis in coelis, (which includes the theologia angelorum,) theoligia viatorum, (the theology of the present world,) etc.

risprudence and medical science. Upon this follow a guide to the study of the Scriptures and a tabular view of the contents of the several books, together with the entire dogmatic locus de scriptura sacra; farther, a grammar of the Bible, hermeneutics, and rhetoric (on the figurative language of the Scriptures), the whole in a very prolix and artificial style; also history of the canon and other matters pertaining to the science of Introduction, biblical topography, archæology, chronology, and mingled with typology, a brief characterization of the different books of Scripture, and, finally, a few additional words on dogmatics (loci communes) and practical theology (paedia theologica, declamatio, disputatio theologica, and exercitatio ecclesiastica).

An Encyclopædia philosophiæ (Herborn, 1630, 2 vols. fol.) and an Encyclopædia omnium scientiarum (ibid., 1630, and Lugd. Bat., 1640, 4 vols. fol.) by the same author are in existence, in which vol. ii. p. 1555, *sqq.*, is devoted to theological (real) encyclopædia (theologia naturalis, catechetica, didactica polemica, theol. casuum, theol. prophetica, and moralis).

The Theologians of Saumur and Basle.

The school of Saumur was distinguished in the Reformed Church by the mildness of its spirit and its unbiassed judgment in theological matters, as compared with the rigid dogmatism and formalism of which Alsted was a representative.[1] It produced the dissertations of Stephen Gaussen,[2] in which we occasionally observe an active, youthful disposition, joined to a manly energy sharpened by the salt of a biting wit; mental qualities which render more enjoyable the heart-felt, childlike piety which is apparent. Much that is here laid down would still be applicable in our day.

The writings of the theologians J. L. Frei and Samuel Werenfels of Basle, in the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, breathe a spirit kindred to that of the above work. The Meletemata de officio doctoris Christiani (1711–15, four dissertations that deserve to be better known) by the former resolve the activity of the Christian teacher, both academical and parochial, into the three functions of interpreting the Scriptures, explaining the creed, and confuting opponents, thus dividing theological science into exegesis, dogmatics, and polemics. This work contains many correct ideas concerning the exposition of Scripture, the employ-

[1] Comp. J. H. Heidegger, De ratione studiorum theol. Tur., 1690, 12mo., a mere reprint of Bullinger and of works on Introduction by various authors.

[2] Stephan. Gausseni dissertationes: 1. De studii theologici ratione; 2. De natura theologiae; 3. De ratione concionandi; 4. De utilitate philosophiae in theologia; 6. De recto use clavium. Ultraj., 1678; 6 ed. cur. J. J. Rambach, Hal. 1726.

ment of reason on theological questions,[1] the relation of dogmatics to ethics, etc. The Opuscula of Werenfels,[2] though he did not write an encyclopædia in the proper sense, likewise present much that is adapted to lead the young theologian into the right way. This is especially true of the sixteenth dissertation, De scopo doctoris theologi, which contains many a golden counsel, not only for the future teacher of theological science, but also for ministers of the word.

Encyclopædia in the Lutheran Church.

Within the bounds of the Lutheran Church a twofold opposition was brought to bear upon the scholastic spirit which had again become powerful—on the one hand from the practically pious tendency of Spener, and on the other from the liberal scientific spirit whose representative was George Calixtus. Both tendencies aided in introducing a new period for theological learning, and, accordingly, for theological encyclopædia. In the Apparatus theologicus,[3] which was designed to be a great theological dictionary covering the whole ground of the science, Calixtus leads theological study back to its exegetical and historical basis, from which it had again gradually removed, and endeavours to compose the quarrel of the humanists and the realists (grammarians and barbarians). Philip Jac. Spener wrote several works which come under our notice. The Pia desideria and the Theologische Bedenken frequently refer to the needs of the young theologian; but his views upon this question are principally found in the preface to the tables compiled by him from Danhauer's Hodosophie, written in 1690, and published under the title De impedimentis studii theologici.[4]

Spener's contributions to theological encyclopædia.

Among preparatory sciences, philosophy is rated far lower by Spener than by other theologians, a prejudice that may be excused in view of the spirit that pervaded the philosophy of the time. This prejudice subsequently be-

[1] Comp. Smith's Hagenbach: Hist. Doctrines, ii, p. 464. Pelt. Encykl., p. 53, calls attention to the fact that the Reformed theologians especially discussed the application of philosophy to theology, and in that connexion elucidated many questions of importance to theological encyclopædia. Comp. also Al. Schweizer, Glaubenslehre der evang.-ref. Kirche, Zürich, 1844.

[2] Sam. Werenfelsii Opuscula theolog., philosoph. et philologica. Balse, 1728, 2 vols., 4to.; 1782, 3 vols., 8vo. Also J. Ch. Beck († 1785), who prefaces his Synopsis institutionum universae Theologiae, Basle, 1765, with a brief encyclopædia and methodology.

[3] Helmst., 1628, and by his son, enlarged from the MS., 1661, 4. Comp. Henke, Georg Calixt, und seine Zeit, p. 420, *sqq*.

[4] Comp. Hossbach, Ph. J. Spener u. seine Zeit, i, p. 290, *sqq*. New ed. (Berlin, 1861), by Schweder, p. 211, *sqq*.

came more apparent, in connexion with a pietistic empiricism, which falsely based itself on the authority of Spener. Philology, too, although its utility was recognized, was regarded by him from a too restricted point of view, in consequence of which he would not allow so wide and unrestrained a range to the study of so-called profane writers as was conceded by Erasmus and Melanchthon. Sacred philology alone, in its immediate bearing upon exegesis, received the recognition it deserved as an important auxiliary to theological science. He termed exegesis the "architect, who arranges all the remaining parts, and from whom they derive nearly all their ground and material." Upon the basis of exegesis dogmatics should be reared; but in harmony with his mild practical tendency he was less partial to scholastic quibbling and harsh polemics. He did full justice to Church history, though he recommended the thorough examination of its sources only to such students as might intend to reach the higher grades of learning.

Ethics, which he regarded as having the same importance as dogmatics, in this agreëing with Calixtus, should in like manner, he thought, be drawn from the holy Scriptures. Homiletics, on the other hand, whose deep foundations he suspected from the scriptural teaching, but which he was unable to clearly apprehend in a scientific way, seemed to him "one of the chief hindrances to theological study," while catechetics held a higher place in his estimation. At all events, to Spener belongs the inestimable honour of having not only restored to the science the union with the conditions of actual life, from which it had been separated, but also of having led the way to a new state of the science itself, through his efforts to secure a connected course of exegetical study, which, contrary to the spirit of the Reformation, had again been neglected during an extended period.[1]

Value of Spener's work.

J. J. Breithaupt,[2] A. H. Francke,[3] and Joachim Lange,[4] followed in the footsteps of Spener. Of these, the first especially "combined genuine piety with elegant culture" (Pelt., p. 55), while the hortatory element predominated with Francke, and a certain confusion

[1] "Such exegetical lectures as were still sustained in the universities of that period, confined themselves simply to the philological or polemical treatment of the more difficult or controverted passages." Hossbach, p. 304.

[2] Exercitationes de studio theol. Hall., 1702.

[3] 1. Definitio studii theologici, etc. Halle, 1708; 2. Idea studiosi theologiae oder Abbildung eines der Theologie Beflissenen, ibid., 1717; 3. Methodus studii theologici, ibid., 1723; Timotheus, zum Fürbilde allen studiosis theologiae. Comp. Guericke, A. H. Francke (Halle, 1827), p. 290, *sqq.*

[4] Institutiones studii theologici literariae. Hal., 1723, and De genuina studii theolog. praecipue thetici indole ac methodo, ibid. 1712, 4to. Comp. Stäudlin ii, p. 309.

of ideas is manifest in Lange. On the other hand the two able men, Christ. Matthias Pfaff, chancellor at Tübingen, and Joh. Franz Buddaeus, at Jena, occupied an intermediate position between Pietism and the learned theology of the schools, and their works present a more definite arrangement of the several branches, in their outward structure. Exegetical, dogmatic, historical and practical theology, and the subdivisions, polemical, thetical, patristic, etc., were distinguished by name, and their nature and relation to the whole of the science were described, though the order in which they are arranged is not the same with the two writers. Pfaff[1] correctly assigns the first place to exegetical theology, while Buddaeus[2] places immediately after the preparatory studies, dogmatics, symbolics, patristics, ethics, ecclesiastical law, Church-history, and polemics, and introduces exegesis at the end. The feature is common to both, however, that they combine with encyclopædia an extended history of the literature which is stated on the title-page of Pfaff, certainly a meritorious feature, since it provided for an existing want. But encyclopædia itself was thereby exposed to the danger of becoming a mere bibliographical guide, or at least of being so largely bibliographic that its leading object could no longer be conveniently accomplished; this, too, at a time when encyclopædia had scarcely attained to a measure of independence, after dissolving its accidental connexion with other branches of learning. The excessive importance attached to the department of literary history manifested itself, as was to be expected, in the Einleitung in die Theologischen Wissenschaften, by J. G. Walch (Jena, 1753), and evidences of its presence have not been wanting in several valuable works of more recent times.

Encyclopædia as treated by Pfaff and Buddaeus.

The history of science reveals certain highly endowed spirits, whose rays stream forth in different directions in order to throw light upon the fields that lie extended to the view. Such was the Chancellor Lorenz von Mosheim,[3] who became eminent in the development of ethics and homiletics, no less than in Church history, though less so with regard to ency-

Contributions of Mosheim and Semler to encyclopædia.

[1] Introductio in historiam theol. literariam, Tübing., 1724, 3 vols., 4to.

[2] Isagoge historico-theol. ad theologiam universam singulasque ejus partes, Lips., 1727, 2 vols., 4to. Hossbach, p. 382, says that this work "is the product of profound and comprehensive learning, and of enlightened and tolerant theological views, and far superior to all former works of this character." Comp. also Danz, p. 129; Stäudlin, p. 311.

[3] F. Lücke, Narratio de Jo. Laur. Moshemio, Gött., 1837, 4to. It is to be observed that Mosheim, with his sound historical judgment, was the first to draw the line of distinction between the work of the scientific theologian and that of the preacher, though he may have gone too far in demanding a separate training for the two (p. 29).

clopædia. The Kurze Anweisung, die Gottesgelahrtheit Vernünftig zu Erlernen (published by his son-in-law, Windheim, Helmst., 1756, 63) illustrates the clear, benevolent, gentle mind of its author, but bears the marks of too great haste. In the arrangement of the several branches (*e. g.*, in placing dogmatics at the head), it rests too little upon thoroughly comprehended principles, to possess great importance in comparison with such predecessors as have already been mentioned. The higher merit of having introduced a new element, the critical, into theological science, and of having thereby put new life into encyclopædia, which might otherwise have become a mere dead aggregate of bibliographical knowledge, belongs to John Solomon Semler. His criticism frequently degenerated into hypercriticism, and his questioning spirit into scepticism; but it is certainly unjust to charge him with entertaining hostility to religion and Christianity. Theology is indebted to him for much of stimulating influence, if for but little of assured results. His works, encyclopædic and methodological, as well as others,[1] failed to receive a cordial reception however, because of their involved descriptions, and the author's difficult and heavy style in the use of both German and Latin. The essence of Semler's writings should be extracted into a monograph, and thus a correct estimate of his merits might be brought into a convenient form, within the reach of a frequently ungrateful posterity. A similar want of arrangement is apparent in the work of the Reformed theologian, S. Mursinna († 1795),[2] who first introduced the term "encyclopædia" into theology, although it had been previously employed by jurists (Pütter) and medical scholars (Boerhave) in connexion with their respective sciences.

Great influence of Herder upon theology.

It was reserved, however, for the broadly cultured and versatile J. Gottfried Herder, to impress himself with incalculable energy upon the theological youth and the earnest men of his own and future ages, by the exercise of an influence which was stimulating in manifold directions, exciting to both intellect and feeling, every-where urging the attainment of the highest ends, and as exalted above all meanness as it was free from the control of timid prejudice. A genuine supernaturalist and also rationalist, both orthodox and heterodox, or, if it be preferred,

[1] Versuch einer nähern Anleitung zu nützlichem Fleisse in der ganzen Gottesgelehrsamkeit, etc., Halle, 1857; Institutio brevior ad liberalem eruditionem theologicam, ibid., 1765, 2 vols.; Institutio ad doctrinam Christianam liberaliter discendam, ibid., 1774 (rather a systematic theology than an encyclopædia); Versuch einer freiern theologischen Lehrart, ibid., 1777. The title "Encyclopædia and Methodology" came into currency at this time. It appears in an anonymous work (Leips., 1778) cited by Danz, p. 134, and somewhat earlier in the works of Mursinna, Robert, Vogel; comp. ibid.

[2] Primæ lineæ encyclopædiæ theol., Halle, 1784, ed. 2, 1798; comp. Pelt, p. 57.

neither, versed in Oriental mysticism and likewise in the mysteries of human nature and of human history, grasping, with a magnificent enthusiasm, every thing in which the genius of a pure humanity is portrayed, and punishing with noble indignation all that is shameful, deceitful, vapid, or sickly—he was thoroughly fitted to aid the struggling and ambitious mind in reaching the path over which, with trusty staff in hand, it must pass. The remark has frequently been made that Herder's efforts were rather stimulating to others, than productive of assured gains which might be stored in everlasting garners. But this is precisely what was needed; and if much that, with too venturous courage, he sought to establish has been already overthrown, it is to be hoped that, God willing, the spirit of profound investigation, and the clear, independent habit of thought belonging to that more beautiful age—the flourishing period of "German manners and German art"—which he aided, in connexion with others, to introduce, shall nevermore be lost.[1]

Defects of Herder's Briefe.

It must be confessed that the Letters upon the Study of Theology (Weimar, 1780; 2d ed., 1785, 4 vols.),[2] by no means fulfil the scientific purpose of a theological encyclopædia in the strict sense. They adopt the light tone of social intercourse and friendly conversation; and the author enters too largely into the discussion of the different subjects themselves (*e. g.*, of his favorite theme, Hebrew poetry), to admit of a clear demonstration of the formal inter-connexion of the various branches. All that he says, however, tends toward that connexion, and serves to illuminate with color the picture which a stricter method places before us in bare outlines. The smaller work by Herder, Anwendung dreier akademischer Lehrjahre, has more of the form of a proper methodology and introduction; and with this should be connected his Theophron, and his Gutachten über die Vorbereitung junger Geistlichen, as also the Provinzialblätter.[3]

Nösselt's Introduction to Theology.

In 1791, soon after the first publication of Herder's Letters (1785), an able and thorough work by the judicious J. A. Nösselt appeared, which has been improved by A. H. Niemeyer, and put into the form of a text-book, that still

[1] Comp. J. G. Müller, in the Herder Album (Weimar, 1845), and Bunsen, Hippolytus, i, p. 264: "Herder made the transition from Romanic negation to Germanic affirmation, and began to build anew. Himself a theologian, he generalized Semitic tradition and inspiration into Japhetic science and philosophy. Religion and language are to him the original manifestations of the Divine life in man." Comp. also the work by Werner, adduced below (among the monographs).

[2] In the Sämmtliche Werke zur Religion u. Theologie (original ed. by Cotta, Tüb., 1808), vols. ix and x.

[3] The whole in vol. x of the Religion u. Theologie.

renders useful service.[1] The Einleitung in die theologischen Wissenschaften (Leips., 1794, 2 vols.), from the pen of the learned G. J. Planck, is likewise still esteemed, because of its historical matter and good judgment, although its methodological value is but small.[2] In like manner, the encyclopædias which have since appeared in considerable number deserve notice, rather because of single observations of value, or because of the soundness of view displayed in them, than because of a clear presentation of the edifice of theological science, or of the connexion existing between its parts. J. Fr. Kleuker, who was first inspired by Herder, but was afterwards alienated from him through a dislike of the rationalizing tendencies of the century, with which Herder was in sympathy, wrote a Grundriss einer Encyclopädie (Hamb., 1800, 1801, 2 vols.), in which he sought to promote the restoration of a theology possessed of vigorous faith. The strange forms of expression in which he often clothed his ideas (in other works as well as this) gave him widespread notoriety as a "foggy brain;" but he must be credited with having energetically uttered many profound ideas which were subsequently brought to greater clearness by other minds.[3]

A higher and more ideal point of view from which to comprehend theology and encyclopædia, is occupied by K. Daub in an article in the Studien, published by Kreuzer and himself.[4] To crude empiricism he opposes a holy enthusiasm for the things of God, and to mere learning a childlike, contemplative disposition, which alone is able to penetrate into the mysteries of religious faith. The writer, influenced by his speculative views, does not, however,

[1] Anweisung zur Bildung angehender Theologen, 3d ed., Halle, 1818, 19, 3 vols. Niemeyer has expressed his own views relating to theological studies and methods of instruction in the Anti-Wilibald (a memorial, issued in connexion with the jubilee of G. Ch. Knapp), Halle, 1825; in the Zuschrift an Theologie Studierende über die Vorbereitung des theol. Examens u. die Benutzung d. Candidaten-jahre, Halle, 1801; in Grundriss d. unmittelbaren Vorbereitungswissenschaften zur Fuhrung des Predigtamtes, Halle, 1803; and in the Bibliothek für Prediger, which he published in connexion with Wagnitz.

[2] His smaller work, Grundriss der theol. Encyklopædie, Gött., 1813, is (althougl antiquated) better adapted to beginners. Among Encyclopædias of this period comp L. Wachler, Grundriss einer Encykl. d. theol. Wissenschaften, Lemgo, 1795; J. F. W Thym, Theol. Encykl. u. Methodologie, Halle, 1797; J. A. H. Tittmann, Encykl. d. theol. Wissenschaften, Leips., 1798. With regard to these works comp. Pelt, p. 61. K. Ch. E. Schmidt, Grundriss, Jena, 1810 (Kantian); Sim. Erhardt, Vorlesungen über Theologie, Erlangen, 1810 (pervaded by Schelling's philosophy); J. E. Ch. Schmidt, Theol. Encykl., Giessen, 1811.

[3] Comp. H. Ratjen, J. H. Kleuker, Gött., 1842, 8vo.

[4] Theologie u. ihre Encykl. im Verhältniss zum akadem. Studium beider, etc., in Studien, vol. ii, pp. 1–69.

regard faith simply as belief, but as an objective apprehension of matters that are too high for ordinary sense. With moral earnestness he combats both the clumsiness of obstinate bigotry and the fickleness of a trifling disposition, and draws with steady hand the portraiture of the true theologian; but he treats the necessity for a regeneration of theology by drawing prophetic outlines indicative of its future accomplishment, rather than by presenting an accurate survey of the actual state of the science.

Encyclopædia made independent by Schleiermacher.

To perform this duty was the work of another mind. Friedrich Schleiermacher was the first to raise encyclopædia to an independent position, and deliver it from the extraneous material, historical, and bibliographical elements in which it was involved, as well as to impress upon it the mark of the peculiar spirit which began to pervade theological science as a whole. This work was accomplished in the few pages of the Darstellung des theologischen Studiums (Berlin, 1811; Outline of the Study of Theology, Edinburgh, 1850). The purely formal character of the book attests an artistic spirit. It is a cartoon drawn by a steady hand, which only needs the pencil of a Herder to render it a grand and beautiful picture. While lacking this, it is matter for gratitude that the later and revised edition of 1830 contains hints, though few, for an easier understanding of a book which has the additional importance of having become the key to the entire system of Schleiermacher's theology.

Encyclopædia in the early part of the 19th century.

Encyclopædia continued to be written in the usual way, however, even after the Darstellung had appeared. Leonhard Bertholdt's Theologische Wissenschaftskunde, at any rate (Erlangen, 1821–22, 2 vols.), is no model of "architectonic" procedure, however much importance the author may attach to that phrase, and however strongly he may urge the correct principle that "a science should be restricted to itself and not embrace too much of foreign matter." Preliminary and auxiliary sciences occupy two thirds of the space in a work glutted with learned stuff, while its proper subject is discussed in the remaining third. The unfinished Encyclopædia of G. S. Francke, (Altona, 1819,) gives evidence of greater regard for an organic arrangement of the different branches of study; but a "really scientific arrangement" seems to have been an undefined thought with the author, which was never clearly developed (Pelt, p. 65). K. F. Stäudlin's Encyklopædia und Methodologie (Hanover, 1821) is combined with a history of the different theological sciences, and is more especially a work of historical reference. This is also true of the Encyklopædia und Methodologie by J. T. L. Danz (Weimar, 1832), in which a

new arrangement of the contents and new appellations give evidence of a reorganizing purpose, but nevertheless suggest the question, "Did the author understand his ground and object?" It might be difficult for a stranger to find his way through "the labyrinth of literary wealth"[1]

The author of the present work,[2] incited thereto by Schleiermacher, sought in its first edition (Leips., 1833) to so develop the principles of Schleiermacher, with not unimportant modifications, that a somewhat empirical mind might comprehend them, though not as yet familiar with logical discriminations—which is the case with most persons who approach the study of theology. His object was to lead on a transition from the method of the past to that which should be followed in the future. He sought to combine the practical aim of stimulating and encouraging with the scientific spirit, in following out which plan the point and connexion of ideas were not infrequently sacrificed to perspicuity,[3] and the entire book received a subjective colouring that can only be understood from the immediate surroundings of the author, and from the design with which he taught. He was more concerned to convey a knowledge of the science than to aid materially toward its further development. But on the first appearance of his book he saw himself overtaken by the advance of a new period in the form of an Encyclopædia of the Theological Sciences, by K. Rosenkranz, Halle, 1831. This work indicated the fact, which subsequent history has illustrated, that the Hegelian tendency considered itself entitled to the privilege enjoyed by that of Schleiermacher, of opening for itself a victorious way through the newly cultivated regions of theology, and also that speculative philosophy, which Schleiermacher had separated from theology, was inclined to involve the latter in the mighty transformation of its character. The formal work of encyclopædia was of inferior importance to the purpose of Rosenkranz however. He was more particularly concerned with the contents of theology, especially its speculative contents; and these he discussed in the spirit of that school, with life

The present work prompted by Schleiermacher.

Theological encyclopædia treated in the spirit of Hegelianism.

[1] Other works are, L. S. Jaspis, Hodegetik, Dresden, 1831; R. König, Versuch einer kurzen Anleitung zum Studium der Theologie, Berne, 1830; A. F. Unger, Reden an künstige Geistliche, Leips., 1834; G. K. P. Hessenmüller, Theol. Propædeutik, ibid., 1838, etc.

[2] The original German work of Hagenbach.

[3] This probably explains the charge of "rhetorical indefiniteness" raised by Harless, p. 20, and that of "lack of system," by Pelt, p. 69; but it likewise explains the encomium spoken by others, and emphasized by Pelt, that it is "a perfect book for students."

and energy, so that he must be considered a skillful representative of the Hegelian tendency. In the second thoroughly revised edition (Halle, 1845) Rosenkranz declares that "he has not hesitated to sacrifice even such developments of thought in the old edition, as had, by their novelty and also by the freshness of his youthful enthusiasm, secured no little favor for the book in its time." In the language of its author, the work "was written in the consciousness 1) that the Christian religion, as being the religion of truth and liberty, is the absolute religion; 2) that Protestantism is not the dissolving of religion into nihilism, but rather its development into an affirmative self-consciousness of its rational character; and 3) that the reconciliation of Christian theology with philosophy is possible."

Encyclopædia as treated by Harless, Lange, and Pelt.

Other tendencies also became gradually apparent, as, the strictly orthodox on the basis of the confessions, in G. C. A. Harless' Theologische Encyclopædia und Methodologie, etc. (Nüremburg, 1837, Lutheran), which contains many excellent ideas, but allows too much of its limited space to the historical element; the contrary, rationalistic tendency, in Lobegott Lange's Anleitung zum Studium der christl. Theologie nach den Grundsätzen des biblischen (!) Rationalismus, Jena, 1841; and the mediating tendency, which found a worthy organ in A. F. L. Pelt's Theologische Encyclopædia als System, im Zusammenhange mit der Geschichte der theolog. Wissenschaft und ihrer einzelnen Zweige, Hamb., 1843. A rich material, which has been judiciously selected and intelligently handled, a constant effort to combine the variety of matter into a systematic whole (to which, however, the dry development of the plan in the department of dogmatics, extending down to the Hebrew alphabet, would hardly seem to be an aid), a keen eye for the artistic element in the theological profession, a warm interest in Christianity, and a sound and liberal judgment, are advantages to the book that deserve recognition, though they would unquestionably be heightened by being forced into a narrower compass.

Theological encyclopædia in Holland, France, Sweden, and England.

While it must be acknowledged that the literature of German Protestantism is in advance of others, in this as in the other departments of theology, it cannot be said that the Protestants of other lands, and even less the Roman Catholics of Germany, have fallen behind in the march of recent progress. The Encyclopædiæ theologicæ epitome, by J. Clarisse of Holland (Lugd., Bat., 1832, 1835), still bears the stamp of the age before Schleiermacher; but the Encyclopædia of Hofstede de Groot, on the other hand, represents

the more modern tendency of the so-called Gröningen school.[1] An excellent preliminary work in French was published by H. G. Kienlen (a German): Encyclopédie des Sciences de la Théologie Chrétienne, Strasburg, 1842. It followed Schleiermacher in the main, and was afterward republished, with additions, in German, with the title, Encykl. der Wissenschaften der Protestantischen Theologie, Darmstadt, 1845. A Swedish Encyclopædia by the provost H. Reuterdahl of Lund (1837), likewise follows the principles .of Schleiermacher.

The English, however, have hitherto paid very little attention to theological encyclopædia. So little has been done in this department that M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia says with truth that "No book professing to be called Encyclopædia of Theology has appeared in English, and no book is more needed, as the English theological literature is almost wholly neglected by the Germans." (Article Encyclopædia.) Since this statement was made, however, a volume on Theological Encyclopædia, compiled from the lectures of Dr. M'Clintock to his students, has been published (New York and Cincinnati, 1873). It is a posthumous work, and necessarily incomplete. Dr. Henry B. Smith also had begun, before his death, an Encyclopædia and Methodology, but did not live to carry out his purpose. In English literature instruction of this kind is usually found in treatises on pastoral theology. Thus handled encyclopædia holds a very subordinate position. In Bishop Marsh's Course of Lectures on Divinity (Cambridge, 1809; London, 1838) an encyclopædic outline is given. Bickersteth's Christian Student (London, 1832, 4th edition, 1844) is characterized by a devout spirit, but is unscientific in form.[2] Doddridge's Lectures on Preaching and the Ministerial Office (London, 1830, and Andover, 1833) are wholly practical.

Theological encyclopædia in England and America.

The earliest American work of this type was by Cotton Mather: The Student and Preacher; Manductio ad Ministerium, etc. (Published in London only; 2d ed., 1781.) Some of Tholuck's Lectures on Encyclopædia and Methodology are translated by Professor E. A. Park, in the first volume of the Bibliotheca Sacra. Professor Shedd, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, has published an essay on the Method and Influence of Theological Studies (New York; 2d ed., 1878). J. W Alexander's Thoughts on Preach-

[1] Encyclopædia Theologi christiani a Hofstede de Groot et L. G. Pareau, Groningae, 1851, 3d ed.

[2] Bickersteth conceived of theology as a Divine science. Page 20: "Theology is, like the heavens, full of stars, which appear not to the careless spectator, but a diligent contemplator, with suitable helps, will find new worlds of glory in every part."

ing contain valuable suggestions upon the studies of the preacher (pp. 168–216), although nothing systematic is attempted (New York, 1860). Professor Shedd's Homiletics and Pastoral Theology (New York, 1878), presents in chap. iii, of the second part, an excellent outline of a course of study suitable for a clergyman. James M. Hoppin, in The Office and Work of the Christian Ministry (New York, 1869), offers good suggestions for theological culture. Most of these works, however, treat the subject in an incidental way.

A brief review of the progress of Roman Catholic encyclopædia remains to be given.

Roman Catholic encyclopædia.

Protestant text-books on encyclopædia generally have reference to the academical course of instruction in universities; but Roman Catholic authors give this only occasional consideration. Much that they have written (especially during the earlier part of the seventeenth century) was designed for use in the seminaries for priests and the institutions of the monastic orders. The historical development of modern Roman Catholicism affords positive proof that in this as well as other matters the Jesuits hold the first place. The Italian Jesuit, Ant. Possevin, wrote a Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum (Colon., 1607, fol.), whose arrangement opens a view into the methods of the order. First stands the cultura ingeniorum, which is favored by the current age (the sixteenth century) more. than by any other, despite its excessively heretical character. Heresy really hinders true culture, and must be opposed in its very beginning. Special praise is lavished on the institutions of the order, particularly that of Salamanca. The second book treats of the Divine history, i. e., the holy Scriptures and their study, in connexion with which we notice that the study of Hebrew is recommended. Jerome and Augustine should be the principal guides. With reference to the study of the Bible much that is excellent is said, upon the whole, and much that recalls to mind the similar works of Reformed theologians in this period.[1] The third book treats of the scholastic theology, whose leading representative is Thomas Aquinas; and the same section includes the theologia practica sive de casibus conscientiae docendis. Book four deals with Catechetics, sive de juvandis domesticis fidei. Book five discusses Roman Catholic military (?) sacerdotal and monastic schools (seminaries), and also treats of legends, the ritual, and whatever relates to discipline and asceticism. The sixth and seventh books point out the course to be pursued with schismatics (Greeks and Russians), and with heretics (Wal-

[1] Possevin forms a remarkable parallel to Alsted in the Reformed Church, comp. supra.

denses, Hussites, and Protestants), and the eighth indicates the mode of combating atheism, that of the Socinians among the rest. The ninth book has to do with Jews, Mohammedans, and Pagans in general, while the tenth and eleventh deal with the Japanese and other Asiatic nations in particular. The twelfth book, which begins the second volume, brings us to philosophy and and its relation to religion and theology, ancient philosophy being derived from Moses. The philosophies of Plato and Aristotle are then considered, the latter especially in great detail. Jurisprudence and medicine, mathematics and history, poetry and painting, occupy the space of the remaining books, except the last, which finally becomes a letter writer. This may suffice to indicate the methodically unmethodical character of the work.[1]

The learned Benedictine, J. Mabillon, wrote his Traité des études monastiques (Paris, 1691,) in opposition to the ascetic tendency which the order of Trappists and its founder Armand Jean de Bouthillier de Rancé[2] sought to impress upon the entire system of monastic orders. The work by Lud. Ellies du Pin, Méthode pour étudier la théologie (1716), which was translated into several languages, had a more general aim. The publisher of Sarpi, Pierre François de Courayer, wrote, in an anti-Roman spirit, a criticism of the theological method followed by the schools, entitled Examen des défauts théologiques, où l'on indique les moyens de les réformer. Amst., 1744, 2 vols. The reform, however, proceeded from Germany, in this field also. A movement toward increased independence prevailed among German Roman Catholics during the latter half of the eighteenth century, of which Denina (1758), Gerbert (1764), Braun (1777), Brandmayer (1783), and Rautenstrauch (1781) were representatives: while Fr. Oberthür, the learned editor of Josephus, wrote an Encyclopædia et Methodologia, (vol. i, Solisb., 1786,) which was long afterward remodelled into a German text-book (Augsb., 1828, 2 vols.), and which gave him rank with Nösselt, Planck, and Niemeyer, in the Protestant Church. A methodology of the theological sciences, especially dogmatic, by his hand, followed the above work in the same year.[3] Nor did the Roman Catholic Church in Germany seek to resist the influence of

German Catholic works on theological encyclopædia.

[1] They who are acquainted with Petri Annati Methodicus theologiae apparatus (1770) may determine whether it renders more efficient service in these respects.

[2] Traité de la saintete et des devoirs de l'état monastique, 1683. Comp. the monograph by F. A. de Chateaubriand, Par., 1844.

[3] Additional works are by Gmeiner and Leutwein (1786), Wiesner (1788), Sartori 1796), Dobmayer (1807), and Thamer 1809). The influence exerted by Mich. Sailer in his Beiträge zur Bildung der Geistlichen (1819) and other writings was chiefly practical.

Schleiermacher's method, as appears from the Kurze Einleitung in das Studium der Theologie, mit Rücksicht auf d. wissenschaftl. Standpunkt u. d. kathol. System, by J. S. Drey (Tüb., 1819 ; comp. Pelt., p. 66, *sqq.*). The philosophical ideas in H. Klee's Encyclopædie (Mayence, 1832) are not thoroughly digested ; but F A. Staudenmaier in his Encyk. der theol. Wissenschaften, etc. (Mayence, 1834, 2d, 1840) displays a decided talent for speculation, together with an immoderate propensity to ramble. Staudenmaier resembles Rosenkranz in regarding encyclopædia as a philosophy of theology, and in disregarding the importance of the Methodological element.[1]

Separate contributions to theological encyclopædia.

Separate contributions to encyclopædia were furnished by:—

H. K. Sack, Werth u. Reiz d. Theologie u. d. Geistlichen Standes, Berlin, 1814; Fr. Strauss, Glockentöne; Erinnerungen a. d. Leben eines jungen Geistlichen, 3 parts, 7th ed. Leips., 1840.

W M. L. de Wette, Theodor, oder des Zweifler's Weihe. Berlin, 1822, 28. 2 vols. (Theodore, or the Sceptics' Conversion. Boston.)

E. W. Krummacher, Expectorationen über d. Studium der Theologie, etc. Essen., 1847.

De Wette, Idee über das Studium der Theologie, edited by A. Stieren. Leips., 1850.

To these may be added the numerous idealistic romances on ministerial life, *e. g.*:—

Hase, Des alten Pfarrer's Testament; Erhards, Volkmar's Bekenntnisse; Tobler, Gotthold; Planck, Erstes Amtsjahr, etc., which contain hints adapted to encyclopædia.

[1] Recent Roman Catholic works: A. Genzler, Das Ideale der Wissenschaft, etc. (Bamb., 1834); A. L. Buchner, Encyklopædie u. Methodologie (Sulzb., 1837); and A. von Sieger, De natura fidei et methodo theologiae ad ecclesiae catholicae theologos (Monast. Westphal., 1838); concerning which see Pelt., p. 72.

PART II.

SPECIAL THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

THE DEPARTMENTS OF THEOLOGY AND THEIR RELATION TO EACH OTHER.

SECTION I.

DIVISION.

The study of positive theology is required by its nature to conform to the four leading divisions of Exegetical, Historical, Systematic, and Practical theology, and must be pursued in that order.

The departments of positive theology.

As positive theology has for its source the fact of the institution of the Christian religion (revelation), its beginnings will coincide with that fact, and must be found in the documents relating to such institution or revelation. Starting thus from the beginning, it traces the progress of historical development down to our own time, and then combines into a mental picture of the present what history has furnished. It obtains by this process a clear idea of the connexion running through the whole, and deduces therefrom the necessary principles for converting theory into practice.[1]

The division into four departments was generally adopted by the earlier encyclopædists, as Noesselt, Thym, Stäudlin, Schmidt, and Planck, although the above order was not always observed; but later writers have, for scientific reasons, and with but few excep-

[1] The above distribution may also be justified in the following manner: The assertion is warranted that all knowledge is based either on personal (physical or mental) observation, or on report and tradition, and is, therefore, either theoretical (philosophical) or historical in its nature. Historical knowledge, however, must be obtained by investigation, and for the latter acquaintance with languages and philological criticism is necessary; while theoretical knowledge leads to its practical application. In like manner Christianity is, in its positive character, both a history and a doctrine; but its history is based on the Bible, which must, first of all, be exegetically examined; and its doctrine is not pure knowledge, but practical. The truth of revelation is to be applied in the Church and the various departments of Church activity, to which practical theology has regard. The two departments of learning are thus confined between two fields of applied art, the exegetical at the beginning, and the practical at the end.

tions, departed from that arrangement, despite its advantages in a methodological and practical point of view. Schleiermacher pre-

Schleiermacher's division of positive theology.

ferred to make three departments, and divided the science into philosophical, historical, and practical theology (root, trunk, and crown). The range of philosophical theology is limited by him to apologetics and polemics ; but he extends the domain of historical theology so as to include on the one hand exegesis, and on the other dogmatics and ethics—the latter of which would seem more properly to belong to philosophical theology. Within that domain, however, separate places were assigned to exegetical and systematic theology, in order that the special field of historical theology proper might not be encroached

Danz's division of theology into a religious and a Churchly science.

upon. Danz attempted still another division, by which he separated the whole of theology into two classes of sciences, namely, such as pertain to religion and such as relate to the Church. Religious learning is subdivided into theoretical and practical, the former of which embraces heuristic (exegetical) and technical theology (systematic theology and the history of doctrines). Ecclesiastical science is likewise either theoretical or practical, the former section including Church history, Church law, statistics, archæology, etc., while the latter comprehends the "sciences of Church practice," or such as relate to the practical work of the Church, embracing polemics, irenics, liturgics, etc. This method may, at first sight, seem to present many advantages ; but the difficulties it involves when reduced to practice appear to be equally numerous. The separation of the religious from the Churchly element is of itself fraught with serious evils, since in actual Christianity the two interpenetrate each other. Christ founded both religion and the Church, and the Bible is as important to the Church as to religion. It follows that exegesis, for instance, is as much an ecclesiastical as a religious science.

Still other objections arise when the method is applied to details. The history of doctrines and patristics is introduced before acquaintance with Church history has been made, though a knowledge of the latter is necessary to an understanding of the former; both practical and historical theology are broken into fragmentary parts, and the relation between apologetics and polemics is destroyed. This may suffice to indicate the difficulties of this division in its practical applications ; and the author has, at all events, failed to

Rosenkranz's threefold division of positive theology.

indicate the reasons which governed his action. Rosenkranz approximates more nearly to Schleiermacher, in that he likewise divides the entire science into philosophical (which he calls speculative), historical, and practical

theology, although his speculative theology substantially includes dogmatics, which term is further extended to embrace apolegetics and polemics ; but he conflicts with Schleiermacher in assigning the leading place to systematic, which evidently must grow out of historical theology, and thereby opens the way for speculation to dominate the whole in the Hegelian fashion. Staudenmaier, too, places speculative theology at the front, but, singularly enough, puts practical theology in the centre, and makes historical bring up the rear ; and Zyro is also inclined to give the first place to speculative theology.[1]

Kienlen and Pelt have, on the other hand, restored the precedence to historical theology. They adopt the division into three parts—historical, including exegetical, systematic, and practical theology. It cannot be denied that in a broad sense exegetical theology may be properly included under historical, inasmuch as it is the work of exegesis to determine conditions essentially historical, and even to elucidate the primitive history of Christianity itself. But historical knowledge, considered in itself, is not the only element that engages the attention of exegetical theology. Exegesis in the proper sense is rather a certain readiness in the application of knowledge, as Schleiermacher himself confesses, which is based on scientific principles (hermeneutics) belonging, not to the historical, but to the philological, or, in the widest meaning of the term, philosophical, department. The historic value of the Scriptures themselves, is not, moreover, merely the same as that which attaches to other monuments of Christian and ecclesiastical antiquity. In their character, as documents of institution or revelation, they engross our study in a very different manner from and to a far greater extent than do other historical sources. "Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna," applies to them with entire propriety. They rise, like the primeval mountains, above all the later formations of theological culture, and like the eternal granite rocks, they tower far above valley and hill.

Reasons why exegetical theology should be a separate department.

It may therefore be allowed that it is proper for Protestant theology, upon which devolves a special ministry of the word, to establish a separate department of exegetical theology, and to assign to the study of the Bible a sufficient, unrestricted place within the domain of theological learning. The objection that the distinction made between the original and the derived is only relative,[2] bears against every classification, for every thing, as we shall see, is relative. Or if it be said[3] that all science is either philosophical

[1] Kritik der bisherigen Encyklopædie, in Stud. u. Krit. 1837, No. 3.
[2] Pelt, p. 76. [3] Kienlen, p. 13.

or historical, and that every particular science must belong to one of these categories, we acknowledge that the statement is correct, in the broad meaning by which exegesis itself becomes a historical science; but if practical theology is entitled to a place beside historical and systematic (thetical), although its very name indicates that it is neither purely historical nor purely philosophical, we may, with equal propriety, assert the right of exegetical theology to a similar privilege. The truth is that both exegetical and practical theology are mixed sciences, which stand related not only to learning, but also to practical skill (τέχνη), not only to knowledge, but also to ability; and the fact that these very sciences form the boundary lines of the study, its beginning and end, points to the practical nature of theology as a whole, by which it is distinguished from pure science. If it should become necessary for purposes of observation to disclose the organism of theological science, as science simply, and without reference to practical needs, it would be proper to represent exegesis as merely an historical auxiliary science, as biblical exegesis is in fact for biblical theology,[1] or patristic exegesis for the history of the Church and its doctrines.

Additional reasons for making exegesis a separate department.

But the Protestant Church justly insists that, as a primary qualification, every theologian shall be thoroughly familiar with the Bible and be competent to deal with it, since more than all else, he is to be a well-grounded servant of the Word (verbi divini minister). This explains why special chairs of exegesis are every-where established[2] and exegetical lectures are delivered, even in Roman Catholic universities, which have always been discriminated from the historical in the catalogues and in literature.[3] The combination of the two—exegesis and history—is impracticable, confusing in a methodological point of view, and an innovation upon the ordinary usage of the terms in any language. The division we advocate may, aside from its practical utility, derive further support from the analogy of the distribution of the pure sciences, discussed above, where we have, first, the study of language and history, next philosophy, and finally professional culture. In the theological field, exegesis cor-

[1] Pelt., l. c.

[2] There was even a time when, in the Reformed Church, theology was wholly resolved into exegesis. In Basle at least there were but two chairs of theology from the Reformation down to the earlier period of the seventeenth century, viz., of Old and New Test. exegesis. Comp. Hagenbach, Die theol. Schule Basels u. ihre Lehrer., 1860, 4to.

[3] Com., for example, Winer's Handbuch d. theol. Literatur. No well arranged library will class exegetical with historical works; and no person will, for instance, place Ernesti upon the same level of merit with Mosheim. Over-keenness is eouivalent to dullness.

responds to philology,[1] historical to history, systematic to philosophy, and practical to art.[2] Thus much respecting the continued use of the ancient "four ruts," which, though worn, should not be held responsible for the faults of wretched drivers.

SECTION II.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE FOUR DEPARTMENTS.

Exegetical theology the first in order.

The greatest diversity prevails also in the matter of arrangement. Every person who is not governed by an *a priori* prejudice in favor of *a priori* modes of thought, must see that to give the first place to systematic theology is utterly impracticable. The assertion that Church history cannot be mastered before the idea has been made clear by speculation,[3] is almost sufficient to recall the boy in the fable who desired to wait until the stream should have passed by, before crossing over. On this plan there could be no history of the world before the world is understood! Christianity itself would need to be mentally constructed before it could be examined as it appears in the Scriptures. To begin with dogmatics would assuredly deliver us again into the power of scholasticism, from whose control the human mind was emancipated by the Reformation. The reasons, therefore, which justify the assignment of a separate department to exegetical theology, justify, also, the placing of its study at the head. The theologian must begin with exegesis and first of all become acquainted with the foundations. Upon this principle Protestant theology must insist, unless it wishes to become untrue to its principles.[4]

[1] Philology is likewise a historical science in the wide sense, and that very fact discriminates between it and mere linguistics; but the progressive reading of an author will nevertheless always be considered philological rather than historical. Philologists and historians are likewise related, but not identical, classes of investigators.

[2] Individual qualifications likewise lead to distinct results, so that the student who excels in the study of languages usually becomes a good exegete, and he who has the historical faculty becomes a Church historian. Philosophical ability will find its proper field in systematic theology, and a talent for using the vernacular in artistic description, etc., indicates the coming preacher and liturgist.

[3] Zyro, p. 694.

[4] Jerome already expressed this idea in his Comm. ad Jesaiam, "Qui nescit scripturas nescit Dei virtutem ejusque sapientiam; ignoratio scripturarum ignoratio Christi est." It may be said, perhaps, that in order to consider the Bible as attesting the faith of Christianity, it is essential that it be examined from the Christian point of view, and that therefore *apologetics* must be first gone over; hence that theology as a whole should begin with apologetics. Regarded merely in its principles, the idea is not bad; but how can apologetics be discussed without a previous acquaintance with the material to which it relates? Only they who have become interested in the study of the Bible are capable of deriving profit from the study of apolegetics.

The only question that remains concerns the relative positions of systematic and historical theology; for it is evident that practical theology should close the course (though Staudenmaier places it in the middle). The precedence of systematic before historical theology is advocated on the ground that in point of fact Christianity possessed a body of doctrine from the very beginning, which, accordingly, is not an aggregate resulting from the entire course of historical development, but, on the contrary, assumed a sort of systematic form at an early period, as the Apostles' Creed sufficiently attests.[1] It is also contended that the history of doctrines can only be studied with proper interest, when it follows upon the study of dogmatics, and after the nature and true meaning of a doctrine has been apprehended. With regard to this question every thing depends upon a separation of Biblical from ecclesiastical dogmatics (infra). We acknowledge that the former results from exegesis, and may be successfully studied without a preliminary course of Church history and history of doctrines; but it will appear in our discussion of systematic theology that Biblical dogmatics is simply a preliminary historical branch, and not dogmatics in the proper sense, which latter assumes the existence of Church doctrines as well as Bible doctrines, and constitutes the consummation of the whole. It will also be seen, in connexion with our treatment of the history of doctrines, that Biblical dogmatics forms the natural point of transition from historical to systematic theology. Not until the mind has developed its powers by historical studies, and has acquired facility in the broad philosophical management of thought, will it be fitted to attempt the study of dogmatics, that demands a robust intellect. The mind that, on the contrary, begins the study of theology with dogmatics, may be likened to the bird which undertakes to fly before its wings have grown, or the architect who attempts the erection of a building before its foundations have been laid. But that every division is only relative, and that in every single branch of theological study all the others are involved,[2] even as in a

The relative positions of systematic and historical theology.

Reasons why history should precede dogmatics.

All divisions of positive theology relative only.

[1] Fleck, in a review of Pelt's Encykl., in the Allgem. Kirchen-Zeitung. 1844.

[2] Exegetical theology involves historical elements (introduction, archæology), and also doctrinal (criticism, hermenuetics) and practical (practical exposition); historical theology embraces exegetical functions (the study of sources, exposition of ecclesiastical writers) and the dogmatic compilation of both Biblical and ecclesiastical dogmatics, and likewise has outlets leading into the practical field, *e. g.*, through Church antiquities into liturgics, or through the history of the constitution of the Church into ecclesiastical law. Systematic theology falls back (in its proof passages) upon exe-

well-tuned musical instrument all the related chords will resound when any single one is struck, are truths that cannot be too strongly impressed.[1] No science has either an absolute beginning or an absolute end; and the suggestion (in § 2) that encyclopædia should, in justice, occupy a double place in the theological course, will accordingly apply to any other special study.

The student who is familiar with systematic and practical theology, and perhaps even with the practical experiences of ministerial life, as well as with the lessons of personal experience, will apprehend the Bible in a very different light from that in which the new beginner sees its truths—this, too, though he be governed by the most sublime "absence of predisposition." The same observation applies also to Church history, the history of doctrines, etc. We are not, however, inclined on that account to plant theology on its head, or to call the branches roots, because roots may be propagated from them; the true rule is, to apply designations to the departments in harmony with the features which predominate in them, and to apply the same method to the settling of the order in which they are to succeed each other.

gesis, and calls into recollection the history of doctrines and symbolics, besides being required to treat the body of doctrine in its practical bearings and by its doctrine of the Church to furnish a sub-basis for practical theology. The latter, finally, is wholly dependent upon exegesis, on history, and on doctrine. The analogy of nature, which in its earlier formations prefigures those of a later age, and in later stages of development repeats the forms of an earlier period, holds good with reference to this subject. It would not be difficult to discover the tendency to fall into four parts in each of the several branches specified in the text. Each takes the hand of the other; each affords an outlook into the other; and whenever a single branch comes to a living development, the others are found to be involved with it and entitled to equal recognition.

[1] Without a systematic connexion of ideas and a practical judgment both exegesis and history must continue to be capita mortua; while, on the other hand, systematic and practical theology would, without the others, be founded on air.

CHAPTER I.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

SECTION I.

Definition of exegetical theology.

Exegetical theology embraces every thing that relates to the interpretation and exposition of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, and therefore includes both exegesis itself, considered as an art, and the auxiliary sciences which enable us to apply that art. Its results appear in Biblical theology, which may be subdivided into historical and dogmatic elements (sacred history and Bible doctrines).

The Bible the object of exegetical theology.

Exegetical theology has the Bible for its object, for which reason it has been denominated Biblical theology (*e. g.*, by Pelt). The latter, however, is simply the result obtained by exegetical processes, the sum total of the gains secured through the investigations of the student of the Scriptures. Exegesis, in the proper meaning of the term, is the application of a method (hermeneutics) to existing writings;[1] but for the execution of its function the aid of an additional philological and critical apparatus is necessary, which, in all its extent, is likewise included in the domain of exegetical theology. The results of exegesis proper are partly historical and partly dogmatic in their nature; and even practical theology depends on it for immediate advantages (the relation of the text to the sermon). The study of the Bible cannot be covered by exegesis alone, for the Scriptures command the entire range of theological learning, and cannot, accordingly, be forced within the limits of a special branch for purposes of study. Exegesis is simply the key, with which to unlock the sanctuary of Bible truth. Every thing, however, depends upon a proper use of the

[1] "The term Ἐξηγηταί was primarily applied by the ancients to persons who directed the attention of curious inquirers to the outwardly remarkable features of a city or a temple, for which reason they were also called περιηγηταί; but more especially to persons of higher dignity, who brought the layman into sympathy with divine things, and who read the signs in the heavens and the auguries in the sacrificial victim, and also interpreted the oracles." Creuzer, Symbolik, i, p. 15. Comp. Passow's Wörterbuch.

key, and exegetical theology is concerned to so master its peculiarities as to become able to seize upon the treasures of Biblical theology. The relation of exegetical to Biblical theology is, consequently, that of the journey to the destination, or of labor to its gains.

SECTION II.

OF HOLY SCRIPTURE CONSIDERED AS THE OBJECT OF EXEGESIS — ITS IDEA AND EXTENT.

Comp. the Art. Bibel in Ersch and Gruber's Encyklopædie (also in a separate reprint, Leips., 1823), and in Herzog, Encykl.—together with the corresponding articles, Bibeltext des A. u. N. T., Bibelübersetzungen, etc.; * Rothe, Zur Dogmatik, art. 3, Die heil, Schrift · Holtzmann, Kanon u. Tradition, Ludwigsburg, 1859; * Herm. Schultz, Stellung des christl. Glaubens zur heil. Schrift, etc., in Volksbl. f. d. Ref. Kircke d. Schweiz, 1872, Nos. 11-13.

The Bible or the holy Scripture of Christianity (Biblia sacra, *τὰ βιβλία θεῖα, ἱερὰ γραφή, θεῖα γραφή*) is a collection of documents relating to religion and its history, which date from different periods and were written by different authors. When conceived as a unit comprehended under the higher designation of the word of God, and as concentrating its energies upon a common object in behalf of religion and the Church, that of giving direction to Christian faith and life—this collection forms the canon of the Scriptures, in distinction from the Apocrypha and all other writings of human origin.

The nature of encyclopædia requires that it should at the beginning appropriate to itself certain elements which according to its own principles belong to the science of Introduction. Its object is to secure a proper appreciation of the Scriptures by the student who enters upon their study, and to point out the scientific methods appropriate for his work. Sound views respecting the Bible itself are first of all to be secured, for the attainment of which a partial intrusion into the fields of apologetics and dogmatics will certainly become necessary, though merely in a general way. It is of the highest importance that both the religious character and the historical nature of the Scriptures should be examined with both holy zeal and unbiassed judgment, in order that the reverence due the book of God may not cause its human side to be overlooked, or that the many and diverse subjects discovered from the human point of observation may not lead to the rejection of its Divine character. Herder, the exponent of the purely human has demonstrated that in one point of view the Bible is a human book; and no inquirer of later times will venture to controvert this human element, which is apparent in the variety of authors and of dates, in the language, in modes of expression, etc. To this must be added the

Relation of encyclopædia to the study of the Bible.

The human side of the Bible to be considered.

reflection that the Bible did not fall from the heavens in its completed form, but was gradually collected, and that its different component parts did not escape the misfortune of all the written monuments of ancient times, by which what was genuine became mixed with elements not genuine, and the text in occasional instances was corrupted. This human side presents matters of great interest to scientific investigation; but such investigation becomes utterly impossible on the rigid theory of a verbal inspiration of the Scriptures.

The interest taken in philological and historical questions, does not, however, destroy all regard for the religious and theological elements, for the Divine character of the Bible, which constitutes the ground of its importance to religion and theology.[1]

The tie which binds the books of the Bible together.

An invariable religious reference to an institution founded by God and designed for the education of the

[1] "The Bible, when viewed in its essence, is found to present only a single body of truth, not, however, in the form of unvarying and formally repeated dead traditions, which are handed down from age to age, but as displaying the most active life, since the different truths continually develop with the progress of time, and assume different aspects and a more definite character, without becoming a confused mass or coming into conflict with each other. The truth, passing through manifold forms, is unfolded from the germ to the fruit on a single plan of development, a series of living intermediate members receiving what already exists into themselves and carrying it forward in harmony with their own nature, and transmitting it to their successors for a similar treatment, until the whole is rounded into completed truth—the ripened fruit produced by the entire tree, which possesses the developed power of germination, in order to a further development in which its inborn nature shall be reproduced." Tob. Beck, Einl. in d. System d. christl. Lehre, p. 216.—The religious investigation of the Bible belongs to the sphere of faith; and in consequence persons possessed of robust faith, like Luther, have always expressed the judgment respecting the Bible which faith is still compelled to repeat, despite every freedom from preconceived views which scientific inquiry may have produced. "*In summa*, the holy Bible is the grandest and best book of God—full of comfort in every tribulation, for it teaches much of faith, hope, and love, that is different from what reason is able to see, feel, conceive, or learn. And it teaches when misfortune comes, how such virtues are to shine forth, and that another and eternal life lies beyond this poor, wretched life. I beseech and faithfully admonish every pious Christian not to take offence or be disturbed at the simple discourses and narratives found in the Bible, and not to doubt its truth, however poor and silly they may seem to be; they are yet simply the word, work, history, and judgments of the exalted majesty, might, and truth of God. In this book are found the swaddling-cloths and manger in which Christ has lain, whither the angel also sends the shepherds; they are, no doubt, poor and mean swaddling-cloths, but precious is the treasure, Christ, which they enfold." Similar remarks by Luther on the Bible are scattered through his works. Comp. J. G. Mueller, Theophil., p. 235, *sqq*. The strong sense of the peculiar character of the Bible and its value above all other books entertained by Goethe also, is apparent in many passages of his works. Comp. Aus meinem Leben, vol. i, book 4, and Farbenlehre, ii, p. 138: "The Bible owes the great veneration, in which it has been held by many nations and generations of the earth, to its inherent value. It is not merely a national book, but the book for the nations, be-

human race, forms the tender spiritual tie holding together the leaves which in their outward form are but loosely connected, and which, if torn from the trunk of the theocracy and the historical root reaching back into the beginning of things, would cease to be what they are as parts of this whole. Such reference, however, is far more definite and apparent in one book than in another, and in some portions of the Scriptures seems to disappear or become obscure. It follows, accordingly, that the Bible is still a sacred literature, not only as distinguished from the profane, if it be thought proper to apply that term to all literature which does not come into immediate contact with the religious life, but also as distinguished from every other religious,

The Bible constitutes a sacred literature.

cause it employs the fortunes of one nation as a symbol of all others, connects its history with the origin of the world, and carries it through the gradations of earthly and spiritual development in connexion with necessary and accidental events, to the farthest regions of the most distant eternity. The more the centuries increase in culture the more will the Bible be made in part the foundation of education and in part an agency in its behalf, not, of course, by conceited persons, but by the truly wise." Comp. many extracts in Hagenbach, Leitfaden zum christl. Rel.-unterricht, 3d ed. (Leips., 1861), p. 32, *sqq.* Also Bunsen, Gott in d. Geschichte, i, p. 94. "The narratives of this book are God's word to mankind. A word in servant's form, of course; but this is true of all Divine things that pass over the earth; it is true of the Deity itself, as the immutable idea of the common source of being in this world. A book of ruins, too; but the ruins are pervaded by a living spirit. A book, moreover, of humble language; but in words that are undying, because every human heart bears witness to them. A book sweeping through thousands of years, full of apparent contradictions, like nature, and man, and the history of our race; but ever young and in harmony with itself through the unity of the Spirit which produced it, even as creation is a unit, with all its contrasts, and even by reason of all its contrasts. A book for sages and yet capable of being understood, like God's nature, by every child, namely, according to the measure of its understanding. A book written in dead languages, and yet eternally living in the tongues of the nations." Rothe, too, has pertinent remarks (zur Dogmatik), e. g., p. 225: "It is precisely through such human and personal qualities that the Bible receives a freshness and charm that are profoundly affecting, and it is precisely this wonderful interplay and commingling of the Divine and human, and still more this constant interpenetration of the two, that the pious soul familiar with its qualities recognizes as the most eminent characteristic among its peculiarities." Also p. 345: "The sacredness and all that constitutes the unique character of the Bible depend unalterably and altogether upon what it actually is and what it actually proves itself to be for him who approaches it in a teachable spirit, and not at all upon the character given it or the qualities arbitrarily assigned to it by dogmatics."

It is not the habit of English scholars to make apology for the form in which Scripture conveys its truth. From the earliest years of the Reformation a reverence for the letter and style of the Bible, as in every way worthy of its rich contents, is observable in English literature. The book is familiarly described as the Great Classic. In Bacon's Advancement of Learning this reverential tone is noticeable in every reference to Scripture. Barrow makes a special point of the worthiness of the form of the Bible for the conveyance of a divine message. In his sermon on the Excel-

and even Christian, literature, which, being only the word of man as contrasted with the word of God, can only sustain a subordinate relation to the Scriptures.

Apocryphal writings: why so distinguished.

The latter distinction, by which sacred is discriminated from other religious literature, furnishes the ground for the separation between the canonical and apocryphal writings which is maintained in our Church. The Bible is termed the canon, and its several parts canonical books,[1] inasmuch

lence of the Christian Religion he says: "It propoundeth itself in a style and garb of speech, as accommodate to the general capacity of its hearers, so proper to the authority which it claimeth, becoming the majesty and sincerity of divine truth; it expresseth itself plainly and simply, without any affectation or artifice, without ostentation of wit or eloquence, such as men study to insinuate and impress their devices by: it also speaketh with an imperious and awful confidence, such as argueth the speaker satisfied both of his own wisdom and authority; that he doubteth not of what he saith himself, that he knoweth his hearers obliged to believe him: its words are not like the words of a wise man, who is wary and careful that he slip not into mistake, (interposing therefore now and then his maybes and perchances,) nor like the words of a learned scribe, grounded on semblances of reason, and backed with testimonies; nor as the words of a crafty sophister, who, by long circuits, subtile fetches, and sly trains of discourse, doth inveigle men to his opinion; but like the words of a king, carrying with them authority and power uncontrollable, commanding forthwith attention, assent, and obedience; this you are to believe, this you are to do, upon pain of our high displeasure, at your utmost peril be it; your life, your salvation dependeth thereon: such is the style and tenor thereof, plainly such as becometh the sovereign Lord of all to use, when he shall please to proclaim his mind and will to us." Jeremy Taylor is, in the expression of this reverence, not a whit behind Barrow: "For the meaning of the spirit of God is not like the wind blowing from one point, but like light issuing from the body of the sun, it is light round about; and in every word of God there is a treasure, and something will be found somewhere to answer every doubt, and to clear every obscurity, and to teach every truth, by which God intends to perfect our understanding." (Sermon on the Minister's Duty in Life and Doctrine.) Even Coleridge, who says of the theory of verbal inspiration that it changes the living organism of Holy Writ into a "colossal Memnon's head, a hollow passage for a voice that mocks the voices of many men," speaks impatiently of the spirit which disparages the human element in revelation. In his Studies on Homer, Mr. Gladstone suggests that it is a mistake to bring the Old Testament before the tribunal of mere literary criticism; that "we can no more compare Isaiah and the Psalms with Homer than we can compare David's heroism with Diomed's, and that we shall most nearly do justice to each by observing carefully the boundary lines of their respective provinces." He adds: "All that is peculiar in our conception of Isaiah or of Jeremiah does not tend so much to make them eminent among men as to separate them from other men," and this may be said of all the Scripture writers.

[1] Comp. H. Planck, Nonnulla de significatu canonis in eccl. antiqua ejusque serie recte constituenda (Gött., 1820), which contradicts the opinion of Semler and Eichhorn that κανών merely denotes a catalogue of books. Comp. also Nitzsch, System der christl. Lehre, § 40, *sq.*, and especially Credner, zur Gesch. des Kanons, p. 6, *sqq.* Κανών (corresponding to Heb. קָנֶה, a staff, reed) is equivalent to rule, measure, norm. Holtzmann, l. c.

as the "Word of God," contained in the Scriptures, is regarded as the whole of Scripture, and, therefore, as the Divine rule of faith and practice. As sacred literature stands opposed to profane in the more extended fields, so the canonical contrasts with the apocryphal within narrower limits. In the ecclesiastical vocabulary such religious writings are termed apocryphal as are considered useful and good, but not pervaded by the peculiar spirit of the theocracy (the Old Testament Apocrypha usually appended to the canon);[1] or such (like many of the New Testament apocryphal writings) as betray a tendency foreign to original apostolic Christianity, or at any rate, are not in thorough harmony with it, and, therefore, not received as canonical.[2]

SECTION III.

RELATION OF THE OLD TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The canon of the Scriptures is divided into the books of the Old and New Testaments (παλαιά, καινὴ διαθήκη).[3] The Christian theologian is, in that character, to deal primarily with the New Testament as being the immediate source of revelation for the Christian religion; but he is nevertheless required to include the Old Testament Scriptures also in the range of his investigations:

Christian theologians should study the Old Testament, and why.

[1] In the ancient Church the Apocrypha were known as libri ecclesiastici. They had been appended to the Greek version of the LXX, and came into circulation by that means; but Jerome wished to have them separated from the canon, while Augustine advocated their retention. Upon this question the Protestants have taken sides with Jerome and the Roman Catholics with Augustine. The English and Scottish Churches urge this distinction more than others, and insist upon its practical application. In recent times the question has given rise to disputes upon the Continent also. Comp. the writings against the Apocrypha by Ph. F. Keerl, Das Wort Gottes u. d. Apokr. des A. T's, Leips., 1853; J. U. Oschwald, Die Apokr. in d. Bibel, Zürich, 1853; and those for the Apocrypha, by E. W. Hengstenberg, Beibehaltung der Apokr., Berl., 1853, reprinted from the Evang. Kirchen Zeitung; and R. Stier, Die Apokryphen, etc., Brunsw., 1853. Bleek furnishes a scientific and unbiassed discussion of the subject, in Stellung der Apokr. des A. T. im christl. Kanon, in Stud. u. Krit., 1853, 2, pp. 267–354. The difference should certainly be recognized in practice; but the animosity which has in recent times contended zealously against the circulation of these books in connexion with the Bible, cannot be commended.

[2] Comp. G. Brockmann, De Apocryphorum appellatione, Gryph., 1766; Gieseler, Was heisst Apokryphisch? in Stud. u. Krit., 1829, No. 1, p. 141, *sqq.*; de Wette, Einl. ins A. T., 6th ed., p. 10; Schleiermacher, § 109.

[3] The word testamentum occurs first in Tertullian, Adv. Marc., iv, 11, who also employs the term instrumentum. Concerning the original signification of διαθήκη, as corresponding to the Heb., בְּרִית (foedus), and the transition to the idea of "testament" (Heb. ix, 16), see the lexicons. Knapp (of Halle) beautifully says, "We are to read the Testament, not like the jurist, who criticizes, but like a child that inherits." Comp. Eylert, Fr. Wilh., iii, p. 325.

1. Because the monotheistic underlying principle of the New Testament is grounded in the Old, and its economy (plan of salvation) has its preparation in the Old Covenant.

2. Because the modes of thought and expression found in the Old Testament, furnish the only key for comprehending the New.

3. Because the Old Testament contains sections whose theocratic and ideally religious character gives them immediate didactic and edifying value for the Christian, and possesses for him all the authority of Divine revelation.

Different views of the value of the Old Testament to the Church.

Opinions have always been divided with regard to the relation of the Old Testament to the New and the value of the former to the Christian. The Judaizing (Ebionitish) tendency was opposed by certain Gnostics (Marcionites), while the Manichæans rejected the Old Testament; and in the period of the Reformation a zealous opposition to the Law was manifested by the Antinomians, though this movement was repressed. Renewed attention to the Hebrew language served, on the contrary, to greatly encourage the study of the Old Testament, and the theology and Church government of the Reformed Church especially assumed an Old Testament character. In the end, oriental and rabbinical learning threatened to overshadow and smother all other learning. The Socinians, on the contrary, distinguished between the Old and New Testaments so far as to consider the latter alone as in any proper sense the source of revelation; and they were followed by a number of rationalists in the last century.[1] Other rationalists, however, evinced a strong preference for the Old Testament, which arose from their Ebionitic point of view. They preferred to select texts from the book of Proverbs rather than from the writings of Paul; and they rated the morality of the apocryphal book of Wisdom as high as that of Jesus Christ. But many strictly orthodox persons likewise devoted themselves preferably to the Old Testament, and especially to its typical sections, because they found it more congenial to their dispositions to apprehend "Christ in the Old Testament" through the obscure medium of types, than in the New, as there presented in clear conceptions adapted to the human mind. The course of Schleiermacher, who, in opposition to such extreme tendencies, assigned to the Old Testament a position so

Schleiermacher's treatment of the Old Testament.

[1] Thiess, for instance,(in his Anleitung zur Amtsberedsamkeit der Religionslehrer des 19 Jahrhunderts, p. 139), asserts that "for the teacher of religion the entire Old Testament is composed of apocryphal books, from which he may hardly venture to borrow a few pages" (!); and Sintenis, in Theol. Briefe (Part I) recommended that "the entire Old Testament be cashiered without mercy" (!). Comp. Augusti, Dogmengeschichte, p. 193.

subordinate, as to barely recognize in it the accidental soil in which Christianity is rooted, is, as his followers acknowledge,[1] simply another extreme founded on a misapprehension of the peculiar character of the Covenant; but it is historically explicable. The religion of salvation is contained in the Old Testament in the form of prophecy (in the wide meaning of the term), though it is apparently bound to the religion of law; and Luther in his time would not limit the Gospel idea to the letter of the New Testament, but traced it backward through the prophecies of the Old.[2] More recent theology, since the time of Schleiermacher, has made undeniable progress in this direction, though the relation between prophecy and fulfillment is not always clear, and many things may be shrouded in the gloom of that magical twilight in which a certain school finds so much pleasure.[3]

The form of New Testament thought derived from the Old.

It must be conceded in any event that New Testament modes of thought and expression are inexplicable without the study of the Old, and that an immense number of passages in the former are taken from the latter and refer back to it, even though the inquiry be pushed no further than the external relations existing between the two. Such passages cannot be isolated and torn from their proper connexion, but must be examined and comprehended in combination with the whole to which they belong. But in addition to the peculiar relation sustained by the Old Testament to the New, there is contained in it so much of a general and religious nature, in a human point of view (the religious contemplation of nature, patriotism, ethical wisdom), that this quality alone possesses a sufficient charm to invite to the diligent study of its pages. The idea of a Divine training of humanity, the training of a nation that it may become the chosen people of God, is so grand and peculiar, as compared with any thing af-

[1] See Schweizer, Ref. Glaubenslehre, p, 95; Pelt, Encyk., p. 129.

[2] The relation between the Old and New Testaments has been variously determined by recent theologians. Nitzsch's view (System of Christ. Doct., p. 79) is that the New Testament is related to the Old as "completion is to preparation, the removal of barriers to limitation, the immediate to the mediate." W. Hoffmann, Die göttliche Stufenordnung im Alten Test., Berlin, 1854, p. 7: "In comparison with heathenism the Old Testament possesses a strong consciousness of victory, but it approaches the coming Christianity with a humiliating consciousness of imperfection."

[3] Comp. J. Ch. K. Hoffmann, Weissagung u. Erfüllung im Alten u. Neuen Test., Nördlingen, 1841–44, 2 vols., and the review of Ebrard in Tholuck's Lit. Anzeiger, 1843, Nos. 16–18. On Old Testament prophetism see the articles by Gueder and Oehler in Herzog's Encykl., vol. xii; A. E. Biedermann, Die Propheten des alten Bundes, in Zeitstimmen aus d. ref. Schweiz, 1860; Tholuck, Die Propheten u. ihre Weissagungen, Gotha, 1860. In opposition to errors in this field, see Herm. Hupfeld, Die heutige theosoph. oder mythologische Theologie u. Schrifterklärung, Berlin, 1861.

forded by the other religions of antiquity, that the study of the Old Testament becomes one of the highest and most profitable tasks of science in a general religious and historical point of view.

Furthermore, the connexion between the Old Testament and the New is vital, for the New Testament has its roots in the Old. It is one kingdom of God which is the subject of the history in both. In expressing penitence, joy, and faith, the Psalms touch the deepest depths of Christian feeling, and the prophecies of Isaiah are by anticipation evangelical. The Bible can never be rightly studied unless the two Testaments are comprehended in their unity and harmony. If the Old Testament is in the New in fulfillment, the New is in the Old in promise. There is force in the thought of Archbishop Trench that in a just and reasonable sense all the Old Testament is prophetic, "that the subtle threads of prophecy are woven through every part of the texture, not separable from thence without rending and destroying the whole. All the Old Testament is the record of a divine constitution, pointing to something higher than itself, administered by men who were ever looking beyond themselves to a Greater that should come; who were uttering, as the Spirit stirred them, the deepest longings of their souls after his appearing, is prophetic; and this not by an arbitrary appointment, which meant thus to supply evidences ready to hand for the truth of Revelation, in the curious tallying of the Old with the New, but prophetic according to the inmost necessities of the case, which would not suffer it to be otherwise."[1]

SECTION IV.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Contents of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament embraces the documents relating to the history of the Hebrew nation and religion, "down to a certain period." The books of which it is composed are generally divided into historical, prophetical, and poetical; but the division cannot be strictly applied tó details.

Usual Jewish division of the books.

The Jews divided the sacred books (כמבי תקדש כפרי תקדש) into the Law (מורת), the Prophets (נביאים), and the Hagiographa (כמובים). The prophets are subdivided into earlier (ראשונים) and later (אהרונים). The former class included the historical books, beginning with Joshua and ending with Kings; while the latter was again subdivided into greater (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel) and lesser prophets, the latter forming a separate book. The Hagiographa included Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and

[1] Hulsean Lecture for 1845; pp. 85, 86.

Chronicles. The inconvenient character of this mode of arranging and naming is apparent;[1] and the more recent method of division, in which the Alexandrian Jews led the way, and which classified the different books as theocratic-historical, theocratically inspired (prophets), and didactic and poetical, is therefore to be preferred. It should be remembered that such a division can, in view of the entire structure of the Bible, be only relative, inasmuch as history and doctrine,[2] poetry and prose,[3] are combined in manifold ways in a majority of its books. It is for this very reason that the study of the Bible, and of the Old Testament in particular, becomes so stimulating and profitable, as to demonstrate that the Scriptures are no dry and formally completed system, but a beautiful variegated garden of God, in which the most diverse trees, herbs, shrubs, and flowers grow and give forth their fragrance; and above this diversity hovers, as above the waters on creation's morn, the spirit, peculiar to the Bible, of theophany and theocracy. A definite physiognomy looks out upon us from the theophanies, a holy, majestic, and personal will speaks in the law and the prophecies; in the first instance, the physiognomy and will of a national God, no doubt, but still of a God who will tolerate no other gods besides, and who, exalted above all limitation, is sacredly and divinely conscious of possessing eternally creative power and universal dominion over the world.[4]

The Alexandrian classification of the Old Testament books.

[1] A deeper reason for it may, however, be discovered; comp. W. Hoffmann, Göttliche Stufenordnung im A. T., p. 30, on which, p. 6, the author truly and beautifully observes: "The Torah, the law or doctrine generally, which is the text and root of all teaching and learning in matters pertaining to salvation before the time of Christ, constitutes the *foundation* of the old covenant, the wonderful, massive substructure, upon which is grounded the graceful, rich columnar forest of the *prophets*, with its glorious and bold ornaments of sacred poetry, which ornaments are fruit-bearing in their turn. It (the Torah) is the instituting of the true religion, the most ancient revelation in a human form." Bunsen likewise insists, in his Bibelwerk, that the ancient divisions should be retained.

[2] "It is apparent to all that in the two sections of this important work (the Old and New Testaments) the historical and the doctrinal elements are intimately combined in such a way that one aids and supplements the other, as perhaps in no other book." Goethe, l. c.

[3] It is assuredly a delicate thread that passes through the Old and New Testament Scriptures, and especially through sections in which image and reality, history and poetry, come into contact. Rude hands are rarely able to follow, and much less unravel it, without tearing or entangling—without harming either the poetry or the history, which are spun by it into a whole." Herder, Theophron (Werke zur Rel. u. Theol., x, p. 222, *sq.*).

[4] A more unjustifiable statement has probably never been made, than that the Old Testament God is simply an extra-mundane, abstract God. The very reverse is true. Nothing can be more concrete than the determinate God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Bähr (Symbolik, i, p. 9) is consequently correct when he says, "The underly-

The leading object of the Old Testament, that of revelation, does not appear from isolated passages, but from the whole of its development; and the present age, because of its mania for investigating separate portions of the canonical Scriptures, is less capable than its predecessor of obtaining a comprehensive view of the Divine plan for educating the race, such as was still possible to Lessing, Hess, Herder, Hamann, and Kleuker, though from different points of view. It is to be hoped, however, that the constructive spirit of a coming age may, assisted by such preparatory critical labours, be able to erect the edifice of Old Testament theology with a more certain hand and in a purer style than was possible to that earlier period with its more limited historical horizon.[1] But for an understanding of the Old Testament a knowledge of the New is necessary, in like manner as, on the other hand, the study of the former is important for the exposition of the latter (comp. sect. 2); and since it is evident, as a general truth, that "the peculiar character of a people can only be clearly recognized in the closing and crowning period of its history," it follows that "Jesus Christ is to the understanding of Israelitish history what Cæsar Augustus is to the Roman."[2]

The leading object of the Old Testament visible throughout its contents.

SECTION V.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

While the Old Testament covers a period embracing thousands of years, the new is limited to a generation of men. The Old is concerned with the training of a single nation into the character of God's people; while the latter treats of the unique personality of Jesus Christ as the

The New Testament covers only a single generation of men.

ing idea peculiar to Mosaism is precisely this, that Jehovah has connected himself with Israel, and is not separate from the world and inaccessible, but lives and walks among his people; and every person who in true earnestness of soul has uttered the Psalmist's cry, 'Whom have I in heaven but thee?' etc., knows also that the Lord is no abstract being, but a most concrete God, and no philosophy will be able to destroy the conclusion he has reached."

[1] A similar hope is expressed by Ebrard in his inaugural, Die Gottmenschlichkeit des Christenthums (Zürich, 1844), p. 17, where he declares it to be one of the leading tasks of the theology of our day "to follow out the Divinely human character of Old Testament revelation in the spirit of the immortal Herder."

[2] See Hofmann, Weissagung u. Erfülling, i, p. 54. Comp. Hävernick, Vorlesungen über Theol. d. A. T., p. 18, "The statement may be truthfully made that Christ is the central feature of the Old Testament, as being the earthly manifestation of personal, concrete justice and love; but the distinction must not be overlooked that in the Old Testament Christ is not immediately presented, but indirectly, by means of occasional symbols, actions, and words. Nor can the Old Testament be understood without Christ. Such an attempt will end in reducing it from its proper elevation; it becomes a body without a head, disintegrating and destroying itself."

Son of God, and of the institution of a society founded on that personality.

The difference in the scope of the two Testaments.

The habit of confining the attention wholly to the connexion between the Old and New Testaments, as though they were simply the two volumes of a single book, the Bible, has led to many erroneous conclusions.[1] The inquirer who desires merely quantity and variety of matter, will certainly derive greater satisfaction from the Old Testament than the New; for it will ever continue to be an important historical book, a chronicle of the world and its nations, even to persons who misapprehend its peculiar religious purpose. The New Testament is not of this character. Its vision embraces but few nations in its range, and is limited to Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome; and the student who desires information relating to those nations or countries is able to consult authorities of a wholly different kind. Every thing in it relates to the manifestation of a single and wholly unique personality,[2] and it offers but little to a mind that lacks interest in this subject. No prominence is given to great external events, for even the miracles, with few exceptions, are of a mild and unimposing character; but, next to the person of the Redeemer himself, it is human characters that engage the attention, and more especially with reference to a definite relation sustained by them to Christ.[3] The inner man, with his capabilities and needs, with his subjection to sin and error—from which he is to be delivered by an act of Divine love—the Divine love itself, no longer directed upon a chosen nation, but, in a human person, upon the entire race; the entrance of the Infinite into the finite conditions of human life, which is conditioned by the circumstances of nationality and time indeed, but none the less is superior to such limitations; the might of a new spirit, which, entering upon the arena of human history, transforms both nature and conditions; the gathering of a community professing faith in

[1] Comp. the remark by Tholuck, cited in sect. 2 of this chap., note.

[2] "The peculiarities of form and contents of the New Testament become clearly apparent when it is compared with these collections of sacred books (the Old Testament and the Koran). The religious idea and the historical fact are here combined in the single phenomenon of *the entrance of the Deity into human life.* All the parts are collected about a common centre, the historical manifestation of God in Christ. But this unity is again resolved into a rich diversity of points of view, from which the doctrine is illustrated, of historical characters, whose moral beauty does not conceal the stamp of individuality, and of historical situations, which serve to illustrate the application of Christian ideas to human life." Clausen, Hermeneutik, p. 28.

[3] The Old Testament has, not improperly, been compared to the Iliad, and the New to the Odyssey.

the crucified and risen Jesus; the regeneration of individuals into the likeness of God, and of nations into an (ideal) people and kingdom of God—these form the kernel and the contents of the Gospel proclamation.

Subdivisions of the New Testament—history, doctrine, and prophecy.

The substance of the proclamation is presented under the two forms of history and doctrine, to which prophecy is appended, thus affording an analogy with the Old Testament, in which a similar distinction between historical, prophetical, and didactic books has been observed; but this analogy will not hold good in all respects. The distinction between historical and didactic books is likewise faulty when applied to details. The statement that the Gospels and the book of Acts form the historical, the Pauline and the general epistles the didactic, and the Apocalypse the prophetical part, must be modified by the consideration that didactic elements are contained in the historical books of the New Testament (the discourses of Jesus in the synoptical Gospels[1] and John), that historical matter is found in the epistles (Gal. ii; 1 Cor. xi, 23–25; xv, 3–9, etc.), and that prophecies occur both in the Gospels (Matt. xxiv) and the epistles (1 Thess. v, 1, etc.).

The Gospel at first proclaimed orally — afterwards written.

Questions relating to the collection of the New Testament canon belong to the province of Introduction; but it is to be observed, for the purpose of guarding against the adoption of partial views, that the Gospel was at first proclaimed altogether by living agents and by means of oral address; that the introduction of writing was due to the necessity of corresponding with distant Churches and individuals, and that it is by reason of the references in them to communities and individuals that the New Testament writings acquire a peculiar interest, which, however, is speedily dissipated by the application of over-hasty dogmatizing principles to their interpretation;[2] that the transmission of historical facts by oral tra-

[1] Matthew, Mark, and Luke, so called because their modes of presenting the subject, though different, yet resemble each other in admitting of a ready synopsis, while the fourth Gospel pursues an independent method.

[2] "An examination of these (New Testament) writings will reveal a feature in which they differ from all other books that are accounted sacred. No trace of a formal and solemnly declared revelation by God is indicated by their form, nor, with the single exception of the Apocalypse, do they claim to have been written at the direct command of God, which is the case in the Old Testament with the writings of Moses and the prophets. The sacred books of other religions, *e.g.*, the Koran, likewise claim to be Divine revelations immediately given from heaven. Had it been intended to make such a book the basis of the Christian commonwealth, no person would have possessed more absolute qualification and authority to compose it than Jesus Christ himself; but

dition preceded their circulation in a written form; that the agreements and disagreements of the different records with each other are founded in the circumstances of their origin, and must be explained in harmony with human reason and by scientific methods; and finally, that the several books composing the New Testament were not all admitted to the canon and comprehended into a whole at the same time, but that they were gradually received (εὐαγγέλιον, ἀπόστολος), opinion being in the meantime undecided with regard to the canonicity of certain of them (ἀντιλεγόμενα). While admitting such facts, however, it must not be supposed on the other hand, that the canon is simply an accidental aggregation. It is rather to be regarded as necessarily determined by its own internal character and so received by the Church, and as carrying a great idea through the whole of its empirical form, so that the beginning and the end are linked together like the ends of a chain, Genesis opening with the beginning of all things and the Apocalypse closing with the end of the world. The structure of the canon must be examined with an independent spirit rather than with a mind controlled by any pedantic method; a principle that should be applied also to the (not chronological) arrangement of the Prophets and Epistles, and to the seemingly abrupt transitions from one book to another.[1]

The New Testament canon not formed at one time.

SECTION VI.

SCIENCES AUXILIARY TO EXEGESIS.

Exegetical theology requires, as necessary aids :—

1. A knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures (philologia sacra) ;
2. An acquaintance with the sciences which deal with

The five auxiliary sciences.

he has not done this. He has chosen instead to deposit with a number of living persons the life which he was empowered to convey; and these persons were likewise not commissioned nor did they assume to give a written documentary form to the subject they were to announce to men. They confined themselves to the living word in the effort to gather a people, among whom that word should become power, life, and reality. The force of circumstances afterward led them to make use of writing, and even then it was because special conditions and occurrences required attention which could not be given in person, because the distance between the parties prevented other than written intercourse," etc. Chr. Hoffmann, Das Christenthum in d. ersten Jahrhunderten (Stuttgart, 1853), p. 194. Comp. H. Schultz, p. 54.

[1] The artistic mind of Herder discovered the right principle, here as elsewhere. "I cannot express the value at which I rate several of the most sharply contrasting books, all of which are placed together. The three books of Solomon following after the Psalms, the Psalms after Job, love's tender dove after the bird of wisdom, and in immediate succession Isaiah, the eagle, mounting upward to the sun. Here is instruction, here is human life." Solomo's Lieder der Liebe (Werke zur Rel. u. Theol., vii, p. 102).

facts that come into question (Biblical antiquities, geography, physica sacra);

3. A knowledge of the origin and fortunes of the canon and its parts (Isagogics, Canon).

To these positive, historical, and philological sciences must be joined an acquaintance :—

1. With the laws which determine the canonicity and authenticity of a book as a whole, and also the perfect preservation of the text in its several parts (integrity)—the science of criticism.

2. With the rules of interpretation—hermeneutics.

The above order of arrangement is founded in methodological reasons. It may be thought that Introduction should properly precede all else; but practice in reading the Scriptures, involving a knowledge of the languages in which they were written, is necessary to success in the study of that branch. A knowledge of physical and historical facts is also required, even though it be limited, at first, to such archæological notes as the lexicons afford, and its full development into a scientific character be reserved for a later stage, in connexion with the study of historical theology. Lectures on Introduction having reference to the canon as a whole, will possess a proper interest only for students who have become familiar with separate books of the Bible, in the way of philological and archæological study; and a thorough comprehension of the laws of Criticism and Hermeneutics is possible to him only who has, to some extent, been engaged in the work of interpretation.

Reasons for this order of succession.

SECTION VII.

THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF THE BIBLE.

The Old Testament Scriptures were originally written in the Hebrew language, with the exception of a few sections which were written in Chaldee. The New Testament Scriptures were written in Hellenistic Greek.

Chaldee sections, Dan. ii, 4 to the end of vii; Ezra iv, 8; vi, 18; vii, 12–26; Jer. x, 11.[1]

It may be regarded as generally conceded that the Greek, and not the Aramæan, as Bolten and Bertholdt argued, is the original language of the New Testament; but opinions are still divided on the question of the original form of the Gospel by St. Matthew.

[1] Concerning the Biblical Chaldee comp. L. Hirzel, De Chaldaismi Biblici origine, etc., Leips., 1830, 4to.; F. Dietrich, De Sermonis Chaldaici proprietate, Leips., 1839.

SECTION VIII.

THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

J. J. Wagner, Wichtigkeit d. Heb. Sprache für Theologen, Bamb. and Würzburg, 1806; W. M. L. de Wette, Aufforderung zum. Stud. der Hebr. Spr. u. Literatur, Jena, 1806; W. M. Thomson, The Physical Basis of Our Spiritual Language, Bib. Sacra., vol. xxix, pp. 1-22, and vol. xxx, pp. 25-127; G. H. Whittemore, Hebrew Language and Lexicography, Bib. Sacra., vol. xxix, pp. 547-553; Articles on Hebrew Language in Kitto's and M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædias.

A knowledge of the Hebrew language is indispensable to the theologian, not only for the study of the Old Testament, but also for the New:

The necessity of a knowledge of Hebrew and the reasons.

1. Because the New Testament idiom is partially based on that language.

2. Because much that is there given in the Greek was originally conceived and expressed in the kindred Aramæan dialect, and accordingly derives its colouring, in different degrees, from that source.

On the word "Hebrew" (whether derived from עֵבֶר, the ancestor of Abraham), see the introductions to the grammars of Gesenius and Ewald. The phrase "Hebrew language" is not found in the Old Test., the "language of Canaan," Isa. xix, 18, and "Jews' language," Isa. xxxvi, 11, 13, being used instead. The latter expression, however, denotes more particularly the Hebrew dialect spoken in the kingdom of Judah and in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The New Testament has the expressions γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων and ἑβραϊστί, John v, 2; xix, 13, but as designating the Aramaic vernacular, in distinction from the Greek.

The Hebrew language possesses a peculiar interest for the purposes of pure knowledge alone; but it engages the attention of the philologist only as it is a member of the larger family of languages known as the *Semitic*.[1] The for-

Characteristics of Hebrew.

[1] This term has come into use since the days of Schlözer and Eichhorn, as being more thoroughly descriptive than Jerome's phrase, "the Oriental languages." The latter embraces the entire East, while the Semitic languages are indigenous to hither Asia, and confined to Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Arabia, and Ethiopia. They are divided into three principal branches, 1. The Aramæan (Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia), subdivided into West and East Aramaic (Syriac and Chaldee); 2. The Hebrew (Palestine and Phœnicia) from which the Punic was derived; 3. The Arabic, with which the Ethiopic is a cognate branch. The Samaritan was a mixture of Hebrew and Aramæan. It has been found, however, that the term Semitic is likewise neither sufficiently exact nor exhaustive (comp. Gesenius, Gesch. d. Hebr. Sprache u. Schrift, p. 5), and some writers (*e. g.*, Hävernick, Einl., i, 1, p. 93) have again adopted the term "Oriental." Recent authors have suggested that "hither-Asiatic" or "Syro-Arabic" be substituted for either, to designate this family of languages. J. G. Müller (wer sind die Semiten u. mit welchem Recht spricht man von

mation and character of this language, so essentially unlike Greek and Latin, its being written from right to left, its wealth in guttural letters, the facts that, strictly speaking, it has but three leading vowels, and that the root-word is usually a verb and is almost invariably composed of three consonants, its peculiar modes of conjugation, of forming cases, etc., and its simple syntax, are features which impart to it a special charm,[1] but also to some extent, increase its difficult character. A knowledge of Hebrew is conceded to be necessary for the interpretation of the Old Testament; but it is likewise indispensable to the exegesis of the New, for the reasons:

A knowledge of Hebrew indispensable to the exegesis of the New Testament.

1. That entire sections (citations) from the Old Testament can only be properly understood after being compared with the original; 2. That the New Testament itself, to use Luther's expression, "is full of the Hebrew mode of speaking;"[2] that though the number of assumed Hebraisms has been greatly reduced since Winer's thorough investigations, the significations of New Testament words and their combinations are largely to be explained from the Hebrew (*e. g.*, the words *σάρξ, καρδία, σπλάγχνα, σπλαγχνίζεσθαι, σπέρμα*, and the phrases *πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν, πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον, ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ*, etc.); 3. That expressions in the discourses of our Lord, as given in the Greek text of the Gospels, need to be translated back into the Aramæan dialect then current among that people, in order to be correctly understood—a principle that is not sufficiently regarded, the ordinary method in New Testament exegesis being to ascertain simply the Greek etymon. It appears from the above that a knowledge of Hebrew is

Semit. Sprachen? Basle, 1860, 4to.) returns to the expression, "language of Canaan," and accordingly regards the Hebrew as a Hamitic language; but he observes that "however evident the matter may be, the term Semitic has become too thoroughly established in the learned and cultivated world to be easily set aside."

[1] "Injucundum videtur idioma latino fastui et graecanicae effeminationi, sed idioma est et sanctum et sacris literis necessarium maxime, cujus ignoratio multas haereses et errores invexit." Oecolampadius Hedioni (Epp. Oecol. et Zwinglii, Basle, 1536, *sq.*) fol. 172. "The Hebrew language is full of the soul's breath; it does not resound, like the Greek, but it breathes, it lives." Herder, Geist, d. hebr. Poesie, i, p. 28. With reference to the relation of the Semitic languages to those of the Indo-Germanic (Aryan) nations, see Bertheau, p. 613, and also with regard to their relation to the later, so-called rabbinical, Hebrew.

[2] "It has therefore been justly said that the Hebrews drink at the fountainhead, the Greeks from the streamlets that issue from the fountain, but the Latins from the puddles. The Hebrew is the best and purest language; it does not beg, and wears its own colours. It is more simple, indeed, than others, but majestic and glorious, direct and of few words, which, however, involve much that is below the surface; so that none other is capable of imitating it." Comp. Herder's Briefe das Stud. der Theol. betreffend, iv, p. 144.

an indispensable qualification for the theologian; but it does not follow, as certain of the older writers imagined, that a good Hebraist must necessarily be a good theologian.[1] The terminology of Christianity is clearly not confined within the limits of the Hebrew tongue; and as Christianity itself has grown beyond the Old Testament Judaism, so it has developed a new language for its own use, and has infused a new spirit into Hebraistic forms, which a defunct Hebraism cannot explain, for which the Hebrew simply affords a basis, and which must be wholly apprehended from its own idea.

SECTION IX.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE STUDY OF HEBREW.

The study of Hebrew in the several ages of the Church.

The older theology held that the Hebrew was the primitive language, the sacred language employed by God and the angels, which existed alone until others were added in the confusion of tongues at Babel.[2] Recent inquiries have shown that the Hebrew language was not perfected before the time of David, and have given rise to different opinions concerning the language of the Canaanitish and Phœnician tribes that occupied Palestine before the immigration of the Abrahamidæ. The importance of the Hebrew language for the Christian theologian, so generally conceded in our day, was not always recognized. The primitive Christians generally made use of versions, particularly the Alexandrian by the LXX. Origen and Jerome (the latter especially) were distinguished for their knowledge of Hebrew, while Augustine was deficient in this regard. During the middle ages Hebrew was almost wholly neglected by Christians; though a learned acquaintance with the language was preserved to some extent, after it ceased to be a spoken tongue, among the Jews (Talmudists, Masorites). The school of Tiberias was especially famous; and Jerome among others, was instructed by Palestinian Jews. The Alexandrians, however, devoted less attention to the ancient language of their people (Philo). Between the eighth and ninth centuries grammatical studies were greatly neglected by the Jews likewise, until they were revived by the Spanish Jews (in the time of the Moorish suprem-

Study of Hebrew in the Middle Ages.

[1] While Luther strongly recommends the study of the Hebrew, he yet writes (against Erasmus, who prided himself on his knowledge of languages), "Vides, quod non ideo quispiam sit Christianus vere sapiens, quia Graecus sit et Hebraeus, quando et beatus Hieronymus quinque linguis monoglosson Augustinum non adaequarit"—to J. Lange, in de Wette, Briefe, Sendschreiben, etc., i, No. 29, p. 52.

[2] This view has been defended in recent times by Father Hy. Gossler, in Die heil. Schrift in ihrer Ursprache (Lippstadt, 1850). The author asserts that "no accurate Hebrew grammar can be found outside the (Roman Catholic) Church!"—P. 16.

acy). The twelfth century produced a number of prominent rabbins, among others David Kimchi.

The knowledge of Hebrew among Christians was renewed by the aid of Jewish teachers. At the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries Elias Levita, by birth a German Jew, was teaching in Italy, where his doctrine of the modern origin of the vowel signs in Hebrew drew upon him persecution from his co-religionists, though Christians also regarded his teaching as heretical. Such prejudices were not favourable to impartial grammatical studies. The renewed study of Hebrew in the Christian world, however, with which the Reformation is (partially) involved, is closely connected with the so-called renaissance of learning. Nicholas Lyra, in the fourteenth century, applied his limited knowledge of Hebrew to the interpretation of the Scriptures; but the proper impulse was given by Reuchlin, who must be considered the restorer of the study of Hebrew among Christians. His three books De Rudimentis Hebraicis, prefaced by the Exegi monumentum aere perennius of Horace, appeared in the year 1506. He was followed by J. Böschenstein, Seb. Münster († in 1552), the two Buxtorfs. John B., the elder, professor at Basle from 1591, († 1629,) wrote a Thesaurus linguæ sacræ, a grammar, 1605, and a lexicon Hebr. et Chald., Basle, 1607; John B., the younger, († 1666), disputed on the age of the vowel-signs at Saumur with Louis Capellus. They were succeeded by Drusius († 1616), Schickard († 1635), Glassius († 1656), Vorstius († 1676). In the middle of the seventeenth century the method of the demonstrative philosophy, corresponding to the scholastic temper of the time, came into prominence, being represented more especially by Danz (1696) in Germany and by Jac. Alting († 1679) in the Netherlands. A new influence was exerted by Albert Schultens at Franecker and Leyden († 1750), who consulted the Arabic and traced Hebrew words back to Arabic roots, but carried the method to excess. About the middle of the eighteenth century J. D. Michaelis prosecuted the study of Oriental languages over a broader field and aroused an interest in others also for such pursuits. Gesenius († 1842), having been preceded by Hezel (1777), Vater (1797–1814) and Weckherlin (1797, *sqq.*), was the first to adopt a settled and clear method, which still has decided adherents, though a more systematic mode, based on the nature of the language and complete in itself, has been attempted particularly by Ewald. This latter scholar has brought to the study of Hebrew philosophical analysis, and a wide comparison of kindred languages.

Reuchlin the restorer of Hebrew learning.

The first great English lexicographer of Hebrew and its cognate

languages was Edmund Castell. He published his Lexicon Heptaglotton in two volumes folio, London, 1669. A Hebrew, Chaldee, and English Lexicon was published (London, 1840) by Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. This important work is quoted with approbation by Gesenius. The Hebrew Lexicon of Gesenius has been translated into English and republished in England and America. The edition by Dr. Robinson (Boston, 1836, and subsequently) is considered "the best full Hebrew Lexicon extant in our language." The compendious Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon of Davies has been revised and republished by Dr. Edward C. Mitchell, of Chicago (Andover, 1859). Fürst's Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament has been edited in English by Dr. S. Davidson (London, 1867). Professor Moses Stuart, of Andover, Mass., published in 1821 a Hebrew grammar, with a copious Syntax and Praxis (Andover, octavo). Isaac Nordheimer, Professor of Hebrew in the University of New York, published a Hebrew Grammar distinguished for its philosophical treatment of the subject (1838, 1842, 2 vols., 8vo). Professor Lee is also the author of a Grammar of the Hebrew Language (London, 3d ed., 1841). The Hebrew Grammar of Horwitz (London, 1835) is well approved by scholars. The Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius, on the basis of the revisions of Rödiger, Kautzsch, and Davies, has been issued by Dr. Edward C. Mitchell (Andover, 1880). Professor W H. Green, of Princeton, is the author of an excellent Hebrew Grammar (3d ed., New York, 1876). Compare:

A. Th. Hartmann, Linguistische Einleitung in das Studium der Bücher des A. T. Bremen, 1817.

W Gesenius, Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache und Schrift. Lpz., 1815.

See also the Introductions to the Old Testament, (e. g., de Wette, §§ 30–33, and the literature there given.)

(G.) H. (A.) Ewald, kritische Grammatik der hebr. Sprache. S. 1 ff.

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[1] Older works by Seb. Münster (1532), F. Buxtorf (1695, and often reprinted), J. A. Danz (1696), A. Schultens (1737), J. D. Michaelis (1745), F. W. Hezel (1777). Later works by J. S. Vater (1797, 1814), J. F. Weckherlin (Stuttg., Bd. I, 1797, 1798, 1818; Bd. II, 1805, 1819), M. Hartmann (1798, 1819), R. Hanno, (1825, 1828), Böckel (1825), Uhlemann, 1827).

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C. H. Bosen, Anleitung zum Erlernen der Hebr. Sprache. 8. Aufl. Freiburg i. B., 1864.
G. Bickell, Grundriss der Hebräischen Grammatik. 2 Parts. Lpz., 1869–70.
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THE REMAINING SEMITIC DIALECTS.

A familiar acquaintance with other Semitic languages is necessary for a learned examination of the Hebrew, and for the exposition of certain parts of the Old Testament, and is useful in many respects to the New Testament exegete and the scientific theologian; but it cannot be required that every Christian theologian, as such, should possess it to its full extent.

A knowledge of the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic useful to the theologian.

On the importance of treating the Hebrew in connexion with other Semitic dialects compare the preceding section. At this point, however, scientific philology must serve the purposes of theology; and for such purposes a thorough acquaintance with the Hebrew, as facilitated by the lexical and grammatical labors of other minds, is fully adequate.[1] There always will and must be individuals whose inclinations and talents will urge them onward in the path of inquiry; but here again "one thing will not do for all," and it is certainly more desirable that a definite knowledge of the Hebrew be secured, than that too many studies be engaged in at the same time. The chief interest for Old Testament exegesis attaches to the Chaldee, which, however, has been incorporated with Hebrew lexicology (by Ge-

[1] The Christian theologian cannot choose otherwise than to make Christianity the central object of his studies. This is historically rooted in the East (though we should scarcely term it a purely Oriental phenomenon); but its true home and life-development have been found in the West.

senius), in so far as it enters into the language of the Bible. The Syriac is useful for the study of the Syriac version (the Peshito), and also for New Testament exegesis, besides being an available help for the Church historian (comp. Ecclesiastical philology, *infra*). This applies also to the Arabic, aside from its philological value for comparison with the Hebrew. In this way, however, the circle might be infinitely extended, for it cannot be denied that, on the one hand the Rabbinical, on the other the Oriental languages in their further manifestations through the Indian (Sanscrit and Prakrit), the Old Persic (Zend-language), the Chinese, etc., will also yield fruit which possesses value. Our concern is, however, primarily with what may be justly required, and this is and must continue to be the Hebrew,[1] together with the language of the New Testament originals.

SECTION X.

THE HELLENISTIC-GREEK LANGUAGE—THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.

E. Reuss, articles Hellenisten und Hellenistisches Idiom in Herzog's Encykl., v, p. 701, *sqq.*

While an acquaintance with Hebrew is requisite for the study of the Old Testament and also of the New, it is yet not sufficient, even

[1] Comp. Schleiermacher, Darstellung, etc., § 131. With regard to the necessary aids for the study of the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic comp. Danz, Encykl., p. 184–190, and Winer, Handbuch der theol, Lit. p. 124, *sq.* (2 ed., 1838–40; 3d ed., 1842). Valuable aids for the study of the Syriac are, the grammars by Uhlemann (Berlin, 1829, 2d ed., 1857) and A. G. Hoffmann (Halle, 1827; revised ed. by A. Merx, ibid., 1867), and the chrestomathies by Roediger (Halle, 1838) and Kirsch (publ. by Bernstein, Leips., 1836–41); for the Samaritan, Uhlemann (Leips., 1837); for the Chaldee, Buxtorf (Lexicon chald., etc., Leips., 1866), Levy (Chald. Wörterbuch, 2 parts, Leips., 1867–68), Winer, Grammatik (2d ed., Leips., 1842) and Lesebuch (1825, 2d ed., 1864), Jul. Fuerst, (Leips., 1835, 2d ed., 1864), Luzzatto (Elementi grammaticali, Padova, 1865, German by Krüger, Breslau, 1873), and the chrestomathy by Kaerle, 1852; for the Arabic, Tychsen (Gött., 1823), Ewald (Leips., 1831 and 1833), Schier (Grammaire Arabe, Paris, 1849), C. P. Caspari (Leips., 1859), Freytag's Arabic-Latin Lexicon abridged ed. for beginners, (Halle, 1837, 4to.) and the chrestomathies by Kosegarten (Leips., 1828) and Arnold (Halle, 1853); for the Phoenician, Schröder, Die Phönicische Sprache (Halle, 1869); for the Coptic, the grammars by Schwartz (1850) and Uhlemann (Leips., 1853.) On the Semitic languages generally see Ernst Renan, Histoire générale et système comparé des langues Sémitiques, Paris, 1855, 2d ed., 1863, vol. i.

Other works are: Longfield, Introduction to Chaldee (London, 1859); Riggs, Manual of the Chaldee Language (New York, 1858); Davidson, Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon (London and New York); Uhleman, Syriac Grammar, translated by Hutchinson (New York); Henderson, Syriac Lexicon to the New Testament (London and New York); Nichols, Samaritan Grammar, (London and New York); Catafego, Arabic Dictionary (London and New York); Wright, Arabic Grammar (London and New York). All of Bagster's Elementary Arabic, Chaldee, Samaritan, and Syriac books are useful.

when supplementing a knowledge of classical Greek, to meet the demands of the New Testament exegete, whose work requires in addition that attention should be given to the elements of language which mediate between the two and upon which the phraseology of the New Testament is based.

The language of the New Testament not pure Greek.

The New Testament was written in Greek; but it is now generally conceded that the language of its authors is not pure Greek in either a lexical or grammatical view.[1] This, however, is merely a negative statement; and the mere collecting of Hebrew fragments yields no profitable result. The recognition of the Hebraistic character of the language of the New Testament would naturally cause many expressions, such as a "consuming fire," a "child of death," etc., to be explained as Hebraisms, which occur in all languages as figurative forms of speech. The essential thing required is that the transition from the Hebrew to the Greek (from the Oriental to the Occidental) mode of thought and speech be clearly apprehended, a subject which directs attention to the Alexandrian period as being the point of transition between the East and the West. The ordinary Greek (*κοινή*) of the later periods forms the basis of New Testament idiom, which, however, receives a peculiar colouring from the admixture of Jewish-Hellenistic elements, for which reason it will be found profitable to study especially the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament (the LXX), the Apocrypha, Philo, and Josephus, in addition to authors who employ the common dialect (Polybius, Plutarch, Artemidorus). It is to be remembered, however, that as the New Testament opened a new spiritual world to view, it was also obliged to create a specifically Christian language, and that many expressions (*e. g.*, *εἰρήνη ὑμῖν*, etc.) possessed a larger and deeper meaning in the Christian than in the ordinary usage. Three elements are consequently to be distinguished in the language of the New Testament,[2] the Greek, the Jewish, and the

The New Testament idiom based on the later Greek.

[1] Simple as this matter is, an erroneous conception of the doctrine of inspiration has led to much controversy, concerning which see Morus. Acroas. herm. T. I.; Winer, Grammatik, § 1. "The presumption of a former age that no imperfection can be acknowledged in the New Testament language because the Scriptures came forth from the Holy Ghost, has, itself being false, led to the adoption of erroneous maxims which unhappily still exist and exert their influence." Schleiermacher, Hermeneut., p. 131. Examples of such influence are afterward given. The work by Joachim Jungius on the original language of the N. T. (1637, republished by Geffeken in 1863) affords a recent illustration.

[2] "The Hellenistic idiom in the Jewish period and sphere bore the character of a slavish translation; in the Christian it became independent and entered into the formation of a language, without on that account renouncing its nativity." Reuss, l. c.

Christian (comp. the first paragraphs of de Wette's Einleitung and Schleiermacher's Hermeneutik, p. 27). A different meaning, too, was acquired by Greek words in the New Testament, from that which attached to them in the classical language, *e. g.*, ταπεινοφροσύνη, *humility*, which the ancient Grecian would understand to signify baseness of disposition (comp. ταπεινοφρονεῖν in Arrian's Epict.), and the petition in the Lord's prayer, ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν (Matt. vi, 12), which he would regard as a request for the remission of a pecuniary debt. The language of the New Testament varies, moreover, with the different writers. Some Hebraize more than others —Luke and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews least of all—some possess greater facility in the use of the current Greek (St. Paul) than others (Peter and James), and in the specifically Christian field each of them employed a class of words which harmonized with his own modes of thought (λόγος, ζωή, φῶς with St. John, πίστις, δικαιοσύνη, χάρις with St. Paul, πίστις with St. James, in a meaning different from that of St. Paul, etc.). Such differences, furthermore, are not confined to the lexical department; the grammatical form, both in etymology and syntax, also varies in many respects from the classical forms, *e. g.*, Luke xxiv, 15, ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὁμιλεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ συζητεῖν, where the Greek would require the genitive absolute, or Luke xx, 11, προσέθετο πέμψαι, (וַיֹּסֶף לִשְׁלֹחַ) for πάλιν ἔπεμψεν, etc. The use of the prepositions ἐν, ἐκ, κατὰ, is a further illustration (*e. g.*, οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, for οἱ πιστεύοντες, etc.).

New meaning given in the N. T. to some current Greek words.

New Testament Greek varies with the writers.

Brief Historical Sketch.

The first to bring together the grammatical peculiarities of New Testament diction was the philologist Solomon Glassius († 1656) of Jena, in his Philologia sacra. Casper Wyss, Professor of Greek at Zürich († 1659), followed with his Dialectologia sacra (1650), in which still greater attention was bestowed on the peculiarities of the New Testament. George Pasor, Professor of Greek at Franecker († 1697), published a small lexicon of the New Testament, and left a grammar which was published by his son, Matthias, professor at Gröningen. Pasor continued to be the standard during an extended period, in which only isolated attempts at observation were made. Ph. H. Haab attempted to provide a suitable work in his Hebr.-griechisch. Grammatik f. das N. T., Tüb., 1815, but without success. Winer established New Testament grammar on scientific principles, and elevated it to the rank of a theological

History of the exposition of character of New Testament Greek.

and philological science, since when praiseworthy researches, including special branches, have been made. A translation of Winer was made from the first edition by Professors Stuart and Robinson (Andover, 1825). A translation of the seventh edition revised by Lüneman has also been issued by Professor J. Henry Thayer (Andover, 1869). The same American editor has prepared a revised translation of Alexander Buttman's Grammar of New Testament Greek (Andover, 1873). Thomas Sheldon Green is the author of a brief Grammar of the New Testament (London, 1862). Professor Stuart, of Andover, prepared a Grammar of the New Testament Dialect which is deserving of honorable mention (Andover; also in Clark's Biblical Cabinet, Edinburgh, 1835). Planck's Sacred Philology and Interpretation was translated by Professor Samuel H. Turner, of the Protestant Episcopal Seminary, of New York (republished in Clark's Biblical Cabinet, Edinburgh, 1834). Dr. Edward Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, originally based on Wahl's Clavis, but recast and made an original work, carefully traces the differences between classical and New Testament usage. But most valuable for the student is Cremer's Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek (3d English ed., Edinburgh, 1880). It traces the words which are distinctive of the New Testament from the classics to the Septuagint, and thence on "till they reach the fullness of New Testament thought."

1. *Grammars of New Testament Language.*

* B. G. Winer, Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms, als sichere Grundlage der Neutestamentlichen Exegese. Lpz., 1822. 7. ed. v. G. Lünemann, 1867.
J. C. W. Alt, Grammatica linguae Graecae, qua N. T. scriptores usi sunt. Halae, 1829.
† J. Th. Beelen, Grammatica Graecitatis N. T. Lovanii, 1857.
Alex. Buttmann, Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs, in Anschluss an Ph. Buttmanns griechische Grammatik bearbeitet. Berlin, 1859.
S. C. Schirlitz, die Hellenistischen, besonders Alexandrinischen und sonst schwierigen Verbalformen im griechischen N. Testamente. For schools and private study. Arranged in alphabetical order, and grammatically elucidated. Erfurt, 1852.
—— Grundzüge der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität. Nach den besten Quellen für Studirende der Theologie u. Philologie. Giessen, 1861.
—— Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Neutestamentlichen Grundsprache, zugleich als Griechische Neutestamentliche Schulgrammatik für Gymnasien. Erfurt, 1863.
C. H. Lipsius, Grammatische Untersuchungen, über die biblische Gräcität, herausgegeben von R. A. Lipsius. Lpz., 1863.

2. *Concordances and Lexicons.*[1]

Erasmi Schmidii, *ταμιεῖον τῶν τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης λέξεων* s. concordantiae omnium vocum N. T. (Viteb., 1638); new ed. by E. S. Cyprian (Goth., 1717), and Glasg.,

[1] Older works by G. Pasor (1631, 1735), Stock (1725, 1752), Mintert (1728), Simonis (1762), J. F. Fischer (Proluss., etc. 1772), Kypke (Vocab. Lips., 1795).

1819; latest ed. ("nunc sec. critices et hermeneutices nostrae aetatis rationes emendatae, auctae, meliore ordine dispositae") by C. H. Bruder. Lips., 1853. 2 partt., 4. ed. 3. Lips., 1867.

Schmoller, Ταμιεῖον τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης ἐγχειρίδιον, od. Handconcordanz zum Griechischen N. Testament (548 S. 16), Stuttg., 1869.

Chr. Schoettgen. Novum Lexicon graeco-lat. in N. T. Post J. T. Krebs., rec. aux. G. L. Spohn. Hal., 1819.

J. F. Schleusner, Nov. Lex. gr.-lat. in N. T. Lips., 1792, (1801, 1808,) 1819. 2 voll.

* Chr. Abr. Wahl, Clavis N. T. philologica usibus scholarum et juvenum theologiae studiosorum accommodata. Lips., 1822, 1843. 2 voll.

* C. G. Bretschneider, Lexicon manuale gr.-lat. in libros N. T. Lips., 1824. Edit. 3., 1840.

Ch. G. Wilke, Lexicon graeco-latinum in libros N. T. Dresdae, 1839, 1840. 2 voll. Edit. 2., ibid., 1850.

S. C. Schirlitz, Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zum N. T. Giessen, 1851. 2 ed., 1858. 3 ed., ibid., 1868.

E. F. Dalmer, Lexicon breve graeco-latinum ad voces et vocabula librorum N. T. explicanda concinnatum. Gothae, 1859.

Ch. G. Wilkii, Clavis N. T. philologica usibus scholarum et juvenum theologiae studiosorum accommodata. Quem librum ita castigavit et emendavit, ut novum opus haberi possit, C. L. W. Grimm. Lips., 1862–1868.

H. Cremer, Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität. Gotha, 1866; 2d ed., 1872.

3. *Other Philological Helps for Explaining the New Testament.*

J. Vorst, De Hebraismis N. T. commentarius, cur. J. F. Fischer. Lips., 1778.

Lamb. Bos, Exercitatt. philologicae, in quibus N. T. loca nonnulla ex profanis auctoribus illustrantur. Franeq., 1700, 1713.

J. Alberti, Observatt. philol.-crit. in sacros N. T. libros. Lugd., 1714.

G. D. Kypke, Observatt. sacrae in N. T. libros. Vratisl., 1755. 2 voll.

G. Raphel, Annotatt. in N. T. ex Xenoph. (Ham., 1709), Polybio et Arriano (ibid., 1715) et Herodoto (Luneb., 1731) collectae; nunc in unum corpus redactae. Lugd., Bat., 1747. 2 voll.

Jac. Elsner, Obss. sacrae in N. T. libros. Traj. ad Rhen., 1728.

E. Palairet, Observatt. phil.-crit. in sacros N. T. libros. Lugd., Bat., 1752.

K. H. Lange, Spec. obss. philol. in N. T. ex Luciano potissimum et Dion. Halic. Lub., 1732.

Csp. F. Munthe, Obss. philologicae in sacros N. T. libros ex Diodoro Siculo collectae. Hafn. et Lips., 1755.

J. B. Ott, Excerpta ex Flav. Josepho ad N. T. illustr. cura Havercamp. Lugd., Bat., 1741.

C. F. Loesner, Obss. ad N. T. e Philone Alexandrino. Lips., 1777.

A. F. Kuehn, Spicil. Loesn. obss. ad N. T. e Philone. Lips., 1785.

J. T. Krebs, Obss. in N. T. e Flavio Josepho. Lips., 1755.

K. L. Bauer, Philologia Thucydideo-Paulina. Hal., 1773.

C. G. Kuinoel, Observatt. ad N. T. ex libris apocr. N. T. Lips., 1794.

Other matter of this sort taken from Plutarch by v. Seelen (1719); from Polyb. by Kirchmaier (1725); from Aristophanes by Eckhard (1733); from Euripides by Lange (1734); from Diog. Laert. by Richter (1739); from Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, by Porschberger (1744); from Callimachus by Peucer (1751); from Musaeus by Adelung (1756); from Homer by Bellermann (1785).

On the method as a whole:—

K. B. Hauff, über den Gebrauch Griech. Profanscribenten zur Erläuterung des N. T. Lpz., 1706.

C. G. Gersdorf, Beiträge zur Sprachcharakteristik der neutestamentlichen Schrift steller. Bd. 1. Lpz., 1816.

J. D. Schulze, Der Schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Petrus, Judas, und Jacobus. Weissenf., 1802. Lpz., 1811.

—— Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Johannes. Weissenf., 1803. Lpz., 1811.

Wilke, Die neutestamentliche Rhetorik. Ein Seitenstück zur Grammatik des neutestamentl. Sprachidioms. Dresden u. Leipzig, 1843.

Lasonder, De linguae Paulinae idiomate. 2. Partt. Traj. ad Rhen., 1866.

TEXT-BOOKS IN GREEK.

1. *Greek Grammars.*

Buttmann, Alexander. A Grammar of the New Testament Greek, with numerous Additions and Corrections by the Author. By J. H. Thayer. 8vo, pp, xvi, 474. Andover, 1873.

Greek Students' Manual, The, containing: I. A Practical Guide to the Greek Testament. II. The New Testament, Greek and English. III. A Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament. F'cap, 8vo, pp. 676. London, 1868.

Greek New Testament, Hand-Book to the Grammar of, with Vocabulary and the chief New Testament Synonymes. 8vo. London.

Green, T. S. A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect. 8vo, pp. viii, 244. London.

Jelf, W E. A Grammar of the Greek Language. 3d ed., enlarged and improved. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 517, 700. Oxford, 1861.

Middleton, Thos. F. The Doctrine of the Greek Article, applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament. New ed., 8vo. London, 1855.

Stuart, Moses. A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect. 8vo, pp, 312. Andover, 1846.

Trollope, William. A Greek Grammar to the New Testament, and to the Common or Hellenic Diction of the Later Greek Writers. 8vo, pp. 257. London, 1841.

Winer, George Benedict. A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament. 7th ed., enlarged and improved by Gottlieb Lünemann. Revised and authorized translation. 8vo, pp. xviii, 728. Andover, 1877.

2. *Greek Lexicons.*

Analytical Greek Lexicon to the New Testament, The. 4to, pp. 490. London, 1868; also New York.

An Etymological Vocabulary of all the words in the Greek New Testament. 8vo, pp. 224. London, 1882.

A Practical Guide to the Greek New Testament. Designed for those who have no knowledge of the Greek language. 8vo. London, 1882.

Cremer, Hermann. Biblico-Theological Lexicon of the New Testament Greek. Translated from the 2d German ed. 4to, pp. viii, 603. Edinburgh, 1878. 3d English ed., 1880.

Greenfield's Greek Lexicon to the New Testament. 8vo. London, 1882.

Robinson, Edward. A Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament. New ed., royal 8vo, pp. xii, 804. New York, 1878.

Schleusner, J. F. Novus Thesaurus Philologico-Criticus, sive Lexicon in LXX. et Reliquos Interpretes Graecos, ac Scriptores Apocryphos Veteris Testamenti, etc. 2 vols., 8vo. Glasguae, 1824.

Sophocles, E. A. A Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. From B. C. 146 to A. D. 1100. 4to, pp. 1202. Boston, 1870.

3. *Greek Synonymes.*

Synonymes of the New Testament, and Disquisitions on Various Grammatical and Philological Subjects. By John Aug. Henry Tittmann, D.D. Edinburgh, 1837.

Trench, R. C. Synonymes of the New Testament. 12mo, pp. 250. New York, 1854. 2d part, 12mo, pp. 214, 1866. 9th ed., 8vo, pp. xxx, 405. London, 1880.

Webster, William, Syntax and Synonymes of the Greek Testament. 8vo. London, 1864.

SECTION XI.

THE PRACTICAL SCIENCES AUXILIARY TO EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY—BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

Comp. Schleiermacher, § 140, *sqq.*; Herzog, Encykl., i, p. 411.

The scope of Biblical archæology.

A knowledge of the historical, physical, geographical, statistical, and politico-economical conditions under which a work was written, is the indispensable means for any explanation of its matter intended to be at all exhaustive, in like manner as grammatical proficiency is necessary for the interpretation of its language. For this reason the range of Biblical studies includes a scientific investigation of the history of the Jewish people and their relations to other nations, the constitution of their State, their politico-economical and ecclesiastical arrangements, etc., the geography of Palestine and other Eastern countries as well as of all countries referred to in the Bible, and the natural products of these regions, together with the corresponding industries and the manner of life and the customs of their inhabitants. All of this is comprehended under the vague title of Biblical archæology—a branch which is, in one point of view, preparatory to exegesis, but in another results from exegesis.

The term archæology too narrow.

It may be held that the science of language is itself a branch of archæology; for it certainly belongs to archæology to ascertain the spoken and written language of a people. In an inverse direction archæology must be included in the domain of language, inasmuch as the lexicon is obliged to explain a multitude of terms by means of archæological and geographical inquiries (proper names, technical terms, *e. g.*, אהל, זבח, כתן, מנחה, etc.). Strictly speaking, however, the term archæology is too narrow, because matters relating to physical geography and natural history (physica sacra), with all else of a similar nature, are not included in archæological inquiry. The manners and customs

of the East have, moreover, undergone so little change in many respects, that descriptions of travel in our own day frequently throw light upon statements of the Bible ; and this feature likewise cannot be assigned to the departmentof historical archæology, but must be classed with statistical and ethnographical knowledge.[1]

Archæology includes more than Hebrew antiquities.

Biblical archæology, on the other hand, includes more than Jewish and Hebrew antiquities. It cannot even be restricted in its researches to the East alone, especially as regards the New Testament, for whose exposition it is necessary that "the historical apparatus should embrace a knowledge of the spiritual and civil conditions of all the regions in and for which the New Testament Scriptures were composed."[2] This involves a thorough familiarity with the state of the Roman world from Augustus to Domitian, and of the state of the Jewish people in this period, Josephus being the principal source for the latter information. A broader inquiry would include the range of ideas prevalent at this time, though it cannot always be determined whether ideas, drawn, for instance, from the rabbins, were actually current in the time of Christ, or belong to a later age instead. In this direction archæological inquiries lead back, as Schleiermacher has remarked,[3] to the domain of apologetics.

The Old Testament must always be the principal source for Biblical Archæology,[4] and consequently the science is compelled to move in a kind of circle, archæological knowledge being needed for a thorough understanding of the Bible, while that knowledge receives further additions from a profounder study of the Scriptures. The Bible thus becomes at one time the object and at another the means of archæological research, while this research is sometimes a preparation for exegesis and again its result. Archæology may consequently be reckoned among the auxiliaries to exegetical theology, or be classed as a product of exegetical studies with historical theology, in proportion as one or the other point of view prevails.

Classification of the material of Biblical archæology—geography.

A more careful distribution of the material of archæology will warrant its classification under:

1. The geography of the Bible (on its importance to Biblical exegesis, comp. the work by Furrer under that

[1] Comp. de Wette's Bibl. Archæol., § 1 and 2, where reference is also made to the still more extended meaning of the word ἀρχαιολογία in Josephus and Dion. Halicar. Gesenius defines Biblical Archæology to be "the science which makes us acquainted with the natural and social conditions of the peoples among whom the Scriptures orginated and to whom they relate," (Hall., Encykl., x, 74), which is still correct in an empirical point of view.

[2] Schleiermacher, § 141. [3] § 143, note. [4] Schleiermacher, § 141, note.

title, Zürich, 1871). The geography of Palestine[1] forms its central feature, but it is not confined to Palestine. It begins historically with the country in which the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris are situated, the Asiatic highlands in the region of Ararat), and extends, in the Old Testament, over Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia.[2] New Testament geography extends its range farther into the West, the incidents of the New Testament record being located in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece, and Italy (Rome), in addition to those of which the scene was in Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. *Topography*, the description of remarkable places, especially of Jerusalem and the temple, forms a special element of this geography, for the study of which the records of ancient and modern travel render valuable aid.

Natural science of the Bible.

2. The Natural science of the Bible (Physica sacra), which is most intimately connected with its geography. The importance of securing a vivid idea of the natural (geological, topographical, and climatic) conditions of the country is heightened by the fact that the religious thought of the Hebrews was closely related thereto, and that the most important features of revelation connect themselves with the natural scenery of the Orient. Man is an object of natural science, in the whole of his physical constitution, in proportion as he is moulded by natural conditions. This applies, among the rest, to the entire subject of diseases and their peculiar form in the East (leprosy). In proportion, however, as man becomes superior to nature and assumes a social character, the physical and anthropological element will become subordinate to the ethnographical. Hence :—

Biblical Ethnography.

3. Biblical Ethnography, the description of manners and customs, first of Eastern peoples, and then of the ancient world in general. This involves the study (1) of man's relation to nature (agriculture, herding cattle, hunting, and fishing) and

[1] This name was primarily applied to the country of the Philistines, in the south-western part of Canaan; but it was subsequently given to the entire region embraced between the Jordan, the Mediterranean Sea, and Mt. Lebanon. Canaan (כְּנַעַן), derived from the fourth son of Ham, Gen. x, 6, was the older designation; and it was also called the "land of Jehovah," the "land of promise," the "pleasant land." In later periods the name Judea denoted the entire country. The expression, "land of the Hebrews" (אֶרֶץ הָעִבְרִים) occurs but once in the Bible, in Gen. xl, 15, and the designation was not common until after the time of Josephus (ἡ Ἑβραίων χώρα). For additional information see J. G. Müller, Die Semiten in ihrem Verhältniss zu Chamiten und Japhetiten, Gotha, 1872.

[2] In strictness, the extreme western limit would be the ancient Tarshish (Tartessus); but this appears only as an isolated point.

of his modes of preparing the raw materials provided by nature for his use (dwellings, clothing, ornaments, food, utensils, handicrafts, navigation, etc.); and (2) man's relations to society (social customs, marriage, domestic life, general intercourse; journeys, hospitality, relations with strangers, war, and slavery).[1] Inasmuch, however, as such relations of ordinary life were, among the Hebrews, regulated by the law of the Theocracy, it becomes necessary to examine:

Structure of the Hebrew commonwealth.

4. The Biblical (Mosaic) legislation and political constitution with which the codes of laws and the constitutions of the other nations embraced within the range of the Scriptural records are to be compared (the Roman law, consequently, in connexion with the New Testament). The constitution of the theocratic State and its laws, were, moreover, intimately connected with the system of worship, so that in this point of view also the religious feature forms the central object of theological study; and Biblical archæology must accordingly give a prominent place to:—

The religious institutions of the Hebrews.

5. The sacred institutions of the Hebrews (sacra) in comparison with the other religions of antiquity as mentioned in the Bible. Many writers have limited the idea of Biblical archæology wholly to this branch of antiquities. It is usually subdivided into (1) The sacred places (the tabernacle, the temple, and, later, the synagogue); (2) the sacred seasons (the Sabbath, the new moons, the Hebrew feasts); (3) sacred and theocratic persons, the judges, prophets, priests, Levites, scribes; and (4) sacred usages, circumcision, sacrifice, anointings, purifications, ceremonies, etc. The religions of non-Israelitish peoples and their polytheistic and nature-worship (worship of animals in Egypt, the worship of Baal, Astarte, and Moloch, witchcraft and divination) must receive special attention inasmuch as the Israelites were constantly exposed to their influence. For the study of the New Testament the Græco-Roman mythology is likewise important. Finally, the worship having taken art into its service (music and poetry among the Hebrews) and the religion having developed a theology, it becomes necessary to give attention to:—

Art and science of the Hebrews and related peoples.

6. The sciences and arts of the Hebrews and the nations with whom they came into contact. For the interpretation of the poetical sections of the Bible it is especially important that the nature of Hebrew poetry and music be

[1] For this inquiry also travels are especially valuable. "You will find the reading of travels in the East, in which the life, manners, and customs of the nomads are described, and from which conclusions respecting these earlier times of innocence and strength may be drawn, to be the best commentary." Herder, Briefe, No. 3, p. 42.

understood. The development of theology among the later Jews into Phariseeism and Sadduceeism, and into the Alexandrian philosophy of religion (Philo),[1] belongs more appropriately to the history of Bible doctrines, but is nevertheless entitled to a place in this department also.[2]

The real task of the Biblical archæologist will be to combine all these threads into an organic whole, through which runs the principle of a higher intelligent life; to represent the Biblical matter both in its development in time and in its extension in space, as contrasted with contemporary ethnical facts, and thus to bring before the mind of the inquirer a living picture in which the lights and shadows are accurately disposed.[3]

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

History of Biblical archæology.

The history of archæology is rooted in the science itself. A circle is involved at this point. The Bible is the most ancient source for Hebrew and the related archæologies of the East, and yet the exposition of the Bible requires archæological knowledge. We become acquainted with the Bible

[1] Opp. ed. Mangey (Lond., 1742), 2 Tom.; Pfeiffer (Erl., 1785–92, 1820) 5 Tom.; Ed. Tauchnitziana (Lips., 1851–53), 8 Tom. English version in Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library (Lond., 1854). Comp. J. G. Müller, Textkritik der Schriften des Philo, Basle, 1839, 4to.

[2] The Talmud (from למד, *the doctrine*), a collection of Jewish traditions, becomes a rich, though confused, source at this point. It consists of two parts, the Mishna, dating in the second century A.D., and the Gemara, formed in the third century. The Babylonian Talmud, which was completed as late as the sixth century, must be distinguished from the Jerusalem. On the editions comp. Winer, Handb. der Lit. i, p. 523, and M. Pinner, Compend. des hierosolym. u. babyl. Talmud, with preface by Bellermann, Berl., 1832. Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Surenhusius, Wetstein, Meuschen, Danz, and others, have made extracts from the mass of the rabbinical literature. Comp. Winer, Chrestomathia talmudica et rabbinica, Leips., 1822; F. Nork, Rabbin. Quellen u. Parallelen zu N. T. Scriftstellern, Leips., 1839. Concerning the later Judaism see J. A. Eisenmenger, Entdecktes Judenthum, Frankf., 1700, 2 vols., 4to,; A. F. Gfrörer, das Jahrhundert des Heils, Stuttg., 1838, 2 vols.; S. Grünwald, Glaubens und Sitten-Lehre des Talmud. Heilbronn, 1854.

[3] George remarks, in his work, Die Jüdischen Feste, pp. xii–xiv (see below, Literature), "The tendency still prevails to regard Biblical Archæology as a garner into which the separate grains may be brought, without attemping to combine them into a scientific whole, to which every individual object will sustain a definite and necessary relation. Archæology is the science which first opens to our view the real life of a people, by placing before our eyes its conditions in all the different periods and situations of its history. Its office is to point out all the features in that life in their necessary connexion, and thereby to explain one in the light of the others and each one in its principles. It is, so to speak, the interior of the various phenomena, which spring from it as from a root. It is the complement of history, to which it stands related as the soul to its body, since it presents to view the conditions from which may be deduced the phenomena in the life of a people recorded by history."

through the Bible. In addition to the Bible, mention must be made of Josephus, the son of a Jewish priest (born A. D. 37) and a Pharisee, an eye-witness and participant in the Jewish war (A.D. 70). He wrote a history of his nation, extending down to the close of Nero's reign, in twenty books—Antiquitates Judaicae; and also described the Jewish wars in seven books, besides treating of other matters.[1] For acquiring a knowledge of the country the study of Herodotus, Strabo (ii, 16), Ptolemy, Dio Cassius, Pliny (Hist. Nat., v, 13–19), Diodorus Siculus, and others, is also useful. The beginnings of Bible geography were laid by the Christian Church historian Eusebius (in the fourth century) in his work Περὶ Τοπικῶν Ὀνομάτων ἐν τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ. This work was known only in the translation by Jerome: Onomasticon urbium et locorum Scripturae Sacrae, until the Jesuit Bonfrère published it in 1659 (later editions by Clericus, 1707, Larsow and Parthey, 1862, Lagarde, 1870). The itineraries of Christian pilgrims are not without historical importance, though they contain much fabulous matter (the oldest is the Itinerarium Burdigalense, dating since 333), and this is especially true of the statements by crusaders, *e. g.*, William of Tyre, James de Vitri, etc. (the whole published in Bongars. Gesta Dei per Francos, Hanover, 1611, 2 vols.). The journey of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (1160–1173), a Spanish Jew, has again commanded attention in recent times (published in Hebrew and English by A. Asher, London and Berlin, 2 vols.). A more critical character belongs to works of the sixteenth century. The Roman Catholic priest Chr. Adrichomius († 1585), among others, published a description of Jerusalem in the time of Christ and a Theatrum terrae sanctae, with maps (Col. 1590), and the Reformed theologian S. Bochart († 1667) laid the beginnings for a Bible geography in his Phaleg et Canaan, (1646, 1674) and of a Biblical natural history in his Hierozoicon (Lond., 1663, 1690). These were followed by the works of H. Reland († 1718), Antiquitates sacrae veterum Hebraeorum (Traj., 1708 and often), and Palaestina (1714); J. D. Michaelis, Spicilegium geographiae Hebr. (1769, 1780), Mosaisches Recht (1770–1775, 6 vols.) and others. The numerous and predominantly scientific Travels, begun more than a century ago and still continued, have afforded much valuable information. Of such works those by Berggren, Buckingham, Cha-

The ancient writers on archæology.

Eusebius the first of Biblical geographers.

Geographical explorers and writers of the 18th century.

[1] Editions by Havercamp (Amst., 1726, 2 vols., fol.), Oberthür (Leips., 1782–85, 3 vols.), Richter (Leips., 1825–27), Dindorf (Par., 1845–47, 2 vols., ed. Tauchnitziana Leips., 1850), Bekker (Leips., 1855–56, 6 vols.); also translated into English by Whiston, various editions.

teaubriand, Clarke, Hasselquist, Joliffe, Maundrell, Niebuhr, Pococke, Prokesch, Richardson, Seetzen, Shaw, Volney,[1] etc., belong more or less to an earlier period. Of more recent works we notice, J. E. Burckhardt, Reisen in Syrien u. Palaestina (with notes by Gesenius, Weimar, 1822–24, 2 vols.); A. Lamartine, Voyage en Orient, 1832–33 (Paris, 1835); G. H. v. Schubert, Reise in d. Morgenland (Erl., 1838–40, 3 vols.); E. Robinson, Biblical Researches, etc. (2d ed., 1856, 2 vols.), Physical Geography of the Holy Land (1865); Tischendorf, Reise in den Orient (Leips., 1846, 2 vols.); Lynch, Narrative of Exploring Expedition to the Dead Sea (1849; 9th ed., 1854); and Official Report of expedition (1852, 4to.); Ph. Wolff, Reise, etc. (Stuttgart, 1849); F. A. Neale, Eight Years in Syria and Palestine (Lond., 1851, 2 vols.). G. H. van Senden, Het heilige Land, (Gorinch., 1851); Gossler, Pilgerreise nach Jerusalem (Paderb., 1852); J. S. Schiferle, Reise ins h. Land (Augsb., 1852, 2 vols.); F. J. Gehlen, Wanderung n. Jerusalem, (Münst., 1853); J. Hilber, Pilgerreise ins heil. Land (Innspruch, 1853); Plitt, Skizzen einer Reise n. d. heil. Lande (Carlsruhe, 1853); Schulz, Reise ins gel. Land 3 ed., Mühlheim, 1855); F. A. Strauss, Sinai u. Golgatha, etc. (7 ed., Berl., 1857); Tobler, Denkblätter aus Jerus. (St. Gall, 1853) and Dritte Wanderung n. Palaest. (1859); K. Graul, Reise n. Ostindien, Part i, Palestine (Leips., 1854); de Saulcy, Voyage autour de la mer morte (Par., 1853, 2 vols.); Delessert, Voyage aux villes maudites, etc. (Par., 1853); M. Sachs, Stimmen vom Jordan (Berl., 1854); Leibetrut, Reise n. d. Morgenl, etc. (Hamb., 1854, new ed., 1858); Thomson, The Land and Book (1880; new ed., revised); Van de Velde, Journey through Syria and Palest. (1854, 2 vols.); Roroff, Reise n. Palaest. (Leips., 1862, 2 vols.); Bovet, Voyage en terre Sainte (4 ed., Par., 1864); Furrer, Wanderungen durch Palaest. (Zürich, 1865); Ludwig, Bethlehem in the Summer of 1864 (Berne, 1865); Petermann, Reisen in den Orient (Leips., 1865); Macédo, Pélerinage aux lieux saints (Paris, 1867); Riggenbach (Balse, 1873); Dean Stanley, Sinai and Palestine (London, 1853; New York, 1870); E. H. Palmer, The Desert of the Exodus (London; also New York, 1872); J. L. Porter, Handbook for Syria and Palestine, (last London ed., 1875); Lieuts. Conder and Hitchen, Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of its Topography, Orography, Hydrography, and Archæology;

Writers on sacred geography of the 19th century.

[1] Comp. Paulus, Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisen in den Orien., Jena, 1792–94, 7 vols. Continued by Rink (Königsberg, 1801); Winer, Handb. d. theol. Lit., p. 151. For New Test. times see the imaginary journey, Helons Wallfart nach Jerusalem, 109 Jahre vor der Geburt des Herrn, by Fr. Strauss, Elberfeld, 1820–23, 4 vols—an imitation of the Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce.

6 vols., 4to; 3 vols. yet to appear (London, 1881). See also Quarterly Statements of Palestine Exploration Fund, London; also the Egyptological and Assyriological researches of Bonomi, Botta, Bunsen, Brugsch, Fergusson, Grotefend, Layard, Lepsius, Rawlinson, Reinisch, Unger, Seyffarth, Vaux, Geo. Ebers (Aegypten u. d. Bücher Mosis, etc. (vol. i, Leips., 1868), Schrader, Die Keilschriften u. d. Alte Testament (Giessen, 1872), Smith, and others. The Phœnician studies of Mövers, Renan (1864), and others, and the numerous reports by missionaries stationed in the East, are likewise valuable in many respects. (Comp., too, the Ausland and the different geographical magazines).

Concerning the recently discovered "Moabite stone" recording the triumphs of the Moabite king Mesha (ninth century B.C.) comp. the works by Nöldeke, Schlottmann, Kämpf, Ginsburg, and others.

1. *Archæological works on the Bible of a general character.*[1]

J. J. Bellermann, Handbuch der biblischen Literatur, comprising Biblical Archæology, Chronology, Genealogy, History, Natural Philosophy and History, Mythology and History of Idolatries, Antiquities, History of Art, and Sketches of the Scriptural Writers. Erfurt, 1787–99, 4 vols. (Also published with separate titles.)

† J. Jahn, Bibl. Archäologie. Wien, 1796–1805. 3 Bde., I. Bd., 2. Aufl., 1818. 2. Bd., 2. Aufl., 1825.

—— Archaeologia biblica in compend. redacta. Ib. 1805, 1814.

† F. Ackermann, Archaeologia biblica breviter exposita. Vienna, 1826.

E. F. K. Rosenmüller, Das alte und neue Morgenland oder Erläuterungen der heil. Schrift aus der natürlichen Beschaffenheit, den Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuchen des Morgenlandes. Lpz., 1818–20. 4 Bde., (in 6 Abth).

—— Handbuch der bibl. Alterthumskunde. Lpz., 1823–31. 4 Bde.

* G. B. Winer, Bibl. Realwörterbuch, zum Handgebrauche für Studierende Candidaten, Gymnasiallehrer und Prediger. 3. Aufl. 1847, 1848. 2 Bde.

E. W Löhn, Bibl. Sachwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch. 1834.

C. G. Haupt, Bibl. Real- und Verbal-Encyklopädie. Quedlinb., 1823–27. 2 Bde.

K. F. Keil, Handbuch der biblischen Archäologie. Frankf., 1859.

† Scholz, Die heiligen Alterthümer des Volkes Israel. Regensb., 1868.

* † Bonif. Haneberg, Die religiösen Alterthümer der Bibel. München, 1869.

* Bibellexikon, Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Geistliche und Gemeinde, publ. by Dan. Schenkel, in connexion with Bruch, Diestel, u. Dillmann. Bd. 1–4. Lpz., 1869–72.

Hamburger, Real-Encylopädie für Bibel und Talmud. 1. Abth. Die Biblischen Artikel. In 5 Heften. 1866–70.

Herzog's Real-Encyklopaedie, contains a multitude of articles belonging to this department (by Arnold, Kurtz, Rüetschi, Oehler, Vaihinger, and others). For popular use we recommend

H. Zeller, Biblisches Wörterbuch für das christliche Volk; an alphabetical handbook

[1] Older works: A. Calmet, dictionnaire historique, critique, chronolog., géograph. et littéral de la Bible. Par., 1730. 4 voll. f. F. W. Hezel, bibl. Reallexicon. Lpz., 1783–85. Blas. Ugolini, thesaurus antiquitatt. sacrar. 1744–68. 34 voll. f.

for the promotion of a knowledge of the Scriptures among all readers of the Bible. 2d ed., Gotha, 1865–67, 2 vols.; and also

Biblische Alterthümer, published by the Calwer Publication Society. New series, 1871.

2. *Hebrew Antiquities.*[1]

H. E. Warnekros, Entwurf der Hebr. Alterth. Weim., 1792–94; 3d revised ed., by A. G. Hofmann. Weim., 1832.

G. L. Bauer, kurzes Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Alterthümer d. A. und N. T. Lpz., 1797.

* W. M. L. de Wette, Lehrbuch der Hebr.-jüd. Archäologie, nebst einem Grundriss der Hebr.-jüd. Geschichte. Lpz., 1814; 4. sehr verm. u. verb. Aufl. 1864.

J. H Pareau, Antiquit. Hebr. breviter descriptae. Traj. ad Rhen. 1817. 1823.

† J. M. A. Scholz, Handbuch der Biblischen Archäologie. Bonn, 1834.

† J. M. A. Löhnis, Das Land und Volk der alten Hebräer. Regensb., 1844.

H. Ewald, Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel. (Appendix to vol. 2 of the Gesch. des Volkes Israel.) Gött., 1844. 2d ed. ibid. 1854. Comp. the review by Mezger in Stud. und Krit., 1853. 1. S. 133–204.

J. L. Saalschütz, Archäologie der Hebräer, für Freunde des Alterthums und zum Gebrauche bei akadem. Vorl. Königsb., 1855, 1856. 2 Bde.

K. F. Keil, Handbuch der Bibl. Archäologie. 2d ed. Frankf., 1875.

3. *Sacred Antiquities (connected with church and religion in particular).*[2]

G. L. Bauer, Beschreibung der Gottesdienstlichen Verfassung der alten Hebräer. Lpz., 1805, 1806. 2 Bde.

* K. Ch. W Bähr, Symbolik des Hebräischen Cultus. Heidelb., 1837–39. 2 Bde.

J. F. L. George, Die ältern jüdischen Feste; mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuch. Berl., 1835.

Cäsar von Lengerke, Kanaan, Volks- und Religionsgeschichte Israels. 1. Thl. Königsb., 1844.

E. W. Hengstenberg, Die Opfer der h. Schrift. Berl., 1852. (Reprinted from the Evang. KZ.)

J. H. Kurtz, Beiträge zur Symbolik des alttest. Cultus. Lpz., 1851.[3]

B. Scholz, die Bib. Alterth. des Volkes Israel. Regensb., 1868.

B. Haneberg, die relig. Alterth. der Bibel. München, 1869.

B. Schäfer, die relig. Alterth. der Bibel. Münster, 1878.

With reference to the Mosaic Tabernacle, consult the works of Friederich (1841), Knobel (1858), Keil und Delitzsch (1861), Kamphausen und Fries (Stud. und Krit., 1858–59), * W. Neumann (1861), and Riggenbach (1862; 2d ed. 1867); and with reference to the Synagogues (in addition to Vitringa, *infra*, note [2]), Zunz, der Ritus des synagogischen Gottesdienstes geschichtl. entwickelt. Berl., 1859.

4. *Sacred Geography.*[4]

E. F. K. Rosenmüller, Bibl. Erd- und Länderkunde (Part 1 of the Handb.).

K. Ritter, Erdkunde (Berl., 1832–49). 15. Thl. 1. Abth.

[1] Older works by Waehner (1743, 2 vols.), Carpzov (1748), Iken (1732, 1764), Reland (1708.)

[2] Older works: Goodwin (Moses et Aaron, 1618), Spencer (1686–1727), Vitringa (de synag. vet. libri III., 1696, 1726), Rau (1726).

[3] On non-Israelitish religions: F. C. Movers, die Religion der Phönicier. Bonn, 1841. 2 Bde. F. Münter, die Religion der Karthager. Kopenh., 1821. 4. Ibid., die Religion der Babylonier. Same, 1827. (Comp. the History of Religion, appended to our paragraph on Church History.)

[4] With reference to the older geographical works and to Oriental Travels, comp. the historical matter given above, and the Art. Palästina (by Arnold) in Herzog's Encykl., xi, p. 1 *sqq.* The fullest statement of the literature is given in Tobler, Bibliographia geographica Palestinae. Lips., 1867.

C. F. Klöden,Landeskunde von Palästina. Berl., 1817.

* Karl von Raumer, Palästina. Lpz., 1835. (To which is added, Der Zug der Israeliten aus Aegypten nach Kanaan, 1837. With a map and contributions on the Geography of the Bible, 1843.) 4th ed., 1860. Comp. the review by Gross in Stud. u. Krit., 1845.

M. Russel u. J. B. Fraser, Ländergemälde des Orients; a. d. Engl. von A. Diezmann u. J. Sporschill. Pesth, 1840. 6 Bde. (Bd. 3, 4, das h. Land.)

F. A. Arnold, Palästina. Halle, 1845.

A. Knobel, Die Völkertafel der Genesis. Giessen, 1850.

Ludw. Völter, Das heil. Land und das Land der Israelitischen Wanderung. (With a map of Palestine and Arabia Petræa.) Stuttg., 1855. 2d ed., 1864.

Bräm, Israels Wanderung von Gosen bis zum Sinai. Elberfeld, 1859.

Unruh, Zug der Israeliten aus Aegypten nach Kanaan. 1860.

G. Ebers, Durch Gosen zum Sinai. Lpz., 1872.

D. Korioth, Geogr. von Palästina. 2d ed. Freib., 1874.

A. Driow, Jerusalem et la Terre Sainte. Limoges, 1877.

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Scarcely any of these works are unprovided with means of some sort for illustrating their subject (maps, plans, etc.), and in this regard the following possess distinguished merit:

J. M. Bernatz, Bilder aus dem h. Lande, mit Text von G. H. v. Schubert (Stuttg., 1842), und Bernatz, Album des heil. Landes, 50 ausgew. Orig.-Ansichten bibl. wichtiger Orte nach der natur gez., mit Text von G. H. v. Schubert (Stuttg., 1855); A. Eltzner, Das bibl. Jerusalem aus der Vogelschau (3d ed., Lpz., 1863). —— Charts of Syria and Palestine in the Atlases of d'Anville and Reichardt, * Berghaus; single, by Klöden (1817), Grimm (1836), Rosenmüller (1830), Mayr (1842), * Kiepert, publ. by Ritter (1842), * Karl Zimmermann, Karte von Syrien und Palästina (15 maps, Berl., 1850); Riess, Karte von Palästina (1861), Altmüller, Aegypten, Sinai-Halbinsel und Palästina (1861). Manuals: C. Ackermann und C. F. Weiland, Bibel-Atlas, nach den neuesten und besten Hülfsmitteln Weimar, 1832; 3d unchanged ed., 1855 (where see additional literature on p. 1 *sq.*); * Kiepert, Bibel-Atlas; 3d unchanged ed., Berl., 1857, with 8 charts and 3 tabular illustrat. (to accompany Peter's Uebersichtskarten der Reisen Jesu nach den 4 Evangelisten); new revision by Lionnet, 1864; * Van de Velde, Map of the Holy Land. 8 leaves. (Gotha, 1858.) 2d ed., ibid., (1866.) Menke, Bibelatlas in 8 Blättern. (Gotha, 1868.)

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Snowden, J. R. The Coins of the Bible and its Money Terms. 18mo. Philadelphia, 1864.

The History of the Hebrew Commonwealth, from the Earliest Times to the Destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 72. With a continuation to the time of Adrian. 3d ed., 8vo, pp. xvi, 592. Oxford, 1840.

Townley, James. The Reason of the Law of Moses. With Notes, Dissertations, and a Life of the Author. 8vo, pp. 451. London, 1827.

Warburton, William. The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated. Three vols., 8vo, pp. 526, 518, 512. London, 1846.

Wines, E. C. Commentaries on the Laws of Ancient Hebrews. 8vo, pp. 640. New York, 1852.

2. *Biblical Natural History.*

Abbott, Gorham. Scripture Natural History. 12mo. Boston.

Calcott, Maria. Scripture Herbal. 8vo, pp. 568. London, 1842.

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SECTION XII.

BIBLICAL ISAGOGICS. (Introduction. Canonics).

Comp. Dav. Schulz, Review of Eichhorn's and de Wette's Einleitungen in Stud. u. Krit, 1829, No. 3, pp. 570–72; Hupfeld, Begriff u. Methode der sog. Bibl. Einl., Marb., 1844; Rudelbach, Begriff der N. T. Theologie u. Isagogik, in his Zeitschrift, 1848, 1; Baur, Die Einl. in das N. T. als theol. Wissensch. in Theol. Jahrbb., 1850–51; Delitzsch, Begriff u. Methode der sog. Biblischen u. insbeson. A. T. Einleitung, in Thomasius and Hofmann's Zeitschr. für Prot. u. Kirche, xxviii, No. 3; Erl., 1854, p. 133, *sqq.*; Hahn, in Herzog's Encykl., iii, p. 726, *sqq.* (s. v. Einl. ins A. T.); Articles Biblical Introduction in M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædia, vol. iv, p. 630, and Kitto's Cyclopædia, vol. ii, p. 27; Brooke Foss Westcott, Introduction to the Study of the Gospels; Henry Alford, How to Study the New Testament.

The objects of a history of the canon.

The Bible is a body of writings which originated in different periods and under various circumstances and conditions, which were from different authors, and were gradually collected into a whole; and it is consequently necessary for a proper appreciation of its character that the origin and fortunes of the entire collection and also of its several parts be understood. To afford this knowledge is the office of the history of the canon or the science of Biblical Introduction (Isagogics in the limited sense), which is divided either into Introduction to the New or to the Old Testament, or into general and special. General introduction discusses the origin and progress the establishing of the canon, the history of manuscripts, editions, versions, revisions of the holy Scriptures, etc. Special introduction, on the other hand, inquires, in partial connexion with criticism, into the authenticity and integrity of the several writings, and deals, in addition, with the history of their authors as such, the design, plan, form, and style of their works, and finally with the date, place, and circumstances in which the writings were composed.

Introduction is either general or special.

The scope and limits of Introduction not precisely determined.

The idea of Introduction itself is vague, and opinion is still divided with regard to its importance and extent as a Biblical science. De Wette denies that Introduction is a science in the proper sense, and views it as a mere aggregation of preliminary knowledge, which lacks both "a true scientific principle and a necessary connexion of its parts;[1] but in more recent times scholars (*e. g.*, Schulz, Credner,

[1] De Wette, Einl. § 1. Schleiermacher (Herm. u. Krit., p. 379) observes in a similar spirit that the so-called N. T. Introduction is "a science that has no limits whatever, and into which anything that is desired may be thrown. A going back to principles is wholly out of the question in such a case. But it is pertinent to ask, 'Are there no such principles?'" Comp. p. 36; "N. T. introduction is not properly a constituent part of the organism of theological science, but it is practically useful for both the beginner and the master, because it facilitates the bringing together upon a *single* point of all the inquiries that are involved." Scholz, a Roman Catholic writer on in-

Reuss, Hupfeld) have directed attention to the necessity for a sifting of the material to be treated by Introduction, and also for the application of principles to such treatment. The indefinite character of the word "introduction"[1] will be apparent to every mind.

At the bottom, all that our treatment of encyclopædia has touched upon or shall hereafter discuss, relating either to the Bible itself or to the aids necessary for its interpretation, may be included under Introduction to the Bible; and, in point of fact, the Hebrew and New Testament languages, archæology, hermeneutics, etc., have been thus disposed of in some instances. Some writers have accordingly preferred to lay aside this indefinite term, and the name *canonics* has been proposed as a substitute.[2] Others (like Reuss) have exchanged it for the name "History of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments." The vague idea of introduction is certainly confined within wholesome limits in one direction by this method; but in another direction the present science of introduction is extended to cover a field that lies beyond the bounds of introductory matter, since the later fortunes of the Bible—the dissemination of the sacred writings, the history of their employment and their exposition—are included.

The name "Canonics" proposed as a substitute for "Introduction."

troduction, likewise speaks of it as being simply an aggregation of multifarious matters, in connexion with which the important feature is that they be "conveniently distributed." He divides introduction into criticism, hermeneutics, and archæology (see pp. 1 and 2). Comp. Delitzsch, l. c., "Every science is an organism; but the term organic applies only to what is not simply a means for promoting an object external to itself, but is itself a whole, an object to itself, in which the individual with its peculiarities is lost in the idea of the whole, and only that is an instrument (organ) which aids the development of the whole in its identity with itself. The so-called introduction lacks this organic character. It is not without idea and aim, but it lacks the immanent, self-developing idea, the principle of teleological self-reference, which is necessary to a science."

[1] The name is first employed by Adrian, a writer probably of the fifth century, in the small hermeneutical work εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς; afterward by Cassiodorus (in the sixth century), and later in the Middle Ages. In Germany Michaelis first used it in connexion with the N. T., and Eichhorn with the O. T. Comp. Hahn in Herzog's Encykl., iii, p. 727, *sqq.*

[2] Zyro, in Stud. u. Krit., 1837, No. 3, considers canonics to be merely a branch of isagogics. In his view, the latter comprehends everything that is necessary for the interpretation of the Scriptures, i. e., 1. the nature and importance of the Bible, together with its history (canonics); 2. its compass, or the genuineness of its matter (criticism); 3. its language and contents (hermeneutics). He then divides canonics into two parts, *in abstracto*, in which character canonics unfolds the nature of the Scriptures under the forms of authenticity, credibility, and genuineness, and canonics *in concreto*, or what is usually termed introduction in the more limited sense, which is again divided into general and special or into Old and New Testament canonics. Comp. Pelt, Encykl., p. 121.

It will not be denied that great interest attaches to such an all-sided historical knowledge respecting the Bible; but methodological considerations require nevertheless that what is introductory to the study of Scripture (the history of its origin and the collection of its parts into a canon), and what relates to the further history of the already completed collection of the Scriptures, should be kept apart. Only the former, though likewise historical in its nature, is an exegetical auxiliary science, because it affords a correct position to the exegete from which to operate; while the latter must be assigned to the department of Church history and the history of literature, and may be reserved for a later stage of theological study. It does not appear to us a matter which the science need be ashamed of, that the "reader of the Bible" (i. e., the student) must before all "be well-grounded in historical knowledge in order to correctly understand and properly appreciate the Bible as a whole and in its parts;"[1] but such preliminary knowledge needs a careful discrimination of its elements among themselves, and a proper distribution of its parts in the organism of the sciences. If, in harmony with this principle, the grammatical and archæological elements be excluded, and a distinct place be assigned to hermeneutics, there will be left only what is generally denoted by the still current name of introductory science, namely, the history of the canon (within the limits hitherto assigned to it) and criticism. These may not be wholly separated from each other, for the history of the canon is not to be a mere review, but history involving the discussion of principles—critical history; in which connexion it may be remembered that what is now called introduction was formerly known as critica sacra or histoire critique du V et N. T. (Richard Simon). This does not forbid, however, that criticism as such, *i. e.*, the whole of the science of critical principles, should constitute a distinct branch of study, as does hermeneutics, which embraces the theory of interpretation. The science of introduction is thus confined to critical and historical inquiry concerning the books of Scripture and their collection into a canon, instituted for purposes of exegesis.

Introduction properly limited to history of the canon and criticism.

The division into Old and New Testament introduction results from the nature of the case; but the relation of general to special introduction is more difficult to determine. The usual method is to begin with the general (the collection of the canon, history of the text, versions, etc.), and to supplement this with introductions to the several books; but the oppo-

Relation of general to special introduction.

[1] The words of Hupfeld, p. 8.

site course may be adopted with Reuss, and the origin of the different books discussed, so that the formation of the canon from its first beginnings to its final completion is presented in a genetic view. In the latter case, however, the special introduction would need to be very brief and to steadily approach its object, as is the case with Reuss, the more extended discussion being reserved for the exegesis of the books. Here, again, the intervention of the different sciences comes into view. Introduction provides the point of view from which the exegete is to regard the Bible; but the progress of exegesis reacts upon introduction and alters the position of isagogics.

Encyclopædia is concerned with the material of introduction only in so far as it is necessary to give preliminary information with regard to its general character. The question concerning the period in which the formation of the canon was first undertaken, is connected with the inquiry respecting the time when the art of writing was invented. It is certain that the canon as a whole appears for the first time after the captivity. The traditional view that Ezra (B.C. 478) and Nehemiah (2 Macc. ii, 13) took measures for collecting the different books, has been doubted by the criticism of recent times.[1] The first to receive a completed form was probably the Pentateuch, and to this the other books were added in various collections and at different times. The earliest constituents of the New Testament canon were the Pauline epistles, which were written as occasion required (those to the Thessalonians being the oldest); and to these were gradually added the (catholic) epistles of other apostles, together with the written memorabilia of the life of Jesus (Gospels), the latter being probably first in point of time. The ancient Church knew of but two collections, the εὐαγγέλιον and the ἀπόστολος (according to the assumption which has become current since the time of Semler, though it is not fully established).[2] The former included the four Gospels, which had already been distinguished from the spurious gospels and recog-

Period of the first formation of the canon.

The New Testament canon in the early Christian Church.

[1] Comp. Leyrer's art. in Herzog's Encykl., xv, p. 296, *sqq.* A reference to an already completed canon cannot, of course, be looked for in the canonical books themselves. The apocryphal Book of Wisdom, however (not later than B.C. 130), affords proof that a collection of sacred writings existed (chap. xlv–xlix), though it cannot be shown that the entire canon, as we possess it, is intended; for this purpose a formal catalogue would be required. The first to furnish a list (of twenty-two books) was Josephus (contr. Ap. i, 8), from whom the tradition referred to in the text is also derived.

[2] Pelt, p. 144, under reference to Orelli: Selecta patrum capita ad εἰσηγητικὴν sacra pertin. p. 1, 11, *sq.*, note. Comp. Landerer in Herzog's Encykl., vii, p. 270, *sqq.*

nized by the Church, and the latter embraced the apostolical epistles and the Book of Acts. Opinion was long divided with regard to the Apocalypse and certain of the catholic epistles, and a distinction was made between ὁμολογούμενα and ἀντιλεγόμενα and νόθα (Euseb., H. E. iii, 25) as late as the fourth century. The first class included the four Gospels, the book of Acts, the fourteen Pauline epistles,[1] and 1 Peter and 1 John; to the second were assigned the 2d ep. by Peter, 2 and 3 John, James, and Jude; and the third was limited to the Apocalypse, though many classed it among the writings whose authenticity was acknowledged (comp. the canon of Origen in Euseb., vi, 25, and that of Eusebius himself, ibid., iii, 25, as also the somewhat divergent so-called Muratorian canon of Milan, in Kirchhofer, Quellensammlung, p. 1, *sqq.;* also Westcott on the Canon of the New Test., p. 184, *sqq.*, and Harman's Introduction, pp. 428–438). The canon of the New Testament as it now stands was gradually formed by the actions of councils (comp. Canon Laodic., 364, and the canon of the third council of Carthage in 397). This may suffice to enable the beginner to understand the relation of the early Christian Church to the canon, and to demonstrate to him that the former had already attained to a high degree of independence ("sine charta et atramento."—Irenæus) before the canonical boundaries of the letter of the Bible had been definitely fixed.[2] But this by no means involves the conclusion that the canon is a mere accident; the religious disposition will still recognize its providential, though not necessarily miraculous, character.

1. *Introductions to the Bible as a whole.*[3]

Leonh. Bertholdt, Historisch-kritische Einleitung in sämmtl. kanonische u. apokryphische Schriften des A. u. N. T. Erl., 1812–19. 6 Bde.

* W. M. L. de Wette, Lehrbuch der histor.-krit. Einleitung in die Bibel A. u. N. T.

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[1] Including that to the Hebrews, though its Pauline character is denied by some churches.

[2] Comp. Schleiermacher, § 104, *sqq.;* Goethe, p. 140, "The Bible itself—and this receives too little attention—exerted almost no influence in the older times. The books of the Old Testament had scarcely been collected, and the nation in which they originated was utterly dispersed. The latter alone formed the nucleus about which its members gathered and still gather. The books of the New Testament had scarcely been brought together before Christendom divided into endless differences of opinions. And thus it appears that people do not busy themselves *with* the work so much as *about* the work."

[3] Older works by Rivetus (1627), Walther (1636), A. Calov (1643–73), Brian Walton (1657; Edit. von Wrangham, 1828), Heidegger (1681), Pfeiffer (Ultraj., 1704), van Till (1720–22), du Pin (1701), Calmet 1720; translated by Mosheim (1738–47), Moldenhauer (1744), Börner (1753), † Goldhagen (1765–68), Wagner (1795).

Part 1: Einleit. in's A. T. Berl., 1817; 7th ed., 1852. Part 2: Einleit. in's N. T. 1826–30; 6th ed., by Messner and Lünemann, 1860.

K. A. Credner, Beiträge zur Einl. in die Bibl. Schriften. 1 Bd. Halle, 1832.

† J. M. A. Scholz, Einl. in die heil. Schriften des A. u. N. T. (1st part: allgemeine Einl.) Köln, 1845.

† D. Haneberg, Versuch einer Geschichte der bibl. Offenbarung als Einleit. in's A. u. N. T. Regensb., 1850. 3d ed., 1863.

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O. R. Hertwig, Tabellen zur Einl. in die kanonischen u. apokryphischen Bücher des A. T. Berl., 1856.

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SECTION XIII.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

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The objects contemplated by Biblical Criticism.

Biblical Criticism operates on the historical ground opened to our view by the study of isagogics. Its task is, to determine, on the one hand, the authenticity of the Scriptures as a whole; on the other, the uncorrupted character (integrity) of single passages or the entire text, and also to restore the true reading where it has been lost or crowded out. It conducts its work on scientific principles, and makes use of available historical monuments and of the evidence afforded by internal marks in the writings themselves under examination.

No pious mind need be startled by the phrase "Biblical Criticism,"[1] as though it implied a purpose to criticise and force the text. Of such criticism there has been no lack; but here no criticism of the contents, whether historical or dogmatical, is intended, but simply an examination into the authenticity of the text as it exists, either in its parts or as a whole. At the first glance even such inquiry may seem to conflict with the reverence we owe to the Bible, though this reverence itself, when more correctly understood, invites to conscientious investigation of the Scriptures.[2] The thought that God has always watched over the Bible, is, in this general form, the presumption of a pious consciousness, which may be

[1] "It is very difficult to conceive of this word (criticism) as denoting a real unity in the technical meaning which has been attached to it." Schleiermacher, Herm. u. Kritik (at the beginning); comp. his Abhandl. üb. Begriff u. Eintheilung der philolog. Kritik in Akadem. Reden u. Abhandlungen (Sämmtl. Werke zur Phil., vol. iii, p. 38); and also Rothe, Zur Dogmatik, p. 310: "There assuredly exists a criticism that springs from the full confidence of faith as well as one that takes its rise in doubt; and the former is inborn with Christian piety, at least with that of the evangelical type. God has not made, and did not intend to make, the task a trifling one for us. He gives nothing whatever to man in its finished state; all his gifts are imparted in such a way as to abundantly tax human energy—this for the reason that we are *human*. This applies also to the Scriptures; and if we consent to undertake the labor imposed on us by God and subject the Bible to historical criticism, it does not follow that we thereby exalt ourselves above and constrain it, but rather that we are sincerely endeavoring to learn its *true* meaning."

[2] Upon this point comp. esp. Hauff, supra, p. 19, *sqq*.

sustained at the bar of science, and even finds its justification at the hands of science. But to decide beforehand *how* God should have watched, what things he *must* have guarded against to prevent the Bible from becoming a book like other books, is an arrogant assumption equal to that of rationalistic criticism in the other direction. It is an historical fact to which we are, in all humility, to assent, that God has chosen to permit the Bible to pass through the same human processes by which other written monuments have been and are being tested. This will be apparent to every person who has looked with an unprejudiced eye into the history and fortunes of the canon.[1]

The Bible providentially guarded, yet subject to human vicissitudes.

It is doubtless true that (in recent times, especially) criticism has been often employed for perverse and even frivolous ends,[2] and rarely has a book been subjected to so much abuse as has the Bible ; but it is by no means wise to oppose uncritical to hypercritical arbitrariness. Only a strictly scientific procedure, unbiassed by dogmatic preconceptions of any kind, will meet the demands of the case.[3] While it is true

Biblical Criticism, though often perverted, still of great value.

[1] Comp. Herder, Briefe, No. 1, "Banish the last remains of the leaven of the opinion that this book is unlike other books in its outward form and matter, so that, for instance, no various readings can occur in it, because it is a Divine book. Various readings do occur (and yet but *one* can be the correct reading)—this is fact, not opinion. Whether a person who makes a copy of the Bible thereby becomes at once a faultless God? No parchment acquires a firmer nature because it bears the Bible, and no ink becomes thereby indelible." Similiarly, Eichhorn, Einl. ins. A. T., p. 57, *sq.* (2d ed.), "Every person who censures the Biblical scholar, or even sighs with pious anxiety because he examines one book after another of the Old (or New) Testament for this purpose, applying critical exactness and judicial strictness to his work, must either remain unacquainted with antiquity and profane literature, together with the processes employed in that field, or be so extremely weak in mental powers as to fail to see the serious consequences resulting from the neglect of such tests, as well as the invincible host of doubts which can only be driven from their entrenchments by the proposed (*i. e.*, critical) method."

[2] It must be admitted, however, that complaints upon this point have been exaggerated, as, for instance, by Drechsler, who is governed by the idea that "every assault upon the genuineness of a Scriptural book is at the same time an attack directed against the belief in salvation through Christ."—Page 12, etc.; comp. Hauff, p. 255.

[3] "Every person is sufficiently protected against the arbitrary tendencies of his own nature who enters on the investigation animated by a sincere love of truth, and against the arbitrariness of others by the liberty to test assertions and arguments made by them," Hauff, p. 45; "It is the especial task of our age to place this department of theology (criticism) in a new and clearer light, to provide new fundamental conceptions and a new basis for this science, since the old has become decayed and unserviceable," Hahn, p. 7; "I am convinced that in order to renew the Christian faith we need, not *less*, but more, investigation," Bunsen, Hippolytus, i, 88; "On its bright side, criticism is the self-rejuvenating element of the Church as a whole, the boast of

that the authenticity of many a book or single passage has been doubted because it gave discomfort to the critic's subjectivity, it yet appears, from the history of criticism, that genuine critics, while abstaining from all passion, have brought within the range of their researches matters having no immediate connexion with the faith, and have given them the most conscientious consideration, and that upon the whole, and on the large scale, their judgment has been controlled by other than predetermined dogmatical reasons. How can a dogmatical system derive advantage from the fact that the account of the adulterous woman (John viii) is assigned to a different Gospel; that a doxology (Rom. xvi) is assigned to a different place; or even that the genuineness of Second Peter is by some surrendered? Not a single Bible truth is thereby deprived of its support. Criticism has also been frequently denounced as paltry, and it may doubtless surprise the layman or the beginner that extensive investigation should be made into the transposition of a word, or concerning a particle, which might seem to exert no immediate influence on the meaning. Precisely this devotion to the letter of the Scriptures (which was cultivated "for the glory of Jesus Christ" by the pious Bengel) constitutes, with all its apparent dryness, the finest flower of scientific earnestness and the most effectual restraint upon recklessness, while, on the contrary, uncritical ignorance, which, for instance, would, in order to possess an additional proof-text, retain passages like 1 John v, 7, though known to be not genuine, is rendering but poor service to the interests of piety. The glory of science is this, that it presses onward in the course marked out by an incorruptible love of truth, without yielding to the power of outside influences.

The objection that Biblical Criticism is often paltry.

SECTION XIV

CONDITIONS OF CANONICITY.

The claim of a book to be canonical is only partially established by the acknowledgment of its genuineness; but the canonical character of the Bible certainly depends on the integrity of the separate passages contained in it, and consequently on the purity of the text. The word *spurious* (spurius, νόθος) is, in its harshest meaning, applied to works intentionally ascribed to an author with whom they did not originate; and a number of such works was known to the early Church,

Genuineness of books and passages to be determined by Biblical Criticism.

the evangelical Church and theology; on the darker side, criticism has, by its deformity, filled one of the most pungent pages in the history of the Protestant Church." J. P. Lange, Das Apostol. Zeitalter, i, p. 9; comp. also the Periodisirung der krit. Operationen in der evangel. Kirche, p. 10, by the same author.

bearing the names of Peter, James, Thomas, etc., and seeking to intrude themselves into the canon, from which they were, however, subsequently rejected as apocryphal.[1] In this instance the denial of genuineness[2] involved the loss of canonicity also. But the question of genuineness may relate to more than the canonicity of a book. The admission that a book possesses the highest title to a place in a collection of sacred and even Divinely-inspired books, does not necessarily preclude inquiry into the propriety with which it is attributed to the author to whom tradition or the inscription (of later date than the work itself) ascribes it. It will hardly do, however, to claim inspiration for a book whose very first sentence is a forgery. If the pastoral epistles, for example, are not Paul's, then some one has palmed off a deception in his name, and they are not deserving of respectful consideration. It will be useless to argue that, though written under false pretences, they may be yet canonical, although this concession has very unwisely been made.

The greatest caution is, therefore, required at this point. The good name of the Bible would be damaged seriously by the assumption of well-meant imitations of apostolical productions; for such an hypothesis throws a very equivocal light upon the question of the integrity of the Biblical writers, and attributes to them arts which can hardly be made to consist with the character of sincere disciples of Christ. Fortunately, the results of the destructive criticism applied to the authorship of New Testament books are not yet so well established as its originators would persuade themselves they are. Criticism finds here a proper field for a frank discussion of the reasons for and against, by which means the questions involved can be brought to a final settlement; but let the thought that it might possibly become necessary even to give up one book or another cause no alarm in advance, as though our salvation

[1] The N. T. Apocrypha has been published by J. A. Schmid, Pseudo-Nov. Test., Helmst., 1809, 4to.; J. A. Fabricius, Cod. Apocryphus N. T., Hamb., 1719, 3 vols.; C. Ch. L. Schmid, Corpus vet. Apocryph. extra Biblia, Hadam., 1805; J. C. Thilo, Cod. Apocryphus N. T., etc., tom. i, Lips., 1832 (incomplete); Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, Lips., 1853; same, Acta Apostol. Apocrypha, 1851, and Apocalypses Apocryphae, Lips., 1866; K. W. Borberg, Bibliothek der N. T. Apocryphen, Stuttg., 1840–41, 2 vols. J. F. Kleuker, Die Apocryphen des N. T., Hamb., 1790; Nitzsch, De Apocr. Evv., etc., Viteb., 1804, 4to.; Arens, De Evang. Apocryph., etc., Gott., 1836, 4to.; Tischendorf, De Evangg. Apocryph., origine et usu, Hague, 1851, (prize essay). See also Hone's Apocryphal N. T., Lond., 1820, and N. Y., 1849, 8vo., and Abp. Wake's Apost. Fathers, Lond., 1830, and Hartford, 1834, 8vo.).

[2] The word has reference solely to the authorship of a book, and not to its fitness to rank as canonical.

depended on such a contingency; unlikely as that contingency may be.[1]

The principle applies to the Old Testament as well. Let it be proven that certain Psalms were not composed by the royal singer himself, but merely ad modum Davidis—would this destroy their religious worth? We should no more exclude them from the canon, than we would exclude from the hymn book a beautiful poem by an unknown author of the seventeenth century, concerning which we learn that it has been erroneously attributed to Paul Gerhard. Is the description of God's servant in Isa. liii less applicable to Christ on the supposition that Isa. xl–lx was written by another (later) than Isaiah, a deutero-Esaias?[2] Who, moreover, would find the book of Job to be less impressive because its author is unknown? Even Pope Gregory I. was able to form a more independent judgment upon this question than many Protestants living ten centuries later. It follows that the canonicity of a book may be maintained, even when its authorship is left in doubt, provided the book itself contains nothing that conflicts with the normal character of the theocracy in the Old, or of the Gospel in the New, Testament. But should criticism extend its investigations to the question of *canonicity* also? If so, to what extent? That it did so in the ancient Church is a matter of fact, and it is to the exercise of such criticism that we owe the rejection of apocryphal writ-

[1] A very correct and much more intelligent view than that entertained by many pious people of to-day was advanced by Richard Baxter (died 1691) in his work De casibus conscientiae, T. iii, p. 171: "Non est ad salutem necessarium, ut quis credat singulos libros aut versus Scripturae esse canonicos aut scriptos per spiritum Dei. Si liber aliquis periret aut in dubium vocaretur, v. g. epistola Judae, non inde sequeretur, una cum ipso omnem veram fidem spemque salutis perituram." Comp. also Episcopii Institut. iv, 1. "It must become evident at some time," says J. L. Rückert, Theologie, i, Leips., 1851, Pref., p. 4, "that all the results of criticism may be acknowledged, and a thoroughly independent mode of thinking may be followed, without destruction to the Christian character. It must become evident that Christian faith and volition do not depend upon our judgment respecting this or that particular book." Even Kahnis (Dogmat.), occupying the strict confessional ground of Lutheranism, has asserted his right to an independent position with regard to the canon; comp. his Zeugniss v. d. Grundwahrheiten d. Protestantismus gegen Dr. Hengstenberg, Leips., 1862.

[2] Umbreit (Prakt. Comm. zum Jesaia, p. 308) beautifully observes, "The auroral light of grace and salvation breaks forth from the joyously animated discourses which are appended to the book of Isaiah in a well-ordered succession. We hear the voice of *one of the greatest prophets* at the close of the Babylonish exile. *Even though his name is not Isaiah*, his high importance is apparent from every word proclaimed by him. Well may we term him (this anonymous) *the evangelist of the old covenant*, for no one of the prophets has declared like him the glad tidings of the day-star from on high." The thorough discussions in relation to Daniel, which Bunsen places in the mouth of his Hippolytus, ii, p. 296, *sqq.*, are very similar.

ings. Whether the exclusion of such writings was absolute, or whether the boundary line between canonical and apocryphal is still in dispute, is a different question. The recognition of a distinct class of ἀντιλεγόμενα, and the distinction between proto- and deutero-canonical writings are of themselves evidence that such criticism was exercised. The Reformation asserted in its own behalf this right of the ancient Church,[1] and more recent times have likewise recognized it as a right and so employed it. We readily admit that the common feeling of the Church is not likely to consent that the slightest alteration in the canon be attempted, and cannot even desire it for ourselves;[2] but the right of judgment must be conceded and science must steadily respect it. However unlikely it may now be that at this late day books will be excluded from the canon by general consent, it is yet more unlikely that the canon will receive any addition or be enriched by the incorporation with it of such writings as were formerly not known at all or were misunderstood.[3]

Changes in the canon unlikely.

It is not the genuineness of the sacred writings alone, however, that engages attention, but their integrity as well; and the latter is even more directly necessary to the canonical reception of a book than the former. Whole books or extended paragraphs, as well as particular expressions, or even single adjectives, particles, etc., may have slipped into a completed work or have been attached to a revered name, whether by a designed insertion (interpolation) or through mistake, by which, *e. g.*, a marginal note (gloss) written by a later hand was transferred to the text. The text may, moreover, have become corrupt in places or be defective by reason of the carelessness or inexperience of copyists, or for other reasons to be discussed in connexion with introduction itself (faded characters, abbreviations, absence of divisions between words, etc.). That

[1] Comp. Luther's criticisms of the Epistle of St. James and of the Apocalypse. With this comp. the opinion of L. Osiander (1614): In eo autem erratum est, quod epistolam Jacobi et Judae et posteriores duas Joannis inter canonica scripta numerant, quae scripta non longe post apostolorum tempora non pro scriptis canonicis habita sunt. Recte autem omissa Apocalypsis; ea enim non est Joannis Apostoli, sed cujusdam Joannis Theologi, et multa habet adeo obscura et perplexa, ut non multi dextre in ejus lectione versari queant—in Spittler, Ueber d. 60 Laod. Kanon, p. 16. This citation is not designed as an approval of such opinions in themselves, but simply as a proof that independent views respecting the elements of the canon may consist with a decided faith in the Divine nature of Christianity.

[2] Comp. Schleiermacher, § 114, *sq.*

[3] Discoveries made up to the present time (*e. g.*, of a lost letter by Paul to the Corinthians) have not, however, been sufficiently attested. But comp. Schleiermacher, § 111.

such things have occurred is, as Herder observes, not supposition, but fact.[1] Who can even assure us that, despite the great number of MSS. of the Scriptures, none of which reach back to the time of the original founding, the original form of expression was not lost here and there, and that this could not have been the case at a very early period, perhaps at the time when the first copy was made from the autograph?

Upon the purity of the text depends the internal value and character of our Biblical canon. It may be said that as a book may be canonical, though found to emanate from another than the reputed author, even so a single passage, *e. g.*, 1 John v, 7, may be allowed to stand in the Bible if it does not contradict the analogia fidei. Reverence for the Bible, however, requires that every thing within our power be done to secure it in a form of the highest attainable purity, though the nature of the case is such as to prevent more than an approximate accomplishment of the task.

A pure text indispensable.

SECTION XV.

CRITICAL METHODS.

Criticism is, according to its objects, divided into external and internal, and, according to its results, into negative and positive. A further distinction is sometimes made between the criticism of books and that of words or texts;[2] but the two cannot easily be kept apart, though they are employed on different objects—the former being more concerned with the authenticity of entire books or separate paragraphs, the latter with the genuineness and purity of the text (comp. the preceding §). It is usual, though inappropriate, to designate the criticism of sections and books the higher, and that of words and separate passages the lower criticism.[3] Not less misleading is the usage of others, who endeavor to include in the higher criticism what we would, more appropriately, term the internal, and in the lower criticism what we characterize as the external.[4] The truth is that the business of the critic deals with

[1] "The evidence which lies on the surface long ago destroyed all the prejudices which formerly prevailed on this subject."—Schleiermacher, § 116. To this we add, "Ought, at least, to have destroyed them." Wetstein, Proleg., p. 4, adduces a noteworthy example from the Aldine ed. of the LXX, in Gen. xliv, which reads οἱ ἄνθρωποι αὐτῶν, instead of οἱ ὄνοι αὐτῶν (חֲמֹרֵיהֶם). The MS. had ἄνοι instead of ὄνοι, which was taken for an abbreviation of ἄνθρωποι, and in this way asses were transformed into men!

[2] Danz, p. 210.

[3] Schleiermacher, § 118. Note.

[4] Some writers apply the phrase, "the lower criticism," to the genuineness, etc., of single letters and words, and that of "the higher criticism" to entire books and sections. Schleiermacher has, however, forcibly demonstrated the mechanical and untenable character of this distinction. Comp. Herm. u. Krit., p. 267; comp. 277.

various combinations which are all equally important, but which are sometimes directed toward the external, historical, empirical, and sometimes toward the internal and psychological side. We accordingly give the name of external criticism to that which seeks to demonstrate the authenticity and genuineness of a book, and also to discover the true readings from existing facts, viz.: from existing testimonies taken from Christian antiquity, from MSS. versions, etc. This is by no means to be denominated a lower criticism, as if it were contrasted with another kind, which might proudly claim a higher place, or even disregard its existence, but rather constitutes the necessary basis of all critical procedure, unless we intend to build on air. But this external application of the so-called critical apparatus is not alone sufficient; for on the one hand that apparatus is itself subject to higher critical conditions, since the age and the importance of MSS. versions, etc., must first be ascertained,[1] and on the other hand the most perfectly constructed critical apparatus cannot accomplish everything. It is necessary that internal criticism be brought in to complement the other. In this way conclusions may be arrived at respecting the authenticity of a written work, even though the testimony from external sources be indefinite or conflicting, or though no such testimony exist—the means employed being comparison with other works by the same author (*e. g.*, the Ep. to the Hebrews compared with the acknowledged writings of St. Paul, the Apocalypse with the gospel and the epistles by St. John, 2d with 1st Peter and with discourses in the Acts by the same apostle), the collocation and estimating of historical conditions (*e. g.*, in connexion with disputed predictions in the prophets), and finally the careful observation and comparison of the language in any particular period, its grammatical forms, figures of speech, etc. Upon the question of integrity the disturbance of the natural connexion caused by an interpolated passage (1 John v, 7–8) may be sufficient to arouse the suspicion of spuriousness, even before the authority of MSS. is appealed to; or with regard to the choice between different existent readings an important influence may be exerted, in addition to that exercised by the external superiority of some particular MS., by the internal relation of the passage to the whole connexion. It also becomes possible occasionally to show by internal criticism how a false reading could have originated, and

External criticism defined.

The office of internal criticism.

[1] In this regard compare the different critical systems by Bentley, Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, Hug, Matthaei, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf. At this point criticism and introductory science interpenetrate each other. See Schleiermacher, § 120; de Wette, Einl., § 37, *sqq.*

not rarely is it compelled to decide whether the preference is to be given to an easy or a more difficult reading; for while it is certain that words have been changed because they were not understood in such a sense or such a connexion, it is equally certain that many a difficult reading was introduced into the text by ill-timed polishing or thoughtless want of care on the part of copyists.

Carefully fixed limits to be set to internal criticism.

To discover the proper bounds to be observed between external and internal criticism in their application, is conceded to be difficult. Great care is certainly required in connexion with the latter, and much mischief has already been caused by its use; but we cannot on that account give an unqualified assent to the idea that the critic's work should be of a purely mechanical nature, and that the authority of MSS. should alone be allowed to decide.[1] Harmonious activity of the intellectual powers, the combination of external with internal circumstances, comprehension and judgment, *doctrina* and *ingenium*, must go hand in hand in this pursuit. Who will deny that even the earliest and best codices were exposed to accidents, the very thing which the keen scent of criticism, certainly a natural endowment which is to be ennobled by learning, is to discover when possible? Above all arbitrariness and accident, however, stands science, combined with liberty and a higher necessity.

SECTION XVI.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE CRITICISM.

Negative and positive criticism; functions of each.

The negative criticism endeavours simply to ascertain and cast out what is spurious as a whole or in part; while the positive criticism seeks, with reference to authenticity, to discover the real authors of anonymous and pseudonymous works, and with reference to integrity to restore the text to its original condition. The former, when sufficient external evidence is wanting, is done by hypothesis, the latter by conjecture.

It is generally more easy to determine with certainty that a work was not written by the author to whom tradition has attributed it, than to discover who the real author was; and it is likewise more easy to arrive at the conclusion that a passage has been corrupted or mutilated than at a definite result in settling the true reading. Positive criticism receives occasional aid from external helps, however, even though they be not wholly adequate. Thus, *e. g.*, the testimony of Tertullian (De pudic. c. 20) led many to adopt the

[1] Comp., *e. g.*, Rettig's notice of Lachmann's N. T. in Studd. u. Kritt., 1832, No. 4. Baur (contra Thiersch et al.) has said much that is worthy of note, in opposition to pure mechanism in critical processes.

theory that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by Barnabas. Sometimes, however, hypothesis puts forth claims, based solely upon possibilities, as in the case of Eichhorn's assumption of a primitive Gospel, and in many other instances of recent times. The claim of hypothesis upon our approval is even less authoritative in the latter class of cases (*i. e.*, of appeal to bare possibilities) than in the former, and many writers have accordingly forsaken the way of hypothesis, as being entirely too uncertain, and have ceased altogether from making use of the so-called positive criticism; bolder inquirers, however, still continue to employ it.[1] Similar considerations apply to conjectures relating to the readings. A former age was entirely too prone to apply conjecture, at first in the department of profane, and subsequently also in that of sacred, literature; but they are likewise wrong who unconditionally reject conjecture, for it is known that conjectures have occasionally been confirmed by readings that were afterward discovered. While therefore it may be advisable in general to insist upon the rule that "whatever of correct results may be obtained in the way of conjecture must be supported by facts connected with the history of the text," the rule must yet be so modified as not to forbid conjectural attempts in needful cases.[2]

Frequent fallacies of critical hypotheses.

[1] Comp. Hitzig, supra. The positive criticism is especially recommended by Hahn; understanding thereby not a criticism which so dreads negation as to cling with firmer grasp to the traditional, but that which conquers the negative, and which by concentrating its attention upon its object—the several books of the Bible and the circumstances of history—assigns to such books their definite and assured historical place.

[2] Schleiermacher, §§ 119 and 121, and Kritik, p. 291: "The canon that the divinatorial process (conjecture) is to be allowed only where documentary aids are wanting, or even that when the latter are not wanting, the right to employ conjectural processes does not exist, the best that manuscripts afford being all that we are authorized to ask—this canon does not apply absolutely, and may not even be assumed, because the interests of hermeneutics would suffer loss thereby." But see p. 312, and comp. Herder. "Conjecture, in the critical sense, resembles the scalpel of the surgeon. It may unfortunately become necessary and beneficial, but only terribly necessary, terribly advantageous; and the wretch who plays and whittles with it, cutting away at pleasure, now an ear, now an eye, now a nose, that does not suit his fancy—but mutilates himself." Specimens of vain conjecture are given by Herder in the Appendix to the Briefe zweener Brüder Jesu (Werke z. Rel. u. Theol., viii, p. 291). Similarly, Lücke, "Divinatorial criticism involves a dangerous element, and is least of all the concern of everybody; but *it is needed for complementing the theological science of the canon.*" (Stud. u. Krit., 1834, No. 4, p. 267). Comp. Rosenkranz, Encykl., p. 121, *sqq.*; de Wette, Einl., § 59.

SECTION XVII.

THE RELATION OF CRITICISM TO EXEGESIS.

Relation of criticism to exegesis.

Although criticism is, in its idea, distinguished from exegesis, assuming the relation of an auxiliary to the latter, it can yet be conceived of in reality only in connexion with the functions of interpretation ; for an interest in criticism must be aroused, and a sense for it be quickened, by exegesis. The two sciences must accordingly be conceived of as continually acting upon each other, and therefore as conditioning and aiding each other.

Mischief done by dabblers in criticism.

Nothing is more hurtful, and nothing has done more to damage criticism in the estimation of pious people, than the ill-timed and superficial dabbling with it of persons who, before having properly read a single book in the Bible, or having been tested in the work of exposition, undertake to deal exclusively with the surface results of criticism, and swear by them as though they were established facts—who pronounce their dictum *about* the Bible without being well read *in* the Bible, or having learned anything of value from it. How frequently has a taste for the Bible been destroyed at the outset by forcing upon the notice of young men such oracular decisions of criticism, before they had become well acquainted with the sacred text! If it is highly unpedagogical to trouble pupils who have not thoroughly read an ode of Horace or an oration by Cicero, with criticism in connexion with the explanation of the classics, it is nothing less than sin to disgust young theologians with the study of the Bible from the beginning, or, what is worse, to lead them to cultivate a foolish self-conceit, by means of depreciatory criticisms. It might therefore be sufficient for the beginner at first if he were to make himself acquainted with the tasks which criticism is to perform, leaving the practical employment of its operations for a later time, when he shall have become familiarly acquainted with his Bible, and shall have tasted somewhat of its positive contents, even having refreshed and nourished his soul thereby. This is possible, however, only in the rugged way of a thorough exegesis. Critical virtuosity, as Schleiermacher terms it, is to be attained only as the result of practice ;[1] and exegetical virtuosity is its necessary prerequisite, although neither of them can attain to its completion without the aid of the other. Such reciprocal action between exegesis and criticism is self-evident, however. If the choice of a reading affects the interpretation, or, rather, if it pro-

Critical and exegetical skill the result of practice.

[1] Schleiermacher, § 122, *sq.*

vides the matter for interpretation, it is conversely true that the correct explanation of a passage throws needed light upon the various readings which exist, so that, not unfrequently, a more accurate comprehension of the connexion inclines us to readopt a reading which we had rejected, or to reject one which we believed ourselves obliged to hold, before the passage itself was understood. The authenticity of a book and the acknowledgment of its author may likewise be affected, and suspicion against the book itself be excited, by the misunderstanding of a passage, while a profounder apprehension of the writer's spirit and of the situation may restore its genuineness. Conversely, a superficial knowledge respecting the authenticity of a book may allay all questionings, while a thorough examination of the matter may excite doubts warranted by the facts, and call for a more exhaustive discussion of the points in doubt. It will thus be seen how necessary it is, first, in every case, and before the judgment has been formed, to have regard to the results obtained by others, and in this way to employ in reading the Bible a text as *critically correct* as may be possible; but, second, while making use of the best critical aids at command, to preserve unbiassed the keenness of our own mental vision in the work of interpretation.

Criticism and exegesis act on each other.

History of Criticism.

To provide the history of criticism fully is the task of Introduction. The text of the Old Testament, upon which the copyists expended conscientious care (the synagogue-rolls), engaged the attention first of all of the Masorites, Jewish scholars, whose principal school flourished at Tiberias in the beginning of the sixth century. They compared the codices, noted the various readings, (Keri and Chetib,) and even anxiously numbered the words and syllables. To them we likewise owe the vowel-signs, pointings, etc. Among Christians, meritorious services were rendered by Origen († 254), who compared the Greek versions of the LXX, of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus with the Hebrew original (Hexapla); and by Jerome, who improved the existing Latin version (Itala) and published a version of his own (Vulgata), which soon came into general use and acquired ecclesiastical authority in the Western Church. The prejudices which this man, usually so anxiously cautious, was compelled to encounter in connexion with this work, are well known. The "two-legged asses," as he terms his opponents, even went to the length of calling him falsarius, sacrilegus, corruptor sanctarum Scripturarum! The New Testament was gradually collected. The

Historical sketch of Biblical Criticism.

The Masorites.

originals are no longer extant. The most ancient MSS. do not reach back further than the fourth century. An inclination to adulterate the text was apparent at an early day, against which the Church was obliged to guard. Copies were made, in the first instance, for the use of Churches, and "without any philological supervision." It was reserved for science in later ages to divide the different codices, according to their age (Uncials and Cursives), or according to the countries in which they originated (Oriental and Occidental), into families and recensions. The most important MSS. of the New Testament are, The Cod. Alexandrinus (A) in the British Museum at London; the Vaticanus (B) at Rome; the Codex Regius (Parisiensis); also the Cod. Ephraem Syr. (a palimpsest) at Paris (C); and the Codex Cantabrigiensis (D). To these must be added, as of highest importance, the Codex Sinaiticus (א), discovered by Tischendorf in 1859 and published in 1862; comp. Stud. u. Krit., 1860, 4; 1862, 1, 4; 1864, 3 (by Wieseler); Gött. Gelehrt. Anzeigen, 1860, No. 177; Prot. Kirchenzeitung, 1862, No. 50; Zarncke's Centralbl., 1860; Literaturbl., 1863, No. 69; Hilgenfeld's Zeitschr., 1864, 1, and *Volbeding: Constantin Tischendorf, 1862; Tischendorf, Die Sinaibibel, etc., 1871. See also article on Sinaitic Manuscript in M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopaedia, and Harman's Introduction, Appendix. This Codex is distinguished not only by its age (Tischendorf assigns it to the former half of the fourth century, which is, however, already denied by others) but also by its completeness, even the Epistle of Barnabas, in the Greek text, and the Shepherd of Hermas being included in it.

Most important MSS. of the New Testament.

But little was done for criticism during the Middle Ages. Alcuin, about A. D. 802, improved the Vulgata based on the translation of Jerome, by the command of Charlemagne. New revisions were undertaken by Lanfranc in the eleventh century and Cardinal Nicholas in the twelfth. At about this time the Correctoria biblica appeared (concerning which see De Wette, Einleitung, p. 108, *sq.*). The work of Cardinal Hugo de St. Caro in the thirteenth century, who divided the Bible into chapters, was rather mechanical than critical. The division of the New Testament into verses was not performed until the sixteenth century, when Robert Stephens devised the present arrangement. The undertaking of the Cardinal Ximenes, shortly before the Reformation, was, on the other hand, a magnificent conception, to which we owe the so-called Complutensian Polyglot, which was followed by those of Antwerp, Paris, and London, being critical collocations of the text and versions after the manner of Origen. A rich bib-

Biblical Criticism in the Middle Ages.

lical apparatus was given in the prolegomena to the London Polyglot (also published separately) of Brian Walton († 1661). The first critical edition of the New Testament was issued by Erasmus (Basle, 1516) at nearly the time when the Complutensian Polyglot was completed.

First critical edition of the New Testament.

All this work was text criticism; but the Reformation called into life a universal spirit of inquiry. Luther permitted himself to form independent opinions respecting various parts of the Scriptures, though he was rather influenced by subjective feeling than by scientific considerations. The progress of an unbiassed criticism was long hindered afterward by the strictness with which the Protestant Church clung to the principle of adherence to the letter of Scripture, and to the idea of inspiration connected with that principle. The Reformed Formula Consensus raised even the inspiration of the vowel-points into a dogma! A new critical impulse was given, on the other hand, to the Roman Catholic Church in the seventeenth century by Richard Simon, who expressed independent views, among other things, with regard to the composition of the Pentateuch, etc. (In relation to him see Bernus, Richard Simon et son histoire critique du vieux Test., Lausanne, 1869.) The dogmatists of both Churches were, however, unceasing in their efforts to fill up the way which he had opened, to use Lessing's expression, "with floods of rubbish constantly renewed." The criticism of the text likewise came to an end, after the age had become accustomed to regard the textus receptus of the sixteenth century as an authority. A new interest in it was excited by the English scholars Fell, Mill, Bentley, and Kennicott (the latter in Old Testament criticism). When Wetstein, having been encouraged by Bentley, was preparing his critical edition of the New Testament, about the middle of the eighteenth century, he was exposed to severe attacks of opposition (comp. Hagenbach in Illgen's Zeitschr. f. hist. Theologie, 1839, 1); but Bengel nevertheless undertook to perform in behalf of orthodox theology what Wetstein had begun in sympathy with a more sceptical habit of thought. While these scholars confined their efforts more particularly to the department of text-criticism, Semler, on the other hand, after the middle of the eighteenth century, excited numerous doubts with regard to the genuineness of entire books in the Bible by his Free Examination of the Canon.

Revival of Biblical Criticism in the 18th century.

With Semler begins the period of independent research in this field, but also of abuse and subjective arbitrariness. Sober science, however, continued to pursue its assured course in the midst of such fluctuations. On the one hand, diplo-

Beginning with Semler of the Rationalistic Criticism.

matic text-criticism continued to gain in settled principles and in historic ground through paleographic researches which were steadily prosecuted, through the comparison of MSS., etc., and various systems were developed in this direction, upon which the processes of criticism rest. (The labours of Hug, Griesbach, Schulz, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf.) On the other hand, inquiry was more intelligently directed toward the several parts of the Old and the New Testament canon. Single books in either Testament were at first attacked, without the recognition of any definite principle, but rather under the influence of the personal impressions of critics; but the investigation gradually secured firmer points of connexion with historical facts. The inquiry has been chiefly directed upon the Pentateuch, the Books of Chronicles, the Prophets, (the second part of Isaiah, Daniel,) the Psalms, and the writings of Solomon in the Old Testament, and the Gospels, (their origin and relation to each other,) the Pastoral epistles and the second epistle to the Thessalonians, the epistle to the Hebrews, Second Peter, and the Apocalypse in the New. Such fragmentary operations do not cover the whole ground that has been gone over, however; but after the latest speculative (Tübingen) school, Baur, Zeller, Schwegler, *et al.*, had attempted an historical construction of Christianity from its principles, it involved the entire canon of the New Testament books in the critical process of disintegration connected with that attempt, assigning most of them to a later date, and, at the same time, charging them with subserving tendencies which are not always reconcilable with the purity of purpose belonging to an apostle. It can be confidently affirmed that despite the bold, though often widely divergent, conclusions of the more recent critics, (Hilgenfeld, Volckmar, Holsten, Overbeck,) genuine science can still hold an assured footing for a further advance in the service of truth.

The Tübingen tendency critics.

The leadership in biblical criticism was successfully maintained by English scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for eighty years (1657–1737). The fifth volume of Brian Walton's London Polyglot contained the text of the New Testament in six languages, with a large collection of various readings. He did not, however, undertake to form a revised text. Bishop Fell (1625–1686) added much to this stock of critical material, and was besides the friend and patron of Dr. John Mill (1645–1707.) Thirty laborious years were spent by Mill on his Greek Testament. He recollated all the codices used by Walton for the London Polyglot, and accumulated a mass of readings from many sources, which he exhibits in his prolegomena. "Of the criticism of the New Testa-

ment in the hands of Dr. John Mill," says Scrivener, "it may be said that he found the edifice of wood and left it marble." Richard Bentley (1662–1742) projected a revision of the text of the New Testament, which he never completed. We can readily conjecture what his extraordinary critical sagacity would have accomplished in this field. From the time of Bentley little was done by English scholars in New Testament criticism for more than a hundred years. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles issued from 1857 to 1872 his Greek Testament from the most ancient MSS. and from ancient versions. Tregelles bases his text on a small number of manuscripts. Frederick Henry Scrivener has contributed a valuable Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament (Cambridge, 1861, 1874). Messrs. Westcott and Hort have, since the appearance of the revised English Testament, published a text which has been long in preparation, and also a companion volume containing an appendix and introduction to their work. Although the revisers of the English Testament have not attempted "to construct a continuous and complete Greek text," the text adopted by them has been published by their secretary, E. Palmer. (Oxford, 1881.)

1. *Critically revised portable editions of the Old Testament of recent date.*[1]

*Biblia hebraica manualia ad praestt. editt. edita a Joh. Simonis. Halle, 1752, 1767, 1822, 1828. Various books of this edition (Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah, etc.) have also been separately published.

* Biblia hebraica digessit et graviores lect. variett. adj. J. Jahn. Vien., 1806. 4 voll. Ed. 4., 1839.

Biblia hebr. ad Eb. v. d. Hooght ed. nov., recogn. et emend. a Judah d'Allemand. Lond., 1825.

* Biblia hebraica ad optim. editt. fidem summa diligentia ac studio recensa. Basileae, 1837. (Largely after van der Hooght.)

[1] With regard to the history of the text and other critical apparatus for the Old Test. comp. Franke, p. 96, *sqq.;* Rosenmüller's Handbuch, and the Introductions to the Old Test. (de Wette's, §. 76, *sqq.*); Strack, Prolegomena critica in Vetus Test. Hebr., quibus agitur, I. de codicibus et deperditis et adhuc exstantibus, II. de textu bibliorum hebr. qualis talmudistarum temporibus fuerit. Lips., 1873. Ancient versions: a) Greek (the Alexandrian of the so-called seventy translators, and those by Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, etc.); b) Oriental (the Syriac [Peshito], Ethiopic [ed. by Dillmann], Egyptian, Arabian, Armenian, Georgian); c) Latin (ante-Hieronomian [Itala], Vulgate); d) Slavic; e) Chaldee Paraphrases; comp. de Wette, §. 39, *sqq.* Concerning the Hexapla of Origen comp. ibid., §. 45, *sqq.*: F. C. Tischendorf, Anecdota sacra et profana ex oriente et occidente allata sive notitia codicum graecorum, arabicorum, syriacorum, etc., cum excerptis multis maximam partem graecis et 35 scripturarum antiquissimarum exemplis. Lips., 1861. 4.

Older, and usually large, editions of the Old Testament: (de Wette, §. 95. Rosenmüller, I, 189 ff. Benj. Kennicott, dissertationes super ratione textus hebr. V. T. in libris editis. Latine vertit et auxit W. Abr. Teller. Lips., 1757–65. 2 voll.): von Soncino (1488–94), in der complutens. Polyglotte (1514–17), Bomberg I. (1518–21), Bomberg II. (1525), S. Münster (Froben, 1536), R. Stephan I. (1539–43), R. Stephan II. (1544–46), Plantinus (1566–71–84), E. Hutter (1587), J. Buxtorf (1611–18, 1619, etc.), J. Athias (1561), Jablonsky (1699, Handausg.), van der Hooght (1705. Lond., 1822, Handausg.), Opitz (1709), Michaelis (1720, Handausg.), Houbigant (1753), Kennicott 1776, 80), Reineccius (1725, Handausg.), Döderlein u. Meisner (1793).

תורה נביאים וכתובים. Biblia hebr. sec. editt. Athiae, J. Leusdeni, Jo. Simonis, impr. Eberh. van der Hooght rec. A. Hahn. Ed. ster. Lips., 1831–39.

Biblia hebr. ad optimas editiones, imprimis Eb. van der Hooght ex rec. A. Hahnii impressa (cur. K. W. Landschreiber; praef. est E. F. K. Rosenmüller). Ed. stereot. Lips., 1834–38. 12.

תורה נביאים וכתובים. Biblia hebr. ad optimas editt. expressa. Curavit et indices nec non clavem masoreticam add. C. G. Giul. Theile. Ed. stereot. Lips., 1849. (Genesis, Psalms, Job, Isaiah, etc., also published separately.) New ed. 1859.

Testament utrumq. edd. Theile et Tischendorf (V. T. hebr.; N. T. gr.) Lips., 1850. 2d ed., 1862.

ספר הקדש. Vien., 1852.

* Polyglottenbibel, Zum prakt. Handgebrauch. Prepared by Dr. Rud. Stier and Dr. K. G. W. Theile. A. u. N. T. Bielef., 1846–55. 5 vols. 3d ed. of the O. T. and 4th ed. of the N. T., 1863–64. (Embraces the Original, the LXX, the Vulgate, Luther's translation, and the most important various readings of ancient and modern versions.)

Separate portions of the Old Testament.

Pentateuchus in usum scholarum academicarum ex editione utriusque testamenti Tauchnitziana separatim edendum curavit C. G. G. Theile. Lips., 1861. Ed. ster.

Liber Geneseos sine punctis exscriptus curaverunt F. Muehlau et Aem. Kautzsch. Lips., 1868.

Liber Genesis. Textum Masorethicum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus Masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit S. Baer. Praefatus est Fr. Delitzsch. Lips., 1869.

Jesajae, Liber. ספר ישעיה. Textum Masorethicum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus Masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit S. Baer. Praefatus est Fr. Delitzsch. Lips., 1872.

Liber Psalmorum hebraicus. Textum Masorethicum accuratius quam adhuc factum est expressit, brevem de accentibus metricis institutionem praemisit, notas criticas adjecit S. Baer. Praefatus est Fr. Delitzsch. Lips., 1861.

a) Large Editions of the Septuagint:

V. T. ex versione LXX interprr. — post Grabe et Lee ed. J. J. Breitinger. Turic., 1730–32. 4 voll. 4.

V. T. graecum, cum. var. lectt. edd. R. Holmes et Parsons. Ox., 1798–1827. 5 voll. f.

b) Manual Editions:

V. T. Graec. ex versione LXX una cum libris apocr. ed. Ch. Rheineccius. Lips., 1730–57.

V. T. gr. juxta LXX interprr. cur. L. v. Ess. Lips., 1824. Ed. nova, 1855.

V T. gr. juxta LXX interprr. ed. J. N. Jager. Par., 1834.

V T. gr. juxta LXX int. Textum Vatic. emendatius ed., argumenta et locos N. T. parall. notavit, lect. var. subj., comment. isag. praetexuit C. Tischendorf. Lips., 1850. 2 voll. Ed. 4. 1869. Ed. 5. 1875.

For the history of this version: Aristeae historia LXXII interprr.; gr. et lat. Oxon., 1692. (New ed. in Merx' Archiv I, 3. 1868.) Comp. the works of Hody, van Dale, Ussher, Voss, u. A. Comp. Winer, Handb. d. theol. Lit. P. 49.

L. T. Muecke, de origine vers. LXX interprr. Zullich., 1789.

Thiersch, de Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina. Erl., 1841.

Editions of the Vulgate:

Biblia S. vulg. edit. ad conc. Trid. praescriptum emend. et a Sixto V recogn. Rom., 1590. fol.

Biblia S. vulg. ed. Sixti V jussu rec. et ausp. Clementis VIII. ed. Rom., 1593–4.

Portable editions by L. van Ess (Tüb., 1822–24. 3 Bde.), J. H. Kistemaker (Münst., 1823–46), B. Galura (Innsbr., 1834–35. 3 Bde. 4.), B. Loch (Regensb., 1849. 2. Aufl., ebend., 1867 ff.), J. F. v. Allioli (Landsh., 1853), Fleck (Neues Test. Lpz., 1840).

Important for critical purposes: Codex Amiatinus. N. T. latine interprete Hieronymo, ex celeberrimo cod. Amiatino omnium et antiquissimo et praestantissimo nunc primum ed. Const. Tischendorf. Lips., 1850–54. Codex Fuldensis. Novum Testamentum latine interprete Hieronymo ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani edidit. prolegomenis introduxit, commentariis adornavit Ernest. Ranke. Marb., 1868.

The Gothic version by Ulfilas, with parallel Greek and Latin versions, by H. Massmann. Stuttg., 1855.

2. *Editions of the New Testament.*[1]

Novum Testamentum graece, recogn. atque insign. lectt. varietat. et argument. notat. subjunxit G. Chr. Knapp. Halle, 1797, 1813, 1822, 1830. Ed. 5. 1840.

* N. T. graece. E rec. Griesb. nova vers. lat. illustr., indice brevi praecip. lectt. et interprett. diversitatis indice instr., auct. H. A. Schott. Lips., 1805, 1811, 1825. Ed. 4. 1839.

N. T. graece. Ad fidem optimor. librr. rec. J. A. H. Tittmann. Ed. ster. Lips., 1820. 28. Ed. nov. cur. A. Hahn, 1840; 1861.

N. T. textum gr. Griesb. et Knappii denuo recognovit, delectu variet. lectt. testim. confirm., adnott. tum criticis tum exegeticis, indicibus, etc., instruxit J. S. Vater. Halle, 1824.

N. T. graece. Ex rec. C. Lachmanni. Ed. ster. Berol., 1831.

N. T. graece nova versione lat. donatum ed. F. A. Naebe. Lips., 1831.

N. T. graece et latine. Ex rec. Knappiana adjectis variis Griesb. et Lachm. lectionibus ed. A. Goeschen. Lips., 1832.

N. T. ad optt. librr. fidem rec. A. Jaumann. Mün., 1832.

N. T. graece, ex recogn. Knappii emendatius ed., C. G. Guil. Theile. Ed. ster. Lips., 1841. Ed. 7., 1858. Ed. 8. 1865. Ed. 11. 1875. Also in Greek and Latin (Vulg.) 1854, and Greek and German, 1852, by the same publishers.

N. T. gr. et lat. (Vulg.) ed. F. X. Reithmayr. Mün., 1847.

* N. T. graece. Textum ad fidem antiquorum testium recensuit, brevem apparatum criticum una cum var. lectt. Elzeviriorum, Knappii, Scholzii, Lachmanni subjunxit C. Tischendorf. Lips., 1841, 1848, 1849. 7th ed., 1859. 8th ed., 1869–72.

—— Editio stereotypa. Lips., 1850. Ed. nova, 1873. (A good manual edition.)

N. T. gr. Par., 1842. 12; gr. et lat., ed. Jager et Tischendorf. Par., 1842.

Ἡ *καινὴ διαθήκη*. N. T. graece, recens. inque usum academicum omni modo instruxit C. Tischendorf. Lips., 1855, 1861. 16. Edit. 5., ibid., 1867. Ed. 9. 1876.

H. A. W. Meyer, das N. T. griechisch, nach den besten Hülfsmitteln kritisch revidirt, mit einer deutschen Uebersetzung (see Commentaries).

[1] For the history of the N. T. text comp. de Wette, II, §. 27, *sqq.*; with regard to versions, see §. 10, *sqq.* Polyglotts: a) the Complutensian (1514–17); b) Antwerp (1569–72); c) Paris (1645); d) London (by Walton, 1657). Comp. Franke, p. 139, *sqq.* With regard to the different classes of editions (1. such as exactly reproduce the text of a given MS.; 2. such as are based upon several MSS. and other helps; and 3. such as merely reproduce earlier editions with unimportant changes); and also, with reference to the so-called Textus Receptus (vulgaris) of the Elzevir edition, comp. Danz, §. 19, and the works there mentioned, Franke, p. 161, *sqq.*

N. T. graece ad fidem potissimum cod. Vat. rec., Phil. Buttmann. Lips., 1856, 1862. Edit. 3., ibid. (without date).

Testamentum novum triglottum, graece, latine, germanice ed. Tischendorf. Lips., 1854. 4. Edit. 2., 1865.

N. T. tetraglottum. Archetypum graecum c. versionibus vulgata latina, germanica Lutheri et anglica authentica, in usum manualem edend. curaverunt C. G. G. Theile et R. Stier. Bielef., 1855. Edit. 2. 1858.

'Η καινὴ διαθήκη. Nov. Test. ad fidem Codicis Vaticani ediderunt A. Kuenen et C. G. Cobel. Lugd. Bat., 1860.

Novum Testamentum Vaticanum. Post Angeli Maii aliorumque imperfectos labores ex ipso codice edidit. Tischendorf. Lips., 1867.

Bibliorum sacrorum graecus codex Vaticanus studiis Caroli Vercellone et Josephi Cozza editus. Tom. V, (contains the N. T.) Fol. Rom., 1869.

Testamentum Nov. post Lachmannum et Tischendorfium ad fidem optimorum librorum denuo diligenter recognovit lectionumque varietatem notavit Aug. Hahn. Edit. ster. Lips., 1861.

* Bibliorum Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus. Auspiciis aug. Imperatoris Alexandri II. ex tenebris protraxit, in Europam transtulit, ad juvandas sacras litteras ed. Constantinus Tischendorf. 4 voll. Petrop., 1862. (A costly library edition.)

A cheaper edition is Testamentum Novum Sinaiticum s. Nov. Test. cum epist. Barnabae et fragmentis Pastoris ex codice Sinaitico, etc. Lips., 1863.[1] 8vo. 1864.

E. Reuss, Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Graeci, Brunsvigae, 1872, gives a descriptive list of all the published editions of the New Testament.

Synopses.

Synopsis evv. Matth., Marc. et Luc., una cum iis Jo. pericopis, quae hist. pass. et resurr. Chr. complectt.; textum recogn. etc., J. J. Griesbach. Hal., 1776–97–1809. St. John's Gospel is wanting in the 1st ed., 1774.

Synopsis evv., etc.; ex rec. Griesb. edd. W. M. L. de Wette et F. Luecke. Berol., 1818, 1841. 4.

Synopsis Mt., Mc. et Luc. c. Jo. peric. parallelis, ed. M. Roediger. Hal., 1829–39.

R. Anger, Synopsis evv. Mt., Mc., Lc. cum locis qui supersunt parall. literarum et traditt. evv. Irenaeo antiquiorum. Lips., 1851. Ed. 2, 1863.

C. Tischendorf, syn. ev. ex 4 evv. ord. chron. concinnata. Lips., 1851; ed. 4, 1878.

J. H. Friedlieb, quatuor evv. in harmoniam redacta. Vratisl., 1847.

H. N. Clausen, quat. evv. tabulae synopticae. Havn., 1829.

Sevin, die drei ersten Evangelien synoptisch zusammengestellt. Wiesb., 1866.

Synopses in German by H. Planck (Gött., 1809), Fr. A. Beck (Berl., 1826), G. C. R. Matthäi (Gött., 1826), J. Gehringer (Tüb., 1842), P. J. Sindler (Augsb., 1852).

A Harmony of the Gospels by Sevin, 1867.

Upon the whole of this richly endowed branch of literature comp. Hase, Leben Jesu (4th ed. Lpz., 1854), pp. 20–26.

[1] Older editions of the New Test., aside from those contained in the Polyglotts: (Comp. de Wette, §. 41, *sqq.*); 5 by Erasmus (1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, 1535), 3 by Robert Stephens (1546, 1549, 1565), 4 larger eds. by Theodore Beza, (published by Stephens, 1565, 1582, 1589, and 1598), and 6 smaller, 1556–91; upon the 3d ed. of Stephens, as improved by Beza, depends the authority of the so-called Textus Receptus; John Fell (following the London Polyglott, 1675), John Mill (1707), Küster (1710–23), J. A. Bengel (1734; republished in manual eds. 1739, 1753, 1762, 1776, and by his son, Ernst Bengel, in 1790), J. J. Wetstein (1751; new ed. by Lotze, Rotterd., 1831). Larger critical editions of more recent date: * J. J. Griesbach (Halle, 1774, 1775, 2 vols.; Leips., 1803, 1807, 4 vols.), Chr. Fr, Matthäi (1783–88), F. C. Alter (1786, 1787), Andr. Birch (1788, 1801), David Schulz (Griesb. T. Berl., 1827), M. A Scholz (Lpz., 1830), K. Lachmann u. Ph. Buttmann, (Berl., 1842, 1850. 2 Bde.), E. v. Muralt (Hamb., 1846, 1848), W. Greenfield u. J. P. Engles (Philad., 1851).

3. *Theoretical works on Criticism and Critical Helps.*[1]

L. Cappelli Critica sacra s. de variis quae in sacris V. T. libris occurrunt lectionibus libri VI. Rec. multisque animadverss. auxit G. J. L. Vogel. Vol. 1. Hal., 1775 Voll. 2, 3, ed. J. G. Scharfenberg., 1778, 1786.

J. J. Griesbach, symbolae criticae ad suppl. et corrig. variarum N. T. lectt. collectiones. Hal., 1785–93. 2 voll.

—— Commentarius criticus in textum graec. N. T. Jen., 1798–1811.

J. G. Reiche, commentarius crit. in N. T. 3 Tom. Gött., 1853–62.

* F. Schleiermacher, Hermeneutik u. Kritik mit bes. Beiziehung auf N. T., published by Lücke. Berl., 1838. (Vol. 2 of the Nachl. zur Theol.)

† J. M. A. Löhnis, Grundzüge d. bibl. Hermeneutik und Kritik. Giessen, 1839.

Convenient for students: * Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanon bis auf Hieronymus, published by J. Hirchhofer. Zürich, 1844.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE.

1. *Critical Editions of the Old Testament in Hebrew.*

An Interlinear Hebrew-English Psalter. The Book of Psalms in Hebrew, with a closely literal English Translation under each word. 8vo, pp. 240. London, 1882.

Davidson, Samuel. Revision of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament. Synopsis of Readings, Revised from Critical Sources. 8vo, pp. 234. London, 1882.

Hahn's Hebrew Bible. New ed. Revised by Isaac Leeser and Joseph Jaquett. 8vo. Philadelphia.

Hebrew and English Psalms. The Hebrew Text of Van der Hooght, with the Authorized Translation of 1611. In parallel columns. 8vo, pp. 100. London, 1882.

Hebrew Psalter. 32mo. Andover, 1864.

Hughes, Joseph. The Prophecy of Joel. The Hebrew Text printed Metrically, with a new English Translation and Critical Notes. 8vo. London, 1882.

Letteris, Myer Levi. The Hebrew Bible, Revised and carefully Examined. With a Key to the Masoretic Notes. 8vo, pp. 1404. New York, 1872.

Modern Polyglot Bible in Eight Languages. Giving the Hebrew Text, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate, and a Series of the best European Translations. To which is added the Peshito-Syriac New Testament, with Tables of the various Readings of the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Greek, and Syriac New Testaments, etc. Crown folio, 2 vols. London, 1882.

ספר תהלים. The Book of Psalms, in Hebrew and English. Arranged in Parallelisms. Andover, 1862.

The Hebrew and English Scriptures of the Old Testament. Consisting of the Original Hebrew Text, and the Authorized English Version. With Appendices and Clavis to the Masoretic Notes. 4to, small. London, 1882.

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[1] See the more general critical and philological works of Valesius (1740), Heumann (1747), Morell (1768), J. Clericus (1778), Beck (1791), in Ast (in the work mentioned under Hermeneutics, at the end). "A barely sufficient guide (to New Test. Criticism) is found partly in the prolegomena to the critical editions (by Bengel, Wetstein, etc.) and is partly contained in that *olla podrida* to which the title of Introduction to the New Test. is commonly applied." Schleiermacher, §. 123, note. Hence comp. the literature under Introduction, *supra*.

The Hebrew Bible of the Polyglot Series. The Text after Van der Hooght. Also the various Readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch. 8vo, pp. 635. London, 1882.

Walton's Polyglot. Biblia Sacra Polyglotta. Edidit Brianus Waltonus. 6 vols., folio. With Castell's Lexicon Heptaglotton, Hebrew, Chald., Syr., Samar., etc. 2 vols., folio. Together, 8 vols., folio. 1657–69.

Wright, C. H. H. The Book of Genesis in Hebrew; with a Critically Revised Text, various Readings, and Grammatical and Critical Notes. 8vo. London, 1859.

2. *Critical Editions of the Septuagint.*

Hexaglot Bible; compising the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in the Original Tongues; together with the Septuagint, the Syriac, (of the New Testament.) the Vulgate, the Authorized English and German, and the most approved French Versions, arranged in parallel columns. Vols. I, II, III, (to be completed in 6 vols.) 4to. London, 1871–3.

Septuagint Text, with Variorum Readings. 5 vols., folio. London, 1880.

The Greek Septuagint. With an English Translation in parallel columns. 4to. London, 1882.

The Septuagint according to the Vatican edition. Together with the real Septuagint Version of Daniel and the Apocrypha, including the Fourth Book of Maccabees, and an Historical Account of the Septuagint and of the Principal Texts in which it is Current. 8vo, pp. 958. London, 1882.

The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament. Tables of the Various Readings of the Alexandrine Text, and the Septuagint according to the Vatican Text. 8vo, pp. 689. London, 1882.

Tischendorf, Constantinus. Vetus Testamentum Graece Juxta LXX. Interpretes. 8vo. Leipsic, 1869.

Vetus Testamentum, Graece. Juxta LXX. Interpretes. Pp. 1088. Oxford, 1859. (Gives the Hebrew and Greek Texts in parallel columns.)

3. *Editions of the Vulgate.*

The Latin Bible. Biblia Sacra Vulgata Editionis Sixti V et Clementis VIII. 8vo, pp. 773. London, 1882.

The Vulgate New Testament, compared with the Douay Version of 1582. Parallel columns. Small 4to. London, 1882.

4. *Critical Editions of the New Testament.*

Alford, Henry. The Greek Testament, with a Critically Revised Text; a Digest of various Readings, etc., and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary. 4 vols., 8vo, pp. clv, 924; lxxxvii, 723; cxxix, 435; cclxxxviii, 750. London, 1868.

—— Greek Testament with English Notes. Abridged by B. H. Alford. 8vo. London, 1869.

Bagster's Large Print Greek Testament, with various Readings from Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, and references to Parallel Passages. 8vo. London.

—— Critical New Testament, Greek and English, containing the Greek Text of Scholz, with Readings, both Marginal and Textual of Griesbach, and variations of Stephens, Beza, and the Elzevir. 16mo, pp. 624. New York, 1868.

Bloomfield, S. T. The Greek Testament with English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 629, 631. Philadelphia, 1868.

Buttz, Henry A. The Epistle to the Romans in Greek, etc. With References to the New Testament Grammars of Winer and Buttman. 8vo, pp. 42. New York, 1876.

Cambridge Greek Testament. Ex Editione Stephani Tertia, 1550. 12mo. Cambridge.

Codex Vaticanus. Novum Testamentum Graece ex Antiquissimo Codice Vaticano edidit Angelus Maius S. R. E. Card. Ad fidem Editionis Romanae Accuratius Impressum. 8vo, pp. 502. London, 1859.

Cowper, B. H. Codex Alexandrinus, H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, etc. Ad Fidem Ipsius Codicis Denuo Accuratius edidit. 8vo. London, 1866.

Dobbin, Orlando T. The Codex Montfortianus. A Collation of this Celebrated MS. throughout the Gospels and Acts, with the Greek Text of Wetstein, and with certain MSS. in the University of Oxford. 8vo, pp. 280. London, 1882.

Fairbairn, P. The Pastoral Epistles; the Greek Text and Translation. 12mo. New York.

Green, T. S. The Twofold New Testament. A newly-formed Greek Text, with new Translation into English. In parallel columns. 4to, pp. 466. London, 1882.

Grinfield, E. V Novum Testamentum Graecum, Editio Hellenistica. Scholia Hellenistica in Novum Testamentum. 4 vols., 8vo. London, 1843–48.

Hahn, A. Greek Testament, edited by E. Robinson. 12mo, pp. 536. New York, 1842.

Hansell, E. H. The New Testament. The most Ancient MSS. of the Original Greek, printed in parallel columns, with a Collation of the Sinaitic Codex. 3 vols., 8vo. London, 1880.

Major, J. R. The Gospel According to St. Mark, in the Original Greek, with a Digest of Notes from various Commentators. 16mo. London, 1871.

New Testament, Griesbach's Text, with the various Readings of Mill and Sholz, Marginal References, and Parallels, and a Critical Introduction. 12mo, pp. 650. London, 1859.

Novum Testamentum Textus Stephanici, A. D. 1550. Accedunt variae Lectiones editionum Bezae, Elzeviri, Lachmannii, Tischendorfii, et Tregellesii. Curante F. H. Scrivener. 18mo. Cambridge, 1872.

Scrivener, F. H. An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis, a Graeco-Latin MS. of St. Paul's Epistles, etc., etc. With a Critical Introduction. 8vo. Cambridge, 1859.

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SECTION XVIII.

HERMENEUTICS.

G. Seyffarth, über Begriff, Anordnung und Umfang der Hermeneutik des N. T. (Lpz. 1824), womit jedoch zu vergleichen die Recens. in Winers und Engelhardts Journal Bb. 4. S. 324 ff. A. Tholuck, über den Mangel an Uebereinstimmung unter den Auslegern des N. T. (theol. Studien und Kritiken Jahrg., 1832, S. 325). Planck's Sacred Philology and Interpretation, translated by Turner; Kitto's Cyclopædia, vol. ii, p. 20. For a very full history and bibliography, see Terry's Hermeneutics, Part III.

Biblical Hermeneutics treats of the principles on which Scripture is to be explained. These principles are, upon the whole, the same that apply to any work of human origin, and Hermeneutics, as a theological science, differs from the science in its general (philosophical and philological) character simply with regard to the object upon which it is employed. In this connexion the peculiarly religious character of the Bible certainly demands recognition.

Definition of Hermeneutics.

Hermeneutics from ἑρμηνεύω (which is to be traced back to the Hermes of the ancients[1]) is, in Schleiermacher's language, an art-doctrine; "for the complete understanding of a discourse or writing is a work of art, and requires a technical apparatus."[2] It stands in an inverted relation to rhetoric, in so far as the latter is dependent on logic; for while the logical part of rhetoric furnishes the laws by which our thoughts are to be connected, arranged, and presented, Hermeneutics teaches how to apprehend the given discourses or writings of another person, and how to follow and interpret them. In proportion as the logically ordered thinking in a discourse or book becomes clear, as it will when the matter to be imparted is developed before the mind of the hearer or reader in a well-arranged style, will the need of explanation and of an art of explanation be small; for which reason, *e. g.*, purely mathematical lectures need no hermeneutics if definitions are first understood. But when the logic is hidden in the discussion, and when the words do not represent mere formulas and figures (the expression of magnitudes), but are, according to the nature of the subject under consideration, the not fully adequate signs of a profoundly apprehended original, when they are the bearers, borrowed from the world of sense, of ideas which are invisible, there arises the need of an interpreter who shall know how to trace back to the original idea the letter which was first correctly apprehended through the mechanical processes of grammar, and who shall thus restore the written or spoken word, so

Distinguished from rhetoric.

[1] See Creuzer, Symbolik, i, pp. 9–15: 365 *sqq.*; ii, p. 617.
[2] Schleiermacher, § 132.

that it becomes for the reader or hearer what it was to the writer or speaker from whom in the freshness of its originality it emanated.

For this reason the ancients already joined divination to hermeneutics; and this likewise indicates why an exposition according to rules of art is more necessary with poets, epigrammatists, and poetizing philosophers, than with simple prose-writers.[1] Works, moreover, that belong to a distant age, and are written in a language which has itself passed through many historical vicissitudes, are more likely to engage the attention of hermeneutics than writings and discourses belonging to our own times, whose meaning is more apparent to us by reason of their nearness. And, lastly, the allusions contained in a discourse or writing will need a key to their interpretation, in proportion as they bear upon individual matters, which is especially the case in epistolary compositions. If we apply these considerations to the Bible, it will appear that it needs the art of hermeneutics in each of these regards. Few books, in the first place, in the form of expression, fall so much behind their wealth of contents, and few, accordingly, belong so fully to the class of pregnant writings, as do these modest envelopments of supreme ideas. Luther strikingly likens them to the swaddling-clothes in which the Christ-child lay, and the great Reformer was led to use the expression that the words in Scripture are not merely "written words, but living words," whence it becomes a frequent necessity to read between the lines. But the Bible at the same time shares with all works of antiquity, including the less pregnant also, the fortune of having been written in times, and among a people, into whose circumstances we must enter and live, and in languages with whose spirit and expression we must become familiar, if we desire to accurately understand what is written.[2]

Causes which make hermeneutics necessary.

The reasons why the Bible needs care in its interpretation.

[1] "There is no lack of examples in our own experience of an author's mind being, *e. g.*, exalted to such an intuitive penetration of its object as to be enabled to speak of it with an unusual pregnancy of word and meaning which his own reflection is unable to resolve into details; it even happens that when he descends from his intuitive center-point to his ordinary level of thought, his own work will appear like a strange object, respecting the development of whose meaning he finds as much difficulty as do others."—J. T. Beck, Enil. in das Syst. d. Chr. Lehre, p. 253. An example is found in Hamann.

[2] "He who would interpret, needs, by drawing as near as may be possible, to descend to the condition of the first readers and hearers."—Lutz (Hermeneutic). "Pour ne pas errer sur le sens que nous appelons extérieur, il faut avoir une idée précise de la langue des auteurs, je veux dire de la valeur des signes et des formes de cette langue, comparés aux formes et aux signes correspondants de notre propre langue.

How thoroughly individual, too, is the Bible, never dealing in abstract generalities, always singling out the concrete instance, the special condition and its needs, the disposition and mode of culture of persons and communities![1] How natural, then, that we should seek to obtain a key! This can be no magic key, however, which some angel must bring down from the third or the seventh heaven, or whose possession is restricted to a sacred caste; but, generally speaking, the same art has its application here, which must be employed, according to the natural laws of a historico-logical method of estimating the past, upon every work that requires explanation. This art belongs to the higher department of the science of language, of philology, and hence of applied philosophy.

The key to the Bible to be found in hermeneutics.

Biblical hermeneutics a branch of general hermeneutics.

It is a theological science merely in its special application to this object,[2] for every rule established by theological hermeneutics for the exposition of the Scriptures must be based upon the general principles of hermeneutics or deducible from them, and all that can be done in the interest of the Bible is that such principles be properly applied. Arbitrary departure from them, or making so-called "exceptions to such rules," is never beneficial. When the latter course is followed the proper inference is that the general law itself has not been apprehended, or that confusion or a misconception is involved. Should a one-sided, scanty legislation confine the interpretation of the Scriptures to the purely external meaning of the letter so exclusively as, while considering the notation of the letter (the grammar), to forget the notation of the spirit, should it designedly seek to blot out the individuality and originality of an author, in order to put in the place of the forms which reveal a rich fulness of ideas, the vaguely outlined shadows of abstract commonplaces, it will of course be exposed to the danger of seeing those who are not content with such meagre fare forsake its school and submit themselves to the impression of an undefined feeling. This is a result the more likely to come to pass because of the failure

En d'autres termes, il faut savoir à quel taux il faut prendre le mots principaux, qui reviennent le plus souvent et entrent dans le passages les plus importants."—Vinet (Homilétique), p. 124.

[1] Comp. Schleiermacher, § 135: "The explanation of the New Testament Scriptures is especially difficult, both on account of the nature of their contents, and by reason of external conditions."

[2] Schleiermacher, § 137, *sq.* It is evident that within this specifically biblical hermeneutics, another and yet more special (Old and New Test., Pauline, Johannean, etc.) may be conceived of and wrought out. Comp. ib., § 136.

of such teachers to instil the scientific principles sought at their hands.

If hermeneutics has regard to the deeper psychological features of the writers to be explained, whether they occupy the field of poetry, philosophy, or religion, and if it establishes as the leading principle that he only is competent to correctly appreciate an author whose mind possesses elements related and analogous to that author's, or, at least, who has learned how to think himself into the mental state of his author,[1] it certainly has also the right to require an unconditional submission to its rules on the part of the expositor of the Bible. All the wanderings of the so-called allegorical interpretation find their excuse in narrow hermeneutics, whether of the orthodox or the rationalist letter, and may be corrected and finally laid aside by the application of the true science of spiritual exposition.[2]

Gradual growth of hermeneutics.

The science of hermeneutics could not be formed before frequent experiments in interpretation had been made, and such practice had resulted in the more or less conscious application of the laws of interpretation which were developed in the way of practical exposition. Even then it remained "an aggregate of separate, often valuable and praiseworthy, observations,"[3] rather than a systematic art, "whose precepts would constitute a system resting upon clear principles deduced from the nature of thought and of language." This experience belongs alike to general and biblical hermeneutics.

[1] "Who will the poet understand must journey into poet-land." Luther already observed that the Eclogues of Virgil are thoroughly plain to him alone who has lived with shepherds, and that he alone can properly understand Cicero's epistles "who has served twenty years in a first-class regiment." Lutz observes similarly (in *Hermeneutik*), "The contents (of the Scripture) are understood only by him who apprehends and values them in the spirit of one who is saved by Christ and out of interest for the Christian Church." Comp. also Schenkel, *Dogmatik*, i, p. 327, and Krauss, *Bedeutung des Glaubens für die Schriftauslegung.*

[2] Diestel (*infra*), p. 778, justly observes, in opposition to one-sided tendencies in exegesis, that only an all-sided illumination can do justice to the object to be explained. He designates (1) the rational, (2) the historico-philosophical, and (3) the religious principles, as elements which must interpenetrate each other in any truly theological method of investigation. At the same time we are to remember that "an absolute knowledge of the religion of the people of God will continue to be a far-off goal that twinkles in the distance, so long as human development shall continue; and in the same measure, even as Christianity likewise can never be exhausted, and the knowledge of it, in its depth and fulness can only represent a constant approximation toward the highest ideal."

[3] Schleiermacher, Outline of Theology, § 133. See also the succeeding paragraphs to § 140 inclusive.

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[1] Older works in Danz, p. 226; to which add, Rudorff, Diss. de arte interpretandi scriptores veteres profanos. Lips., 1747.

[2] Much that applies here may also be found in the above-mentioned works (under Grammar, Introduction, Criticism, etc.) by Glassius (Philologia sacra), Richard Simon, etc. Here, too, Semler opened the way in part: Apparatus ad liberal. V. T. interpret. Hal., 1773. Ad N. T. 1767. Neuer Versuch, die gemeinnützige Auslegung und Anwendung des N. T. zu befôrdern, 1786. Individual forerunners: Rambach, Pfeiffer, Wolke, Carpzov, etc., see Danz. *ubi supra.*

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* Schleiermacher und † Löhnis. See above under Criticism.

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SECTION XIX.

EXEGESIS.

Definition of exegesis.

Exegesis, as an art product, accomplishes that for which hermeneutics, the theory, lays down the rules, and toward which the other auxiliary sciences direct their efforts, namely, the exposition of holy Scriptures, based on comprehension of the languages and antiquities involved.

Distinguished from hermeneutics.

Reference must be made for the sake of clearness to the terms in common use, though in this as in many other instances the usage is arbitrary. The words ἑρμηνεία and ἐξήγησις have at bottom the same meaning; but exegesis has come to denote the action of the expositor himself, and hermeneutics the theory of the art of exposition.

Includes both interpretation and explication.

In the broad sense of the term, exegesis includes both the interpretation and the explication of Scripture. The former of these confines its endeavors solely to the apprehending of facts narrated by an author, or of doctrines presented by him, in a purely objective light; while the latter brings them into relation with other facts or doctrines, or possibly with the judgment of the expositor himself with respect to the facts as stated, or the doctrines as presented. Mere interpretation will, accordingly, be less susceptible to influence from the individual views of the expositor than explication, which is more open to the infusion of elements derived from his subjectivity. The former corresponds to translation, and is its authentication; the latter finds its expression in paraphrases.

We follow the accepted usage, though it might well be reversed, since the expositor in fact does nothing more than simply explain the meaning and throw light upon what is dark, while the interpreter still further subdivides and spreads out the matter that has been explained.[1] Thus it is said of a preacher that he knows how to interpret a text when he not only clears up what is dark to the mind, but when he at the same time develops in every direction what has been made plain, for the purpose of a fuller understanding of it. In the terminology of the science, however, the words have come to bear the above signification. The work of the *inter-*

[1] Comp. Eberhard, *Synon. Handwörterbuch*, s. v. erklären, auslegen, deuten, p. 101; Ast, p. 184: "To explain is to develop and lay down the meaning; for explanation presumes understanding and rests upon it, since only what has been rightly conceived and comprehended, what is understood, can be imparted and explained as such to others."

pres is ended when the author's meaning has been simply stated,[1] *e. g.*, when it has been shown that he records a miracle, or that he teaches a certain doctrine. The commentator, however, goes further, seeking to understand how the author came to narrate and teach as he does. He compares him with himself, with his contemporaries, with the spirit of the time in which he lived (historical, as contrasted with merely grammatical exposition), and he finally brings practically what he has ascertained into connexion with the sum total of the facts possessed. This will indicate the extent to which it is possible to speak of pure objectivity in connection with exegesis. Interpretation must certainly remain independent of every existing dogmatical system,[2] and it has become increasingly so in recent times. Rationalism especially has ceased to dispose of miracles, by perverting them, in the way of an exegesis framed to favor its system.

The functions of the interpreter and of the commentator distinguished.

Interpretation should be independent of dogmatical systems.

It would even appear that the negative tendency of the present day finds, in connection with its so-called avoidance of predisposition, a special pleasure in placing a greater burden in this respect on the biblical writers than is admitted to belong to them by an unprejudiced exegesis, in order, however, it must be admitted, to afterward throw overboard the whole, as being without substance and meaning. But this very absence of predisposition is governed by a prejudice, that of "modern culture," and this has its influence upon exposition, even though the interpretation may not be affected thereby. Instead of quietly, and with unbiassed spirit, entering upon the subject in hand, the exposition assumes a hostile attitude toward the writer at the beginning, and treats him with injustice. The school which occupies the purely grammatical and historical point of observation, and abstains from judging at all, avoids such impassioned courses, and its position is certainly more worthy of respect

The so-called avoidance of "predisposition" a prejudice.

[1] On the distinction between sense, signification, and understanding, see Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik*, p. 41.

[2] "To ascertain the contents of Scripture in obedience to the accepted views of the Church remains, despite all exceptions and provisos, a dishonest procedure from the outset, by which we *have* before we *seek*, and find what we already have."—Meyer, preface to *Krit.-exeget. Handb.*, 2 ed., p. 12, *sq.* "Seek to discover the real meaning of your author by the use of all proper means at your command; lend him nothing that is yours, but take nothing from what is his. Never insist upon what he should say, but never be alarmed at what he does say."—Rückert (see Rheinwald, *Repert*, 1839, 5. p. 97). Comp. Kling in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1839. Bengel cries to the expositor of the Scriptures, in similar language, "Non timide, non temere," and adds the counsel, "Te totum applica ad textum et totum textum applica ad te."

in both a moral and a scientific light. But is it satisfactory? Does not the ultimate and really scientific profit consist in transforming what learned industry has discovered into a possession of the mind? Why concern myself about an author who is nothing to me, and who confers nothing upon me, and with whom I am not inwardly conscious of being in any wise connected? As only a poetic intellect is capable of interpreting a poet, so is a religious disposition the only one that can apprehend and understand a religious writer, or, more particularly, only a Christian intellect can correctly render a Christian author. And as the letters of an absent member of the family are understood in their profoundest meaning at home, while the stranger finds in them a mere surface matter too tedious for consideration, so is it with these writings of the gift conferred by love divine.[1] The exegete will accordingly reveal the bottom of his heart in the manner in which he explains his author, and his subjectivity will be a disturbing element so long only as it remains out of harmony with the key tone of the spirit of the Bible.[2] This does not imply that the exegete must, from the first, make an unconditional surrender of his own thoughts. He should retain sufficient mental independence and freedom from prejudice to properly estimate the personal peculiarities of his author, and whatever may belong to his individual culture, his relations to his age, etc. He may, in one respect, occupy a position above his author, while in another he must be subordinate to him. Here, too, a living inter-

A religious disposition essential to the right interpretation of the Bible.

The spirit of the true exegete.

[1] "Verily I say unto you that Lord Byron would, with a scanty knowledge of the Hebrew language, have given a rendering of the chief penitential psalm of David (the fifty-first) superior to that of many of the most celebrated grammarians." Umbreit (Review of Tholuck's *Comment zu d. Psalmen*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1845, 1, p. 177).

[2] "He who lacks a profound apprehension and a living conception must, with every degree of technical skill for interpreting Nature or the holy Scriptures of the New as well as the Old Testament that he may possess, remain a bungler who gnaws away at the shell and never penetrates to the intellectual heart in which the idea sparkles in its everlasting truth." Umbreit in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1832, No. 3, p. 656. Usteri (*Comm. über d. Brief. an d. Galater*, p. vi) expresses a similar opinion: "It appears to me that the grammatico-historical principle is merely the *conditio sine qua non*, or the negative rule of interpretation; the positive task of the exegete seems to me to require, so to speak, that he should sink himself wholly into the spirit of the author, in order that the picture drawn in the Scripture, with its accessories of time and place, may afterward be held up before the reader's eye in the light of his researches in language and matters of fact." Comp. Billroth, *Comm. zu d. Briefen a. d. Corinther*, p. v.; Lücke in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1834, 4, pp. 769–71; Schleiermacher, *Herm.*, p. 50; Bunsen, *Gott in d. Geschichte*, p. 122, *sqq.*; Krauss, *supra*.

action, a sympathetic yielding to the spirit of the work, and an incorporation of the results of the inquiry with what before existed, are needed to further the exposition.[1] It is apparent, as a general truth, that exegesis is not finished at one effort. He who reads an author for the tenth time, and the hundredth time, will explain him otherwise than he who reads but once.[2] Such multifarious intellectual activity in the work of exegesis, such harmonizing of the grammatico-historical with the higher, ideal, and sympathetically religious interpretation, has been termed panharmonic interpretation, (Germarus), and subsequently the name *pneumatic* has come into favor (Beck). The word is of no importance; but our age largely feels and acknowledges that while the human standpoint must be retained in the explaining of the human element in the Scriptures (which will ever be the necessary barrier against all the perversions of superstition), the Holy Spirit himself must in the final instance be the real interpreter of his words, the *angelus interpres* who opens for us the meaning of the Bible.[3]

Complete exegesis dependent on spiritual growth.

SECTION XX.

THE APPLICATION OF EXEGESIS.

The application of the Scriptures finally should carefully be distinguished from both the interpretation and the exposition; for while it is based upon the former, it yet belongs, according to its nature, to a different department—the practical.

Scripture, when interpreted, to be practically applied.

The holy Scriptures were at first explained for devotional purposes—the Old Testament by the writers of the New, and both the New and the Old by the Church fathers, although some among the latter already began to distinguish between practical and scientific exposition. It is still the office of exegetical study to produce fruit for the benefit of the Church, of the exegesis of the schools to serve the exegesis of the pulpit, a principle often overlooked from a spirit of scientific superciliousness. But is scientific exegesis to govern itself from the

Practical exegesis the result of the scientific.

[1] So Lücke also speaks of a mental disposition on the part of the exegete to *immerse* himself in, and to *emerge* from, the spirit of the work he seeks to explain Comp. Herm. Schultz, *Uber doppelt.*, *Schriftsinn*, (*Stud. u. Krit.*, 1866, 1, p. 37).

[2] Thus Luther boasts that he had read the Bible through twice a year for several years, and that he had each time beaten off a few more fruits from its branches and twigs.

[3] According to Luther (comp. Lücke's Supplement to Neander in his N. T. *Hermeneutik*), or, according to Flaccius, "In order that God himself should remain the supreme Lord and Judge in all controversies and debated questions." In Pelt, p. 175.

outset by the demands of the pulpit, so as to accept from the start the idea that the interpretation which will best promote the work of edification is the true one? Or is a special kind of interpretation (with Kant[1]), the churchly-practical (or, in his language, the moral), to be established beside the scientific in such a way that both shall remain independent of each other? Neither of these. Practical exegesis must result from scientific, and a conscientious preacher will present no interpretation to the people which cannot be scientifically justified. Such an interpretation could lay no claim to the title "moral," but would be thoroughly immoral, like every thing that is not of the truth. The preacher should, however, bring the truth of Scripture to bear in every direction upon the religious needs of the age and congregation. He should eliminate, from the immediate surroundings in which it is found by the exegete, the passage of Scripture upon which his remarks are based, and without doing violence to its original meaning, should endeavor, now to generalize its teaching, and again to apply it to the most individual and special matters, so as to transform what is outwardly and historically given into a picture of inward states, and into an exponent of the present situation; for what was said to the Churches at Rome, Corinth, Philippi, etc., is still said by the Spirit to the Churches of to-day.

Process by which exegesis is made practical.

It would, however, be a serious confounding of different departments for scientific exegesis to apprehend the statements immediately in their subjective application to human conditions,[2] as

[1] *Religion innerhalb d. Grenzen d. blossen Vernunft*, Konigsb., 2 ed., 1794, p. 158, *sqq.*; *per contra*, Rosenmüller's *Bemerkungen*, Erl., 1794.

[2] This applies especially to the Old Test., where it is the task of exegesis to apprehend the writer from out of his own age, and to comprehend even the so-called Messianic sections in their immediate historical surroundings. While it furnishes the threads which lead over into the New Test., it must yet refer their connection to other branches, and never should "Old Test. exegesis in its known scientific and artistic limitations be confounded with the retrogressive Christian inquiries which have their starting-point in the New Testament," (Umbreit, *supra*, against v. Meyer and his school). A different view in Kurtz, *Gesch. des Alten Bundes*, p. 8: "The nature of prophecy is entirely misunderstood when its principal importance is found in the service it renders to Christianity—in which, of course, all prophecy comes to its fulfilment—by attesting its divine origin. Christianity would be in an unfortunate predicament, were it still unable to dispense with the attestation derived from the actual fulfilment of predictions, and it would be even worse for prophecy were it to remain without meaning and significance until hundreds or thousands of years should have passed away. Prophecy is designed—every other signification is secondary and subordinate to this—to open up the understanding of the *present*, its position and its duty, not only the immediate present in which it was first given, but also *every subsequent present* (?) to the extent to which the latter has substantially the same basis, the same needs, and the same task."

the preacher is authorized to apprehend them, or for the preacher to timidly content himself with the most immediate and apparent meaning of the letter.[1] The scientific expositor may likewise explain the writer to the edifying of his hearers; but this is assuredly not done by entering upon edifying observations, or by constructing a patchwork of passages taken from ancient and modern ascetics. He must rather proceed by a quiet stating and unfolding of the sense of Scripture which confines itself within self-imposed limitations, and in this he resembles and excels the mathematician, who is able, by the cogency of his proofs, even to excite the feelings of persons who attentively follow his demonstration. Hints relating to the further practical development may be given in connection with scientific exegesis,[2] but the practical work, in the proper sense, and for homiletical purposes, belongs to practical theology. It follows, accordingly, that interpretation, exposition, and application, reach over into a further theological field, the interpretation into history, exposition into dogmatics, and application into practical theology.

SECTION XXI.

THE METHOD OF APPLYING EXEGESIS.

In the carrying forward of exegesis it may be handled either cursorily or statedly Both modes of instruction are to be united. The use of learned commentaries will be of real value to him only who has tried his own powers in the way of exposition; for too many aids rather confuse than guide aright, and the beginner needs to be on his guard against relying upon the authority of others as greatly as against a mistaken striving after originality. A moral and religious earnestness when approaching the holy Scriptures, and a mind decidedly devoted to the cause of the Bible and Christianity, will be the most efficient aids to preserve him from error and to secure that self-renunciation without which no work of real greatness can be accomplished.

Commentaries not to be too much relied on.

[1] Rosenkranz, *Encykl.*, 1 ed., p. 125: "The distinction between popular and scientific exposition lies in the reference to the original limitation of the sense. The former must be governed by the principle of treating the sense of Scripture in as fruitful and manifold a way as is admissible: it may freely make every addition to the text that it will bear, avoiding only what is strained and directly perverted. The latter, on the other hand, is to ascertain the sense of Scripture which it was originally designed to bear." Comp. Vinet, *Homiletics*, pp. 146, *ff.*, who distinguishes between amplification and paraphrase, so that the former would be suitable for practical use, but not the latter. Comp., too, Hagenbach, Pref. to *Festpredigten*, Basle, 1830, ix–xi.

[2] De Wette, *Prakt. Erklärung der Psalmen.*

Before entering upon theology the student should have read his Bible through many times, and especially the New Testament, while the more important parts should have been perused in the original. Private reading should be also regularly continued while the course of theological study is pursued; for we are to live in the Scripture, as it were to arise and lie down in it. Thus only can we receive living impressions from it; while if it be regarded solely as the object of purely scientific inquiry it will remain external to our minds, and not be inwardly assimilated with our being. Let, furthermore, the thought be banished, that it is necessary from the beginning to intrench one's self behind a wall of commentaries. This has the appearance of greater thoroughness than is warranted by the truth, and it often becomes impossible to see the forest because of the mass of trees. It is better to practice the *writing of translations* of the section to be explained, and it may be well even for instructors to precede or follow their expositions with an English or Latin translation. The latter will be more suitable in proportion as the version partakes of the nature of a paraphrase, the former (*i. e.*, the writing by the student,) as it is confined to a mere verbal rendering, which itself needs further explanation. It will be also useful to look up and compare the parallels adduced in connection with the lecture, and carefully to compare the quotations in the New Testament from the Old with the original and the LXX. before entering upon the use of commentaries. It is a grave error to suppose that the task of exegesis is confined to the selection of one from among the different versions which already exist, rather than to engaging in personal investigation and examining with an independent eye.[1]

The student's self-training in exegesis.

When, however, additional helps are employed it will still be advantageous to consult those chiefly which, after the manner of the scholiasts, afford grammatical and historical aid (Schoettgen, Lightfoot, Grotius, Wolf, Bengel), and only subordinately those which develop the writer's train of thought in his peculiar fashion.[2] The latter should form the

Additional helps to self-training.

[1] In harmony with this, Melanchthon, *Postille* II, 626, already counsels, "Amate doctrinam et scripta Pauli et saepe legite; id magis proderit, quam si legatis magnos acervos commentariorum. Qui ordinem observat in Epistolis Pauli et saepe relegit, plus discit, quam qui multos evolvit commentarios." Gaussenius, diss. 1, p. 26: "Atque illud est, quod soleo studiosis usque ad fastidium inculcare, ut ad commentarios non adeant, quin prius illis aqua haereat neque ultra possint in loci examine proprio remigio pergere."

[2] "Caeterum, cum commentarios dico, eos intelligo, qui scripturam brevibus ad sensum literalem accommodatis observationibus illustrant; non qui occasione scrip-

crown of the industrious research. On the other hand, the false ambition to construct new and independent expositions will be less prevalent where the number already extant is not known (if known it could now excite nothing more than a desire to add another one to the many already in existence), and the confirmation given by an approved exegete, who is afterward consulted, to the results obtained by our own independent effort, will only serve to increase our satisfaction. This does not mean, however, that in every instance the support of some learned authority is necessary to warrant confidence in the explanation arrived at by independent effort; for we must, as Protestants, admit that hew expositions, that is to say, such as are more thoroughly sustained by the language and historical data, are always possible, in proportion as philology and historical studies advance among us, although distrust of our own powers of observation, which cannot be too highly recommended, should lead us in such matters to apply the strictest and most searching tests. In this regard, too, a straightforward, simple disposition is often able to discover the best method.[1] Woe to him who converts the Bible into a medium for exhibiting his vanity! To him truth in its pureness will certainly not be disclosed, even though he should succeed in extracting some particulars which cover him with an ephemeral distinction. But blessed is the exegete by whose side, as by that of the picture of St. Matthew, the evangelist, the angel stands with a face of infantile innocence and unprejudiced acceptance of the truth!

Sketch of the History of Interpretation.

Comp. Diestel, *supra.*

The exposition of the Bible, as has already (sec. xx) been remarked, was at first intended to meet a practical want. It was of primary importance to master the contents of the sacred books. To settle their original form, and distinguish

First exposition of the Bible wholly practical.

turae suas, quas locos communes vulgo vocant (ihre Dogmatik) in medium protrudunt, quibusque adeo libri sacri non tam sunt commentariorum argumentum, quam praejudiciorum loci quidam atque indices."—Gaussenius 1, 1, p. 27.

[1] "Certe, quemadmodum vina, quae sub primam calcationem molliter defluunt, sunt suaviora, quam quae a torculari exprimuntur, quoniam haec ex acino et cute uvae aliquid sapiant, similiter salubres admodum et suaves sunt doctrinae, quae ex Scripturis leniter expressis emanant, nec ad controversias trahuntur."—Baco Verul. de augmentis scientiar. IX, p. 488. Sam. Werenfels, in the Dissertation mentioned below, likewise warns against those who rather seek their argutiolas, allegoriolas, allusiunculas, etc., in the Scriptures than the direct and simple meaning. The simple lay-mind occasionally finds the true goal more readily than the vision of the learned exegete befogged with the vapors of the school.

the consciousness of the time of their origin from that of a later period was reserved to become the task of a subsequent reflective age. (Comp. Rothe, *Zur Dogmatik*, p. 186, *sqq.*) But after the Jews, particularly those of Alexandria, became acquainted with the wisdom of the Greeks, they were, above all, concerned to show that the divine, with which they believed themselves here also to be in contact, was grounded in the Scriptures, and to discover the germs of a profound gnosis beneath its humble guise; on the other hand, their Palestinian brethren held fast to the historical interpretation. The former tendency led to the allegorical method,[1] which must be regarded as a stage in the natural development of the history of Bible exposition, rather than as the arbitrary invention of certain persons.

Rise of the allegorical method of interpretation.

When Christianity had been introduced into the world, and the prophecies and expectations of former times had thus been realized, it was natural that an age, yet wholly under the influence of the mighty impression which the appearance of Christ had left behind, should find the Messiah everywhere in the Old Testament, and should discover traces of his being in the most incidental matters. "The brighter and more glorious the light which Jesus shed over the Old Testament at large and as a whole, for the Israelites who had learned to believe in him, the more confident were they that every particular in the sacred book, however dark, would receive light from the same source." (Rothe, p. 196.) Every red cord became a type of the blood that was shed, and every thing that even remotely resembled a cross was held to prefigure the cross on Calvary. (Comp. Barnabas, Justin Martyr, *et al.*) This was the case even before Origen († A. D. 254). He was not the discoverer of the allegorical interpretation, but the first among Christians[2] to raise it into a canon, and to assign to it a place approved by science, beside the grammatico-historical method. The contrast between the allegorical and the grammatico-historical methods now became apparent, and Origen sought to harmonize this contrast. He taught a threefold sense in

Origen the chief of the allegorical interpreters.

[1] The word ἀλληγορεῖν, from ἄλλο and ἀγορεύειν, is found in Gal. iv, 24 (part): "The most hurtful diversion in this direction is the cabalistic interpretation, which, in the effort to find every thing in every thing, turns to particular elements and their signs." Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik*, p. 23. It likewise originated among the Jews after the captivity (the book Sohar), and passed over from them to the Christian world. Comp. Z. Frankel, *Einfluss d. Palaest. Exegese auf d. Alexandr. Hermeneutik*, Leips. 1851, and Hirschfeld, *Die Halachische Exegese*, Berl. 1840; *Die Hogedische Exegese*, Berl., 1847.

[2] Among the Jews, Philo had previously made a conscious distinction between the esoteric and the exoteric sense.

Scripture (answering to the body, soul, and spirit in man)—the literal, the moral, and the spiritual. Whatever cannot be justified by the letter, as derogatory to the honor of God and the Bible, is to be explained allegorically. The anagogical and the tropological are related to the allegorical (with reference to which further particulars are given in connection with the history of hermeneutics). This Origenistic-Alexandrian hermeneutics was opposed in the fifth century, however, by the more sober school of Antioch, whose representatives, as opposed to the fanatical Cyril, were Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, John Chrysostom, Ephraem Syrus, and Theodoret.

Origen's threefold sense of Scripture.

The school of Antioch.

From this time the historico-theological method, which had been employed at an earlier date, however, was cultivated side by side with the allegorical. Among Latin teachers Jerome and Ambrose were distinguished in exegesis; while Augustine owed his fame less to exegetical learning and precision than to the originality and depth of intellect with which he dominated his age. He, too, was partial to allegorizing, and held to a fourfold sense in Scripture. Gregory the Great († 604), the Bishop of Rome, was allied to Augustine. Independent research now gradually began to give way before the *authority of the Church*, and in proportion as people became accustomed to believe the Gospel through the Church, the traditional and churchly method of interpretation became general, and must be considered another stage in the development. Nearly all the expositors during the Middle Ages held to this method. Collections of what good things and less good things had been said by the Church teachers about the Scriptures (*σεῖραι*, *catenae patrum*)[1] constituted the generally accepted authorities; and, besides these, the mystics especially practised a fanciful allegorizing.

The exegesis of the Latin Fathers.

Middle Age exegesis.

The neglect of the study of the Bible and ignorance of the original languages deprived scholastic theology of an assured Scriptural basis. Importance attaches, however, to the Jewish Old Testament expositors in the Middle Ages, especially after the eleventh century, *e. g.*, the rabbins Jarchi, Aben Ezra, David and Moses Kimchi, Maimonides (R. Mose Ben Maimon, abbreviated Rambam), and others. Christian exegesis likewise began to appear after the study of Hebrew had been renewed among Christians through the influence of Nicholas Lyra († 1340), Laurentius Valla († 1457), and Reuchlin († 1522), and after the spread of Greek literature conse-

[1] On these exegetical collections see Herzog, *Encykl.*, iv, p. 282, *sqq.*

quent upon the capture of Constantinople (1453). The stability of a traditional and Church interpretation, and the arbitrariness of a fanciful allegorical method, were again threatened by a sober, tasteful, and philologically grounded exegesis as developed by Erasmus, which was adopted by the more intelligent minds of the century; but a still broader range was given to exegesis by the Reformation. Luther directed attention to the deeper elements of the Scriptures, and prepared the way for the spiritualizing (pneumatic) mode of interpretation. His position as a translator of the Bible for the people is unique (Comp. note 9, *infra.—Drs. M. Lutheri exegetica opera latina,* curaverunt J. M. Irmischer et Hy. Schmidt, vol. xxii, Francof., 1860); but it should be remembered that he was aided by the more exact linguistic learning of Melanchthon and others. Zwingle, whose classical training was of great value to him, proceeded with a more measured pace; but Calvin (see Tholuck, *Verm. Schriften,* part 2) was distinguished above all others for exegetical keenness and precision. His pupil, Theodore Beza, proved a not unworthy associate in this work.

Effect of the Reformation on exegesis.

The study of the Holy Scriptures was prosecuted, upon the whole, more generally in the Reformed Church than in the Lutheran, the latter giving larger attention to systematic theology; and Lutheran exegesis, moreover, again became dependent on the confessional teaching of the Church, thereby contradicting the principles of Protestantism; "for it is a fundamental proposition in the writings of the reformers that the interpretation of the Scriptures is independent of the dictum of the Church and of all human authority whatsoever." (Clausen, *Hermeneutik,* p. 230.) The orthodoxy of the Reformed Churches likewise was exposed to the danger of establishing a settled exegesis; but the Remonstrants (Arminians) who had come out of the Reformed Church, and among them especially Grotius, advocated the grammatico-historical principle, though often with a regard for facts that was but one sided. In opposition to that principle Cocceius defended the doctrine that a pregnant meaning lies everywhere in the Scriptures, which was applied with special fulness in the search for Messianic features in the Old Testament. Sam. Werenfels, on the other hand, developed very sound hermeneutical principles in his work *De scopo interpretis,* printed in the *Opuscula.*

Reformed and Lutheran exegesis.

The Remonstrants — Grotius.

Ernesti († 1781) is regarded in the German Lutheran Church as the restorer of a grammatical and historical method of interpretation, independent of dogmatics. The adher-

Ernesti, the restorer of sound exegesis.

ents of this method continually increased in numbers; it recommended itself to the spirit of the times, which yearned for emancipation from the yoke of orthodoxy That spirit itself, however, succeeded only too speedily in enlisting the services of exegesis in its own behalf, and proceeded to vaunt its expositions as timely in proportion to their shallowness. Neology —whether because it retained a remnant of respect for the authority of Holy Scripture, or because of fraudulent intentions—had long accustomed itself to find its system taught in the Bible. Miracles and mysteries, a number of which had been unnecessarily explained *into* the Bible by a former age, were now explained *out* of it and interpreted away by every conceivable art, often in opposition to the most explicit language. The rationalists were not alone liable to this charge, however, for the supernaturalists, acting in the interests of apologetics, understood how to fit much of the Bible to their views, and in point of fact taught the rationalists this lesson (false and impracticable attempts at constructing harmonies).

Rise of neological exegesis.

Kant endeavoured to restrain such indecorous behaviour by severing scientific (theological) from practical (ethical) interpretation. The Church, however, could not long support this unnatural separation, which, as has already been observed, even depends upon an immoral principle. The age strove to effect a reconciliation between science and life. The rationalistic school was purged by the influence of thorough exegetical studies, and the loose methods of procedure in vogue were ended by a thorough philological discipline, such as De Wette and Gesenius introduced in the Old Testament field, and Winer in the New. The conflict of parties was relegated to the domain of dogmatics and the philosophy of religion, and the territory occupied by exegesis became neutral ground. The neutrality could not, however, be observed with entire strictness, for reasons developed above. The orthodox party again directed attention to the underlying sense of Scripture, which was not, however, to be ascertained by the setting aside of grammatical and historical facts, but by ascending to a loftier and more far reaching point of view. A glance over the exegetical literature of the most recent decades will, in fact, reveal a gratifying progress in this regard, even though there has been no lack of errors and deplorable lapses into the devious courses of former times.[1]

Kant's separation of dogmatic from ethical exegesis.

Rise of the school of De Wette and Gesenius.

[1] See articles on Interpretation in Kitto's Cyclopædia, and the Biblical and Theological Cyclopædia of M'Clintock and Strong; also title "Interpretation," in Index of the Bibliotheca Sacra, p. 116.

COMMENTARIES.

ON THE ENTIRE BIBLE.

* Ch. K. Josias Bunsen, Vollständiges Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde (Part 1. The Bible, translation and exposition; Part 2. Bible records; Part 3. History of the Bible). 9 vols. Lpz., 1858–70. (Comp. Bähring, Bunsen's Bibelwerk nach seiner Bedeutung für die Gegenwart beleuchtet, Lpz., 1861). 2d ed. Lpz., 1870.

α. ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

* Kurzgefasztes exeget. Handb. zum A. T. Lpz., 1841 ff. (No. 1. the Minor Prophets, by Hitzig. 2d ed., 1852. 3d ed., 1863. 2. Job, by Hirzel. 2d ed., by Olshausen, 1852. 3d ed., by Dillmann, 1869. 3. Jeremiah, by Hitzig, 1841. 2d ed., 1866. 4. Samuel, by Thenius, 1842. 2d ed., 1864. 5. The Prophet Isaiah, by Knobel, 3d ed., 1861. 4th ed., by L. Diestel, 1872. 6. Judges and Ruth, by Bertheau, 1845. 7. Proverbs, by Bertheau, and Ecclesiastes, by Hitzig, 1847. 8. Ezekiel, by Hitzig, 1847. 9. Kings, by Thenius, 1849. 2d ed., 1873. 10. Daniel, by Hitzig, 1850. 11. Genesis, by Knobel, 2d ed., 1860. 3d ed., by Dillmann, 1875. 12. Exodus and Leviticus, by Knobel, 1857. 13. Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, by Knobel, 1861. 14. Psalms, by Olshausen, 1853. 15. Chronicles, by Bertheau, 1854, 2 Aufl., 1873. 16. Solomon's Song, by Hitzig, and Lamentations, by Thenius, 1855. 17. Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, by Bertheau, 1862.)

C. F. Keil and Fz. Delitzsch, Biblischer Commentar über das A. T. I, II, 3; III, 1, 4; IV, 1, 2. Lpz., 1863–1873.

β. ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

J. Ch. Wolf, Curae philologicae et criticae. Hamb., 1741. 5 voll. 4. (Hamb. 1725–41.) Basel, 1741. 5 vols.

* J. A. Bengel, Gnomon N. T. Tub., 1742–49, 1773. 4. 3d ed., by Steudel. Tüb., 1855. Stuttg., 1860. 2 Bde.

J. G. Rosenmueller, Scholia in N. T. Norimb., Ed. 1–4, 1777–94; ed. 5, 1801–7, 5 voll.; ed. 6, 1815–31.

J. J. Stoltz, Erläuterungen zum N. T. für geübte und gebildete Leser. Hannov. Nos. 1–4. 1st and 2d eds., 1796–1800. 3d ed., 1806–9. Nos. 5, 6. (1799–1801.) 1802.

J. B. Koppe, N. T. graece, perpetua annotatione illustratum. Gott., 1810–32, 1809–28. Various editions, 10 vols. The whole unfinished, confused in arrangement, and by different authors: Heinrichs, Ammon, Pott, Tychsen.

H. Olshausen, biblischer Commentar über sämmtliche Schriften des N. T. Fortges., von Ebrard und Wiesinger. Königsb., 1830–62. I, II, 1–3; III, IV, V, 1, 2; VI, 1–4; and VII.

* Kurzgefasztes exegetisches Handb, zum N. T. von W. M. L. de Wette. Lpz., 1836–48. 3 Bde. in 11 parts.

* H. A. W. Meyer, Das N. T. griechisch, nach den besten Hülfsmitteln krit. revidirt, mit einer neuen deutschen Uebersetzung u. einem krit. u. exeget. Commentar. Gött., 1832. ff.

C. G. G. Theile, Commentarius in N. T. (vol. xviii: Epist. Jacobi; vol. xiii: [auct. Hölemann] Epist. ad Phillipp.) Lips., 1833, 1839.

J. Ch. K. v. Hofmann, Die h. Schrift des N. T. zusammenhängend untersucht. Nördlingen, 1862 ff.

γ. COMMENTARIES ON PARTICULAR BOOKS (selected).

1. *Old Testament.*

1) Historical Books.

Pentateuch: Vater (1802–5. 3 Bde.). Ranke (1834–40. 2 Bde.). Herheimer (1853–54. 3d ed., 1865). Baumgarten (1843, 2 vols.). Stähelin (1843). Hengstenberg, die Authentie des Pent. (2 vols., 1836, 1839). Graf, die Geschichtl. Bücher des A. T. (1866). De Lagarde, Materialien zur Krit. u. Geschichte d. Pent. (1867). Nöldeke, Untersuchung zur Krit. des A. T. (1869). Kayser, das vorrexil. Buch der Urgeschichte Israels (1874). Wellhausen, die Composition des Hexateuchs, (Jahrbüch. für deutsche Theol., 1876). A. Kuenen, (in the holl. theol. Tijdschr., 1877). Ryssel (1878). König (1879).

Genesis: Schumann (1829). v. Bohlen (1835). Theile (1836). Critical: Hengstenberg, (die Echtheit des Pent., 1836–39). Bleek, v. Bohlen, (in the Commentary). Bertheau, (die 7 Gruppen mos. Gesetze, Gött., 1840). Stähelin (1830, 1843). Hupfeld (1853). Böhmer (1860–62). Schrader, Studien zur Krit. u. erkl. der bibl. Urgesch. (1863). Ewald (in the Einl. zur Gesch. des Volks Israel). Lengerke (in Kenaan). Calvin (ed. Hengstenberg, 1838). * Tuch (1838, 2d ed., by Arnold and Merx, 1871). Kurtz (1846). Sörensen (1851). * Knobel (1852; 2d ed., 1860). * Delitzsch (1851; 2d ed., 1853; 4th ed., 1872). Hupfeld (1853); in Lange's Bibelwerk (1864).

Deuteronomy: Schultz (1859). Kleinert (1872). Riehm, die Gesetzg. Mosis im Lande, Moab (1854). Joshua: Maurer (1834). Keil (1847). Critical: Hauff (1843). Judges: Studer (1835). Bertheau (1845). Bachmann (1868). Ruth: Maurer, Bertheau (1845). 1st and 2d Samuel: Maurer and * Thenius (1842). Kings: Thenius (1849).

Chronicles. Critical: Gramberg (1823). † Movers (1834). Bertheau (1854). De Wette, Beitr. zur Einl., 1., 1806; Keil, 1833; Movers, 1834.

On the remaining historical books comp. Winer, Handbuch der Lit., p. 202, und Pelt, p. 196.

Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther: Neteler (1877). Esther: Cassel (1878).

2) Poetical Books.

Luther's Psalmenauslegung. A Commentary on the poetical books of the O. T., by Eberle. Stuttg., 1874–79. 3 vols.

* Ewald, Die poetischen Bücher des A. T. 4 Bde. (Part 1: General matter; new ed., 1866. Part 2: Psalms; 3d ed., 1866. Part 3: Job; 2d ed., 1867. Part 4: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and additions). Gött., 1839. (New ed. entitled "Die Dichter des alten Bundes." Gött., 1854. 2d ed., 1866–67).

Psalmen: Lutheri scholiae ineditae ed. Seidemann (1876). De Wette (4th ed., 1836, with translation; 5th ed., by G. Baur, 1856). Hitzig (1835; Psalmen übersetzt und ausgelegt; 2 Bde., Leipzig, 1863–65). Köster (1837). Tholuck (1843; 2d ed., 1873). Vaihinger (1845; 2. Aufl., 1856). Lengerke (1847). Aigner (1805). Hengstenberg (2. Aufl., 1850–52, 4 Bde.). Ewald (see above). Olshausen (1853). Hupfeld (4 Bde., 1855–62; 2d ed., 1867–71, von Riehm). De Mestral (Tom. I, French, 1856). † Reinke (1857; 1. Die messianischen Psalmen; 2. 1858). Delitzsch (1859–60, 2 Bde.; new ed., 1867). Böhl (12 messianische Psalmen, 1862).

Job: Schultens (1737, 1748). Umbreit (2d ed., 1832). Hitzig (1874). Zschokke (1875). Ewald (see above). Practical: Tholuck (1843). * Hirzel (1839; 2d ed., by Olshausen, 1852). Vaihinger (1842; 2d ed., 1856). Stickel (1842). Hosse (1859). * Schlottmann (1851). Magnus (1852). Hahn (1851). Metrical version, by Spiess

(1852). Hengstenberg (1856; a discourse). Elster (1858). Rohling (1879). Ebrard (1858). Berkholz (1859). * Merx (1871). Zschokke (1875). Hansen (1877). Kemmler (1877). Rogge, (1877). Critical: Budde (1876).

Proverbs: Kleuker (Salom. Schriften., 1777–85; 3 Bde.). Umbreit (1826). Schultens (1748). Gramberg (1828). Löwenstein (1838). Stier (1849–50). Bertheau (1847). Delitzsch (1873).

Ecclesiastes: Umbreit (1818). Kleinert (1864). Bloch (1872). Veith (Koh. u. Hohes Lied, 1877). Kaiser (1823). Knobel (1836). Ewald (see above). Hitzig (1847). Elster (1855). Wangemann (1857; practical). Hengstenberg (1859). Hahn (1860).

Canticles: Hengstenberg (1853). Meyer (1854). Friedrich (1855). Hitzig (1855). Hölemann ("Die Krone des hohen Liedes," 1859). * Translation, by Th. Hirzel (1840–50). E. Renan (Par., 1860). Friedlander (1867). Altschul (1874). Sachse (1875). Schäfer (1876). Kämpf (1877).

3) Prophetical Books.

Translations and introduction by Eichhorn (1816–19, 3. Bde.) by Fr. Rückert (1831, 1. Bd.). * Ewald, Die Propheten des A. T. (1840–41, 2. Bde. 2d ed., 3 vols., 1867). * Hitzig, Die Prophetischen Bücher des A. T. (Translation.) Lpz., 1854.

* Praktischer Commentar über die Propheten d. A. T., by Umbreit. (1st vol., Iesaiah, 1842; 2d ed., 1846. 2d vol., Jeremiah, 1842. 3d vol., Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets (To Jes., Jer., Ez.), by Le Hir. (Par., 1877.)

Isaiah: Gesenius (1821; trans. 2d ed. 1829). Hitzig (1833). Knobel (2d ed., 1854; 3d ed., 1861). Hendewerk (1838–43, 2 vol). Drechsler (3 parts, 1844–57; Vol. II, 2; and III, by Delitzsch and Hahn; vol. I in 2d ed., 1865). Critical: Möller (1825). Kleinert (1829, against Gesenius). Hengstenberg (Christologie des A. T. comp. lit. on § 62). Stähelin (Stud. und Krit., 1831, 3). Hävernick (in Introduction). Caspari (jesaianische Studien, in the Zeitschr. of Rudelbach and Guericke, 1843, 2.) † Schegg (1850, 2 Bde.). Meier (1st Part, 1850). Stier (Jes. 44–66, kein Pseudo-Jes., 1850–51). Eljakim (Visions d'Esaïe, 1854; French metrical version, with exposition). † G. Mayer (1860). Delitsch (1866; 2d ed., 1869).

Jeremiah: Hitzig (1841; 2d Aufl., 1866). * Umbreit (Prakt. Commentar, see above). Nägelsbach (1850). Neumann (2 Bde., 1856–58). Graf (1862 and 1863). Scholz (der masor. Text u. die LXX-Uebersetzg des B. Jer., 1875).

Lamentations: Hetzel (1854). Thenius (1855). Engelhardt (1867). Gerlach (1868).

Ezekiel: Hävernick (1843). Hitzig (1847). Kliefoth (1864–65). Hengstenberg (1867).

Daniel: Bertholdt (1806–8, 2 Bde.). Hävernick (1832). Lengerke (1835). Hitzig (1850). Auberlen (1854, having reference to the Apocalypse; 2d ed., 1856). Kranichfeld (1868). Füller (1868). Mayer (1866). Kliefoth (1868). Critical: Zündel (1861). Hilgenfeld (Ezra und Daniel, 1863). Caspari (1869). Rohling (1877). Doprez (Dan. and John, 1879).

The Minor Prophets: * Theiner (1828). † Ackerman (1839). Hitzig (2d ed., 1852; 3d ed., 1863). † Schegg (1854). Schröder (Part I, 1829). Schlier (2d ed., 1876).

Hosea: Böckel (1807). Stuck (1828). Krappe (1836). De Wette (Stud. und Krit., 1832, 4). Simson (1851). Kurtz (über Hos. I–III, 1859). Wünsche (1867–8).

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John: * Lücke (Commentar über die Schriften des Johannes; the Gospels in vols. 1 and 2; Epistles, vol. 3; 3d ed., 1856; Apokalypse, Introd., vol. 4; 1, new ed., 1851–52). Tholuck (7th ed., 1857). Baumgarten-Crusius (Theol. Auslegung der Johann. Schriften, 1 Bd., Evang. Johann., 1843). † Klee (1829). Herwerden (Holland, 1851). Luthardt (1852 f., 2 parts; 2d ed., 1875). Hengstenberg (1861 f., 2 parts). Ewald (1861 ff., 3 vols.) Baümlein (1863). Godet (French, 1864 f., 2 vols.; 2d ed., 1876 f.; German, 1869; 2d ed., 1876–78). † Haneberg (publ. by Schegg, 1878).

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Epistle to the Corinthians: Neander (Ed. by Beyschlag, 1859). Burger (2d Epistle 1859–60). Comp. Bleek, in the Stud. u. Krit., 1830–33, and Goldhorn in Illgens Zeitschrift für hist. Theol. 1840–42. On the 1st and 2d Epistle: Osiander (Stuttg., 1847 u. 1858). Van Hengel (1 Cor. xv; 1851). A. Maier (1857–65.) Klöppel (exeg. Krit. Untersuchung, on the 2d Epistle, 1869).

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CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

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THE scriptural material for history and doctrine, which is brought to light and restored to its pure state by exegetical theology, becomes the very foundation of historical theology. The latter includes both the biblical elements (Sacred History) and their development in the Church (Church History and History of Doctrines). It, accordingly, reaches back into exegetical theology, and forms, at the same time, the bridge for passing over into systematic theology.

Relations of historical and exegetical theology.

In contrast with modern encylopædists, we prefer to separate exegetical from historical theology. But this is only relative. The work of the exegete is historical in the broad sense of searching for required sources; but this is certainly a merely preliminary historical task. The exegete may be likened to the miner who descends the shaft in order to bring into the light of day the gold of pure scriptural truth, while the historian resembles the artificer who melts the masses down, and gives them their form and impression. The process of separating the gold from the material in which it is held, *e. g.*, the presentation of the body of doctrine apart from the ideas of the age in which it originated, is also the work of exegesis, although this constitutes the line at which exegetical theology transfers its material to historical. This, too, is the point at which the researches coincide which have generally been prosecuted in distinct and separate fields of inquiry. The exposition of the Gospels, for instance, is an exegetical, not a historical, task, while a critical representation of the life of Christ, upon the basis of the Gospel records, is a historical work, which the exegete will regard as the point at which his labours terminate. Here, as everywhere else, the one must aid the other. Historical theology extends likewise into the pre-Christian, or Old Testament, element.

Biblical archæology related to both exegesis and church history.

Biblical archæology is an important aid to exegesis, and, at the same time, an historical science. The exegete needs it in order to understand the Bible, for which reason some acquaintance with this branch is to be required and presupposed when he enters on his work. But inasmuch as it is the task of history to represent the life and spirit of the Israelitish people, historical theology is also entitled to lay claim to the service of archæology as a product of exegesis. Disputes of this sort about boundaries may, however, be reconciled very peaceably, and serve merely to prove the elastic nature of the organism of science.[1] And while biblical archæology, separately considered, has been treated in a former section as an exegetical aid, it will, on the other hand, be proper for us to class the biblical history as a whole—which, of course, involves the archæology as well—with the general organism of historical theology.

SECTION I.

SACRED HISTORY.

The place of sacred history.

Sacred history, like the Bible itself, is divided into Old and New Testament, and constitutes the point of transition from exegetical into historical theology. Hence, what has been said with regard to the Bible in general has its particular application to this subject.

This is the place for historical criticism, involving not merely the question whether the book which claims to be a source is derived from the author in whose name it appears, but also the further inquiry whether the author, known or unknown, has aimed to write actual history, and in what way he has executed his plan. The propriety of historical criticism, when applied to the books of the Bible, is, doubtless, open to graver doubts from the standpoint of supernaturalism than criticism of the text. But the necessity for it will be seen in the fact, that we must guard against its abuse by recognizing the spirit and object of the Bible history, its superhuman and divine plan, and its development under the conditions of time. He who derives his standard of measurement directly from the history of revelation itself, will naturally decide otherwise than will he who applies the foreign standard of ancient or modern wisdom.

[1] This, too, with reference to the reminders by Pelt (review of the 2d ed.), in Bruns and Häfner's Repertorium, xiv, 3, p. 268.

SECTION II.

HISTORY OF THE ISRAELITISH NATION.

W. Hoffman, Die göttliche Stufenordnung im A. Test. Berl., 1854; †Gfrörer, Urgeschichte des menschl. Geschlechts, Schaffhausen, 1855; Pressel in Herzog Encykl., xvii, p. 245, *sqq.*, Art. Volk Gottes; J. H. Kurtz, History of the Old Covenant, 3 vols., Philadelphia, 1859; S. Sharpe, History of the Hebrew Nation and its Literature, London, 1872; A. P. Stanley, Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church, 3 vols., New York, 1866–77; H. H. Milman, History of the Jews, 3 vols., New York, 1882.

The history of the nation from which the Founder of Christianity came forth to be the Saviour of the world, is of equal value for the Christian theologian with the general study of the Old Testament. The following are the periods of principal religious importance subsequently to the primitive period—from Adam to Abraham.

Periods of Hebrew history.

1. The Patriarchal Age, being the period of the earliest revelation from God—from Abraham to Moses.

2. The period of founding the theocracy and subduing the land by the theocratic leaders—from Moses to Samuel.

3. The further development of this theocracy under the law, and the theocratical institutions of the priesthood, the sovereignty, and the prophetic order, considered both in their positive and their negative features—from Samuel to Solomon, and thence to the Captivity.

4. The periods of disintegration under the influence of foreign rulers and foreign customs, and of transition to a new period during and after the Captivity.

The history of Israel, in the strict sense, begins with the head of the race, and his emigration to Canaan. But the records of pre-Abrahamic times are included, as preliminary history, within the circle of Old Testament historical studies. The difficulties touched upon in exegetical theology, with reference to the age of the historical documents that have been preserved to our time, and their trustworthiness, are also felt in the historical treatment. The principal difficulties attach to the earliest periods. We have not hesitated to designate them as the time of the earliest revelations, because we share, with Hauff,[1] the conviction, that a belief in revelation does not only admit of, but absolutely requires, criticism of the historical books of the Bible. If the divine and the human, wonderfully interpenetrating each other, impress us anywhere, it is when we are meditating upon these oldest of all histories, for whose examination we need,

Difficulty connected with early period.

[1] Comp. his work, cited above, and the Introd., by K. A. Menzel, to his Staats u. Religionsgesch. der Königreiche Israel u. Juda, Breslau, 1853, pp. 8f.

in harmony with this thought, minds open to childlike conceptions, and religiously and poetically inclined, and a judgment and understanding prepared for an unprejudiced investigation, and sometimes accessible, among other things, to historical discussion.[1] Where either of these exists alone, where we apply only the belief instilled by the lessons of childhood, and seek to retain this in its näive directness at the cost of historic truth, or where, perverted at the outset by the so-called modern enlightenment, we approach the sacred narratives in order to exercise our pedantic skill upon them, the result will be that our judgment will be speedily formed, since we will either literally accept every thing without examination, or reject every thing without understanding it. In no age has there been so much talk of myths as in our own. Every people, like every individual, has its childhood history, and we can no more expect to find purely historical reminiscences without the golden thread of poesy, in the primitive history of nations in general, than we can suppose that the recollections of an individual can reach back with entire accuracy into the twilight in which poetry and fact are intermingled with each other.[2] The important thing in this connection, is, that the ideas of legend and myth be clearly fixed. There is no need of being frightened at a word. What does μῦθος signify? It is applied to narrative and legend as well as to fable and poem. But the ancients, already, distinguished between logographs and mythographs,[3] and modern science has in like manner distinguished between historical and philosophical myths (myths proper), so as to make the former actually historical legends (λόγοι), even though conceived and developed in a poetic spirit, while the latter contain simply doctrines or views clothed in historic garb, or presented in the guise of history. It is a well-known fact that a

Necessity of freedom from prejudice.

Meaning of myth.

[1] Comp. Bunsen, Gott in der Gesch. (Part ii, Bibel, Leben, u. Weltgeschichte), p. 101: "I assert, that by its internal unity, and the truth of its monotheistic consciousness, this book (the Bible and its history) has controlled the consciousness of the world, including its noblest tribes, during many centuries; it has realized the noblest hopes of mankind and authenticated its holiest anticipations, such as in moments of serious consciousness you feel arising in yourself." Also Pressel, *supra:* "If the gods of heathen nations are simply the reflection of the national spirit, Israel, on the other hand, is, in its character as the *covenant people*, an organ for the erection of the kingdom of God, a product of the grace of God."

[2] "Go back," says Herder, "in connexion with historical writings, to the infancy of the world, to the poverty and needs of the writers. In this poor hovel God dwells; to this childhood the Father speaks." Theophron, Werke x, p. 317.

[3] See Creuzer, Hist. Kunst d. Griechen, (Lpz., 1803), pp. 40 and 173, where the ancients are quoted.

controversy exists as to whether historic facts or philosophical doctrines in natural history underlie heathen mythology itself. But the same question has been raised with reference to the Bible, and we are not at liberty to set it aside without investigation. The distinction between legend and myth is important even for the Old Testament history. The former is more nearly related to actual history than the latter; for the legend, even when poetically colored, contains a historical kernel, while the kernel enclosed within the myth is always a dogma instead of history, a religious conception in historic garb. The task of the historian will, accordingly, differ as he deals with myths or with legends. In the case of the myth, it is needful, from the outset, to ignore the historical germ, in the usual acceptation of the word, and to seize upon the dogmatic germ, which, indeed, presumes a recognition of the historic state of things. In dealing with the legend, however, the attempt must be made to strip off the covering which was gradually formed about the historic germ, and to extract that germ, so far as possible, from the enveloping shell. Some critics have gone to the length of including all the older history of Israel among myths, so as to leave but little of the historical element beyond the theocratic idea that the Israelitish nation was the people of God, and was described as such in a series of symbolical images.[1] But even this extreme application of the myth idea is decidedly different from the ruthless transforming of the sacred histories into nature myths, which overlooks every religious feature, and by which we are asked, with Nork,[2] to find astronomical emblems; or, with Daumer and Ghillany,[3] even the worship of fire and Moloch, in the purely human narratives of the Bible.

Difference between myth and legend.

Israelites the people of God.

Such unnatural mythologizing of history into nature, however, rectifies itself. The healthy historic spirit rejects it. But so much the more meritorious is the effort, made in the way above indicated, to distinguish between myth and legend by means of a thorough examination.[4] If the results of such inquiries are not always at

[1] Thus de Wette, in his Beiträge.

[2] Vergleichende Mythologie, etc., Lpz., 1836, and several other works by this writer.

[3] Comp. Rheinwald, Repertorium, 1844. Daumer has since done penance, however, and has "returned" into the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church.

[4] George, Mythus u. Sage; Vers. einer wiss. Entwicklung dieser Begriffe u. ihres Verhältnisses zum christl. Glauben, Berlin, 1837. "Legend and myth diverge in different directions; the former gives the appearance, and from this we argue back to the idea; in the latter, on the contrary, the idea is given, and the appearance is deduced therefrom." P. 11. On the distinction in certain cases, which is none the less relative only, and on the difficulty of always determining the character of a nar-

once apparent, they yet lead into the right way, and toward the ultimate goal. It is not necessary that we should at once think of fraud and deceit when poetry, especially of a religious sort, is mentioned. This is possible only to a worldly-wise, petrified understanding, which is incapable of suspecting the existence of any higher form of truth in poetry, while it is the special work of the latter to represent, if not bare and tangible realities, yet the highest form of truth.[1] However, the greatest prudence is necessary, on the other hand, and it is a question whether the word "myth," which always has a reference to the point of view occupied by heathenism, ought to have been transferred at all to the territory of the Bible.[2] The theological standpoint is that which regards the Bible narratives as sacred history, as compared with profane. Every thing contained therein, whether it be poetry, tradition, or actual history, relates to a single grand idea, which creatively controls the whole, but which does not remain merely an abstract theory, but moves through this history and becomes concrete in it, celebrating its consummation at the end in the Revelations of the New Covenant. The student who overlooks this feature misconceives the fundamental character of the history, whose peculiarity lies in the fact that this is not history, whose limitations are fixed by its own nature, but, as one writer beautifully observes,[3] it is "the history of God from a human point

Poetry not necessarily fraud and deceit.

Nature of biblical narrative.

rative, comp. *ibid.*, pp. 13, 14. With reference to the New Test., see O. Bagge, Princip. des Mythus im Dienst d. christl. Position, Lpz., 1865; comp. also Immer, *infra*, p. 24: "Myth and legend, often passing over into each other, have this in common, that both have sprung from the unintentionally poetizing spirit of the people, and contain, in confused mixture, both idea and history. If the two are to be distinguished from each other, the myth will designate an idea that has become embodied history in the mouth of the people, and legend a history which has become involved with ideal elements in the fancy and traditions of the people."

[1] "The idea of the unconscious (näive) must necessarily be retained, unless it is desired to wholly abandon the ground of myths and legends." It is by this feature that that field is distinguished from that of "intentional deception and fiction." George, *supra*, p. 15; comp. also Hauff in the work referred to above, *passim*. It is, however, apparent that the highest, *i. e.*, the essentially religious, ideas, are represented precisely by myths (in case the designation be adopted), while the purely historical can claim to be religiously significant only in a secondary way. Comp. Genesis with the Books of Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Which is the more distinctively religious?

[2] Comp. Schenkel, Dogm., i, p. 307, *sq.* (referring to Ewald). A similar idea holds true of the word *oracle* as applied to the prophets. The phrase "scriptural myth" has also been suggested, in order to avoid the analogy of the heathen myth.

[3] J. G. Mueller, Theophil, p. 246. Augusti, too, was accustomed to describe Israelitish history as an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in the history of the world. Hegel entertained different views of Jewish history at different times, as may be seen in Rosenkranz,

of view, and the history of man from the divine point of view." It accords, upon the whole, with the laws of human development, that the earlier history of a people should bear a partly legendary and partly mythical, or epical, character, to a greater extent than the later, which falls within the province of historical writings proper.

Growth in sacred history.

The old economical and pedagogical idea, according to which God condescended to the level of human ideas, and entered into the childish apprehensions of men, in order to attract them to himself, needs only to be rendered scientifically intelligible, from a genuinely theistic point of view, in order to approve itself as the only tenable one in the practical field. This by no means excludes a true pragmatism, which takes the human element into account, and treats it with due historical recognition of its importance, but simply provides for it a proper basis and the necessary higher aims.

LITERATURE.

I. EARLY HISTORY.

The sources for Israelitish history are the historical books of the Bible, including the historical Apocrypha. For the post-exilian period the First Book of Maccabees is especially important. In addition, we have Josephus (comp. Archæology), who is a valuable authority for the period extending from the close of that covered by biblical sources down to his own time. Philo's Life of Moses has little historical value, because of its allegorical tendency. Among non-Jewish writers, the Grecian authors Herodotus, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, and the Romans Justin and Tacitus,[1] deserve mention; also the Egyptian Manetho (B. C. 280?), whom Josephus cites and controverts, and upon whose existence and trustworthiness opinions are still divided. Eusebius, among the Christian fathers, treated Israelitish history, in the first books of his Ecclesiastical History and the Præp. Evangelica, and others followed in his footsteps. A critical treatment was inconceivable in connection with the theory of an exact and minute verbal inspiration, and was first introduced by Spinoza (Tractatus theologico-politicus), Richard Simon, Clericus, and others. There are other works, more or less critical and pragmatical, by Buddæus (1726), Humphrey Prideaux (1715, 1718), Shuckford (1728–38), Holberg (1747), and Lange (1775), being supplemented in later times by the following:

Leben Hegels, p. 49, where it will also appear how "it violently repelled him, and again engrossed him, and gave him life-long trouble as a dark riddle" (!).

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SECTION III.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

J. Ch. Doederlein, De hist. J. tenendæ tradenæque necessitate ac modo, Progrr. i–iv, Jena, 1783-86; (also in the Opusc. theol., Jena, 1789). On the different tendencies, in harmony with which, and for which, the biographer of Jesus may labor, comp. Bertholdt's Krit. Journal, vol. v, (1816), No. 4, pp. 225–245. Comp. *infra*, the American Literature on the Life of Jesus.

Christ's life the centre of history.

The life of Christ, as the Son of God, is to be regarded as the central glory of Scripture history, in which all the rays of former historical manifestations of God are concentrated, and from which they again radiate, to extend over the whole history of the Church.

Should the life of Christ be regarded as a special branch in the course of theological science? Should it not, rather, shine forth from all the other branches? It results from the exegesis of the Gospels, stands at the head of Church History, and is the very soul of apologetics, dogmatics, ethics, and practical theology.[1] But for this very reason, it is essential that we gain as satisfactory a view of this life as possible. This involves grave difficulties, of course; for the Gospels do not furnish, as is conceded by the most evangel-

[1] "The life of Jesus is the central point of a newly rising light for the history of Christianity." Ammon, Fortbildung d. Christenthums zur Weltreligion, I, p. 133. "The life of Jesus reconciles all the interests of speculation, the religious feeling and history. It presents to our notice a personality, for the possession of which heaven and earth are in dispute, but which may not be exclusively assigned to either; which consists of fragments and elements which are transmitted to us by tradition and documentary records, and which, nevertheless, cannot be made to fit into our moulds; which is conceived as the type of every human being, and yet appears under circumstances and in situations such as ours are not now and never can be." *Ibid.*, iv, p. 277 *sq.* "The life of Jesus is a biography which flows out, as does no other, into a large and extended history of nations and even of the world. It describes an individual life, but the life of a character who is, antecedently, in the exaltation of his self-consciousness and in his spiritual might, a symptom of the world's history, and truly a new stage in the development of the human spirit, and who, in the next place, be-

ical scholars,[1] a minute and complete biography, but only *memorabilia* (ἀπομνημονεύματα), which, moreover, while partially coincident, yet diverge from each other in their relations and points of view. John, the most confidential friend of Jesus, said at last: "There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." Hence it becomes necessary to subject the Gospel narratives to criticism, as a preliminary measure. Here, again, exegetical and philological criticism turns over its work to the investigations of historical criticism. The former deals only with the authenticity of the Gospel records, as belonging to the canon, and with their relation to each other, while the latter inquires into the credibility of the sacred writers themselves. There is no ground for alarm at such criticism, since, by the judgment of strictly orthodox theologians, both these writings and their contents fall within the range of the same historical criticism to which all historical monuments are subject.[2] It may even be admitted that discrepancies occur in the Gospels, but that does not necessitate the conclusion that the Gospel, as a whole, contradicts itself. It would therefore be, not piety, but frivolous opposition to God's order, to

Negative criticism no ground for alarm.

came, by the labors of a brief career, the creator of a new and higher cosmos, whose world days are to be reckoned by thousands of years, and are to be measured by the circumference of the earth." Keim, Gesch. Jesu v. Nazara, I, p. 1, and the passage from Origen, De princ., 4, 5, quoted there.

[1] By Hess, for instance, in the Leben Jesu.

[2] Ebrard, Kritik d. evang. Geschichte, i, p. 2: "It follows, from the nature of the case, that a photographic picture of the Saviour could not be given at all; for a perfect representation of the Saviour in a single picture was impossible, in view of his universal character and the unavoidable narrowness with which he would be apprehended by the consciousness of a single observer, and, consequently, in the representation of a single writer. The entire Christ could only be presented to view by a number of descriptive pictures, the whole combined so as to oblige the observer to view them as a unit. God would not deprive us of this combined view. That is to say, he would not take from us the personal, scientific reconstruction of his image, upon the basis of a historical investigation of the several representations of Christ which are contained in the New Testament. The application of historical criticism to the Bible is certainly an infinitely complicated and wearisome task, and one that can ever be only approximately completed. But much has been gained when the task has been definitely devolved upon, and honestly recognized by, theology, in the spirit of renouncing all unbelieving fear." Rothe, Zur Dogmatik, p. 308 *sq.* Comp. also Immer, Die Geschichts-quellen des Lebens Jesu (Lecture at Berne) in the Prot. Vorträge, V, 7, Berlin, 1873, p. 28: "All research into the sources of the life of Christ can have no other end than to free the pure and concrete image of Jesus from the scattered traits in which it is enveloped, without which work the influence emanating from him, and the results originating with him, are inconceivable."

refuse to see this fact, and to seek to avoid such critical labor under the questionable plea that damage to the Christian faith must result from such an undertaking. The only essential consideration at this point is, that criticism should occupy the proper point of view. In recent times it has been urged that an entire absence of predisposition is necessary. This is impossible in any absolute sense, for even they who make this demand have prepossessions; for example, as to the possibility or impossibility of miracles. But a developed doctrine of Christ (Christology) is not to furnish the rule of procedure, any more than dogmatics may be allowed to govern exegesis.

Criticism necessary to understand the Gospels.

The life of Jesus is matter for *history* only in so far as it is definitely *human*. The unprejudiced study of that life must, and will of itself, lead to the recognition of its divine element, but it must not be postulated *à priori* in dogmatic formulæ, or imposed upon the history.[1] The student who makes the life of Jesus an object of scientific investigation will, nevertheless, enter upon it with a certain amount of preconceptions. He knows what life it is which is to be studied. But the sacred awe[2] with which he enters on his task can in no way harm historical impartiality; on the contrary, a spiritual and vivid treatment of any life, as well as that of the Saviour, is impossible without it.[3] It is as impossible to comprehend

[1] Comp. Hase, Leben Jesu, § 14.

[2] Comp. the confessions of Lavater and Anna Maria v. Schurmann, in the preface to Neander's Life of Jesus. "The life of the Christian," remarks the latter, "is the best biography of Jesus."

[3] "The enumeration of outward fortunes in a career is unintelligible and dead without an apprehension or idea of the individual life itself, from which, as the innermost point in the life, all externalities may be explained." Hase, Life of Jesus (Bost. ed.), p. 21. "The self consciousness of Jesus of Nazareth must be clearly before the eyes of the Christian, as an actual historical fact which is to explain a true philosophy." Bunsen, Hippolytus, i, p. xliii. "The personality of Jesus stands before us as the connecting link between two worlds. It stands between the two developments of the old and the new worlds, not as an effect of the old world, but as its consummation; not as a mere harbinger of the new, but as its enduring type, and as a fountain of life to mankind through the Spirit." *Ibid.*, Gott in der Gesch., p. 60; comp. p. 100. "He was man. He was neither Jew nor Greek, prince nor priest, rich nor mighty, but, in contrast with them all, a man. He lived and died for mankind. But for this very reason he is called, and is the image of, the Son of God, as none other before or after him. His mortal, finite being had truly become a likeness of God, a divine nature." "The real centre in the life of Jesus lies in his consciousness. It is, however, by no means merely the idea of the unity of the divine and human natures that constitutes the peculiarity of his consciousness, for such an idea was present in a hazy form in both Plato and Aristotle. It is rather the consciousness of a real union of the Divine and human natures in his person in absolute energy, so that in this consciousness are united not only the fulness of the Deity with the fulness of his own inner life, but also the

the life of the Saviour by refusing to measure it by its own rule, and to trace each one of its expressions back to our own need of salvation, as it is to understand the life of a mother who sacrifices herself for her children, where the only conception of greatness is that belonging to conquerors or artists. Something that is immeasurable will still remain in this unique personality. Besides, while the distinction between a historical and a real Christ is wholly inadmissible on the plan of absolutely separating between them, and connecting them only in outward form, as though by accident, it is yet certain that when we resolve the life of Jesus into its separate elements, and follow it step by step, or trace it feature by feature, we often find ourselves required to supplement, from the idea, matters for which no definite historical data can be found. However, this must not be an arbitrary idea, constructed and introduced into the subject by ourselves, but it is rather one to be gained as the sum of historical inquiry. As Scripture explains Scripture, so does the life of Jesus as a whole explain the separate features in that life. The life of Jesus contains its own measure — the absolute measure of the Deity glorifying itself in human nature. The attributes which constitute the peculiar character of Christ are not, therefore, to be at once excluded from the range of historical inquiry as transcending the bounds of human conditions, and impossible, but must be taken into account in the development of his humanity. Unless this be done, the picture will crumble in our hands, and we shall obtain only an inadequate and Ebionitic fragment, instead of a thoroughly human and really historical portrait. We cannot, and should not, remove the picture of Christ from the golden canvas upon which it has been painted, not by the fancy of men, but by the finger of God, even though we attempt to follow the lines of the drawing by historical methods, and seek to arrange them, so far as may be possible, by the application of critical processes. In this work the critical effort to combine must be aided by the insight which belongs to the congenial spirit of a religious disposition.

The life of Jesus its own explanation.

Spiritual sympathy necessary for correct criticism.

entire dealing of God with the entire history of his being, yea, the Deity with humanity." J. P. Lange, Gesch. d. Kirche, i, p. 349. Comp. Kliefoth, Einl. in d. Dogmengesch., p. 39. Karl Ritter has also expressed himself well in opposition to an unspiritual and atomistic treatment of the life of Jesus: "His entire life lies open and clear before us like a charming landscape, with no cloud to interrupt the rays of light, which, without the tedious explanations of an uninvited guide, we comprehend with sacred joy at every step, upon which we stroll in pleasure, and the heart bounds with exalted premonitions. This place soon becomes our home, and upon it we could desire to live in joy and sadness until we die." Lebensbild von Kramer, vol. i, p. 232 *sq.*

The portrait of Christ as outlined in the New Testament writings was compared, even before a mythical interpretation was thought of, to a torso, upon which the imagination of successive centuries has wrought its improvements.[1] The comparison is unjust, inasmuch as the torso lacks the essential feature, the countenance; and it is precisely the countenance that shines forth in the Gospels, with genuinely human lineaments, from the surrounding glory of the Deity, while the complete outlining of the members of the body, as with paintings of the old German school, is either wanting, or at least leaves much to be desired in the drawing. But the case is here as it is with every other human and historical countenance, which differs greatly in accordance with the different points of view from which we regard it, or with the light in which different painters apprehend it. Christ seemed different to the world of the Middle Ages from what he does to the world of our time. Zinzendorf, Herder, Schleiermacher, and others, each, in his own way, arrived at a different conception of him. This, however, need by no means frighten us from attempting to solve the problem, nor force us to accept the alternative of "either investing the Jewish Messiah with all the attributes which the theology of the Jews ascribes to him, or of furnishing a natural history of the Prophet of Nazareth, such as Venturini wrote."[2] For both are caricatures, the original for which is yet, even approximately, to be discovered. Still less are we authorized to dispense with any historical Christ, and to search for the Redeemer of the world solely in the region of myths, on the ground that some things cannot be explained and fitted with certainty into the framework of history. This would be to render the inexplicable yet more inexplicable, since Christianity without a historical Christ would remain an incomprehensible riddle, and the Church of Christ a historical monstrosity. The proper course is, while making use of historical criticism, with other agencies, "to have confidence in God and in the truth, which is much nearer to us than we think, and cheerfully expect that assured and certain results will, in the end, be realized through such investigations."[3]

Different views of Christ.

Absurdity of the mythical theory.

[1] Kähler, Supranaturalismus und Rationalismus, p. 117.

[2] See Röhr's Krit. Predigerbibl., vol. 18, No. 1, p. 13. Comp. Briefe über den Rationalismus, p. 26 *sqq.*

[3] Ammon, *supra*, i, p. 135.

SECTION IV.

HISTORY OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF JESUS.

Biographical effort began in the early centuries with an external collocation of sources, [1] and this method continued to be employed down to Bengel. The productions of the Middle Ages were "without criticism, fantastic, and legendary, and consisted chiefly in works for entertainment and devotion." [2] The old Saxon harmony of the Gospels, entitled "Heliand," is, however, of great importance for the history of civilization and literature,[3] and with this should be compared that of the Weissenburg monk, Otfried, of the ninth century.[4] In other regards, "the life of Christ was represented in the 'passion-plays' in the most literal sense, through the aid of sculpture, painting, and the dramatic art."[5] The dogmatic element still predominated after the Reformation. It was not until after the Thirty Years' War that "the manifestation of Christ was intensely studied for its own sake." The theology of Herrnhut forms the leading agency in this "worship of Jesus," which now began to be manifested in hymns and prayers. People became accustomed to regard Jesus as the concrete God, sometimes irrespectively of his relation to the Trinity, and his history was a history of God, in which character it yielded Klopstock the material for epical treatment. Rational reflection, which felt itself called to consider the human element in a human point of view, asserted its claim in opposition to this undeniably monophysite tendency.

The attack by the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist, in 1777 and the following years, forced apologetics into this human method of apprehending the psychology of Jesus and of estimating the moral bearings of his plan. The critical and pragmatical treatment of the life of Christ dates, accordingly, from this time; that is, from the time modern ideas became established. This method has resulted in making of the life of Jesus a subordinate branch of theological study, so that what is now understood by that phrase is certainly a "modern idea."[6] Foremost in this period were the apologetic and somewhat rational representa-

Life of Jesus a separate historical study.

[1] Monotessaron, Harmonia, Synopsis. Comp. Hase, Life of Jesus, p. 20. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Editions of Hayne (2d ed.), Paderborn, 1873, and Sievers, Halle, 1878. Translated by Simrock, 2d ed., Elberfeld, 1866; and by Grein, Cassel, 1869.

[4] The "Christ," edited by Kelle, Ratisbon, 1856–59, 2 vols. Translated by the same, Prague, 1870.

[5] Rosenkranz, Leben Hegels, p. 50.

[6] Strauss, Leben Jesu fürs Volk, 1864, p. 1.

tions of Reinhard and Hess.[1] The divine was separated from the human, so far as was possible, and attention was called to the difference between the Johannean view and that of the synoptics. Herder, for instance, viewed the life of the "Son of God" and of the "Son of Man" in accordance with these two distinct points of view. There was no lack of coarse reactions, however, in connexion with the humanizing process, and rude hands tore away the tender screen which had preserved the picture of the Lord from being profaned. "Natural histories of the Prophet of Nazareth" were published by Bahrdt, Venturini, and, later, by Langsdorf, and it became a favorite employment to draw parallels between Socrates and Christ, often to the disadvantage of the latter. This, certainly, grew out of an utter misunderstanding of the personality of either. Others, like Paulus and Greiling, acting from good intentions, sought to eliminate the miraculous from the life of Jesus, in order to recommend him as a wise and humane teacher to a conceited age that was inclined to make a mock of him. The later theology, beginning with Schleiermacher, again took up the ideal element in Christ, and sought to prove it in his historical manifestation. Schleiermacher himself, in this spirit, but with independent criticism, in 1819, and again in 1832, delivered lectures on the life of Christ. These lectures were not published until their author had been dead thirty years, but they were nevertheless timely, though no longer adequate to complete the argument in all its details. Hase proceeded in a method similar to that of Schleiermacher, in prosecuting the task of showing "how by divine appointment, through the free act of his spirit and the interference of his age, Jesus of Nazareth became the Redeemer of the world."

Parallels between Christ and Socrates.

These various attempts were at once neutralized by Strauss, who cut the knot with the sword, not, indeed, by denying that a Jesus had lived, but by reducing his historical existence almost to a historical nullity, since he recognized in the Gospel records only a mythical expression of ideas, unconsciously and innocently invented by the infant community of Christians, as influenced by the extant prophecies of the Old Covenant. This work was designed to preserve the poetically speculative truth of the ideal Christ, but its tendency was to dissolve him into air, like an unsubstantial image in the clouds. The hypothesis of Strauss

Strauss' Life of Jesus.

[1] See the titles of the works below, and comp. Hase, *supra*, and Ammon, Fortbildung d. Christenthums zur Weltreligion, vol. iv, p. 156 *sqq*. It is remarkable that Hess received the impulse to treat the life of Jesus from Middleton's Biography of Cicero.

was modified by Weisse, 'who sought to discover the mystery of the life of Jesus, in part, by introducing the higher biology of magnetism, and other factors, but rejected, on the mythical hypothesis, what could not be forced into this magic circle. Bruno Bauer, finally, passed beyond Strauss, claiming to find not harmless poetry, but designed inventions, in the descriptions of the evangelists. The Jew, Salvador, regarded the life of Jesus from the standpoint of modern Jewish enlightenment, but retained the historical personality of Jesus, reducing it, of course, to that of a simple Jewish reformer and demagogue.

All of these negative efforts resulted simply in a more thorough investigation of the subject under discussion. Not only were numberless works issued in reply to Strauss, but the life of Jesus itself was studied with a universal breadth of inquiry that could only be productive of gain to science, even though inquirers occupied very diverse points of view, and were influenced by very various prepossessions.[1] We refer also to the Dutch works of Meijboom, Van Oosterzee, and others. Bunsen announced, prospectively, a new "Life of Jesus," but it never appeared.[2] Ewald's History of Israel, on the other hand, entered on the life of Jesus with the fifth volume, the author expressly designating it the "Life of *Christ*," and treating it as such, making use of independent criticism upon details, but preserving the sacred contents as a whole. This has influenced the character of his representations also, in which Strauss was unable to find more than a "deafening volume of words and phrases." Riggenbach's lectures present the portrait of the "Lord Jesus" in a simple manner, their tendency being apologetic and harmonizing, combined, however, with the steady aim to do justice to the questions raised by science by a thorough examination of details.

Renan.

A period of cessation and quietude now seemed to open, which was suddenly disturbed by the publication of the Life of Jesus by Renan, in France, through which an agitation was produced that equaled the one caused by Strauss thirty years before. Numerous editions and translations have placed it upon the same level with the most recent productions of the lighter literature of France for the great world of readers, which it is designed to reach. The science of Germany could not rest satisfied with the

[1] "The numerous lives of Jesus of the better class represent a new dedication of the theological temple, which, it is to be hoped, will not speedily be brought to a close. But it will be necessary to remain patient if the variegated merchandise of ordered or fabricated works connects itself with the dedication." J. P. Lange, Pref. to Leben Jesu, pp. iii, iv.

[2] Preface to Hippolytus, p. xlix.

work, though in it the learning of the Orientalist vied with the captivating rhetoric of the fine writer, to warp the judgment of sentimental amateurs. Schenkel, who had expressed the opinion that the great theme could only be adequately treated upon German soil, now came to the front with his Character of Jesus Portrayed, which had been in preparation during an extended period. Simultaneously with this work, Strauss published, not a new edition of his former work, but a new revision, adapted for the people. In this, as in the other work, the criticism of sources comes into play, combined with the appropriation of the negative results obtained by other laborers in this field. An enormous number of replies and treatises in opposition to the works of Strauss, Schenkel, and Renan were written by scholars in both the Roman Catholic and Protestant communions; so that we again stand in the midst of a crisis, which was introduced by those works. How far we are from having reached the end may be seen from the fact, that the opinions of the latest writers are entirely diverse upon the question of the early character of sources (the original Matthew and Mark); but it may be said, in the meantime, "In magnis voluisse sat est." Time must show to what extent the work by Keim, which is now concluded, will have contributed to the advancement of the inquiry. It has, at any rate, taken an important step toward the goal for which the efforts of science were directed from the vantage ground secured by its former progress. But when shall the time come that the Church, no longer being in conflict with the results obtained by science, but rather delivered from prejudice thereby, shall see the face of the Lord in its purity and its greatness, in the combined historical dignity and divine glory, which are not bestowed on him by us, but which are his from the beginning and are secured to him for all eternity?

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SECTION V.

THE APOSTLES.

Life of the Apostles and the Founding of the Church, Article "Apostolisches Zeitalter," in Pelt, Herzog's Encyclypædie, vol. i.

The life of the persons by whom the doctrine of the kingdom of God in the world was introduced, is connected with the life of Jesus. Here, there is less interest in the Twelve, several of whom are known to us only by name, than in the men and their coadjutors who were most successful in this work of founding the Christian community. Among these Paul is preëminent by reason of his character, teaching, and deeds.

Concerning the wider and more limited meanings of the word *ἀπόστολος*, see the New Testament. A comparison of the history of the apostles by Luke with the list of the apostles in the Gospels (Matt. x, 1–4) will reveal to most inquirers the fact, that the sacred narrative leaves us in the dark with regard to the history of a majority of the Twelve. Of these, Peter, James, and John are prominent, even in the Gospel records, and we have relatively more information respecting them than others, although the last days of both Peter and John lie beyond the limits of the canon, and fall within the realm of tradition. This applies still more fully to the work of other apostles. A new period of development evidently begins with Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, who, supported by Timothy, Silvanus, and Titus, not only extended Christianity to the furthest outward limits, but, together with John, also developed its profound internal character, and furnished the greatest and most important contribution toward the doctrinal canon of the New Testament. He became the founder of a body of doctrine, not theoretically, but out of his inmost experience, and through the revelation which, according to his own testimony, was imparted to him.[1] He was the firstfruits of those in whom the grace of God in Christ was glorified, and in whom the Gospel was demonstrated to be the power of God. The exposition of the book

Paul.

[1] Comp. *H. Paret, Paulus u. Jesus, Observations on the Relation of Paul and his Teaching to the Person, the Life, and the Teaching of the Christ of History, in Jahrb. für Deutsche Theologie.

of Acts and the Pauline epistles is, of course, the work of exegetical theology. But this is merely a work preliminary to the history, while, to combine the work of the apostles into a single picture, belongs strictly to the department of historical science. At this point we stand on the boundary line between sacred and Church history. Though the latter cannot exclude the history of the apostolic age, yet it needs a broader foundation than it there finds. For this reason the apostolic age, like the life of Jesus, has received a separate treatment in theological literature. Peculiar difficulties attach to this treatment, however, because recent criticism has endeavored to shake many points in the primitive history of Christianity, as found in the apostolic history by Luke, and in the apostolic epistles, and has sought to explain, by later events, the history of the older heresies, and what has been regarded as belonging to primitive times. Much that the Church regarded as belonging to the "apostolic age" was in this way classed under the "post-apostolic." The destructive efforts upon the apostolic history emanating from the Tübingen school, like the Life of Jesus, by Strauss, gave rise to apologetic attempts at reconstruction, some of which ascribed an importance to the old ecclesiastical traditions that was scarcely to be looked for after all the preliminary critical work accomplished in former decades. The controversy still goes on, and much remains for more thorough investigation, in which research historical inquiry is to take a part equal to that of exegesis.

The apostolic age requiring separate treatment.

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SECTION VI.

THE HISTORICAL FORM AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE BIBLE.

BIBLICAL DOGMATICS AND THE HISTORY OF DOCTRINES.

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ment (Bampton Lect. for 1864), Lond., 1864; James Donaldson, A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, from the death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council. 3 vols., Lond., 1864-66; Robert Rainy, Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine (Cunningham Lectures), Edinb., 1874.

Bible doctrine, like sacred history, results from exegesis, and, like sacred history, furnishes the basis for its further historical development. Inasmuch, however, as the contents of this study are systematic and didactic in their nature, it is found that the boundaries of exegetical, historical, and systematic theology cross each other upon its soil, but in such a way as to make the historical element its chief foundation.[1]

Biblical dogmatics a theological centre.

Biblical dogmatics[2] is the intellectual bond which unites exegetical, historical, and dogmatical studies, the focus where the various rays are collected. On this account it forms, in many respects, a luminous point in theological study. The point from which it is regarded is of importance. If, without reference to systematic development, it be considered simply as a collocation of proof texts in behalf of dogmatics, it becomes the immediate fruit of exegesis; and, in point of fact, only an accomplished exegete is fitted to work in the field of biblical dogmatics. But if it be regarded as combined into a system, as governed by any leading idea, it will approach the positive science of dogmatics itself. Between these two operations, however, is a third, namely, the task of comprehending the revelation of the Bible itself as a historical fact in connexion with the spiritual development of mankind in other directions. In this way we come to occupy the ground of history. Biblical dogmatics is thus simply the internal side of sacred history. The representation of the life of Jesus requires a representation of his doctrine, or, better, of his divine and human consciousness, and his relation to the world and the history of mankind as conditioned by that consciousness, just as a proper conception of the idea that moved and deter-

[1] Schleiermacher, Danz, and Rosenkranz regard it as a historical science. Comp Gabler, p. 183 *sqq.*

[2] The name "Biblical Theology" which is preferred by some (Baumgarten-Crusius, Hävernick, and, more recently, H. Schultz), is evidently either too broad, if the term theology be taken in the modern sense of a collection of the theological sciences, or too narrow, if it be taken to mean merely the doctrine concerning God. Comp. de Wette, Bibl. Dogm., and Danz, p. 301, note 1. The term Dogmatics may also be found to be too limited in its meaning; as Hävernick says, "the fundamental ideas of ethics must also be included." Beck's expression, "The biblical science of doctrine," would, accordingly, be the most appropriate. But so long as the ethical ideas alone are involved, and are not developed into a system of biblical ethics, the phrase Biblical Dogmatics may appropriately be retained. On the inadequacy of the term dogmatics in general, see later, on Systematic Theology.

mined his entire life is the *πρῶτον κινοῦν* of Christian dogmatics in general.[1]

Life and doctrine dissolve into each other with Jesus as with none of our mortal race. The life of an apostle, too, cannot be given in any other way than by placing before our eyes his inner life, as it was determined by intercourse with Jesus or by familiarity with his teaching.[2] The history of doctrines issues from Church History, and becomes a separate branch of it. In the same way the material for the history of doctrines which is contained in the Bible can be utilized for the purposes of historical examination. Thus we acquire a juxtaposition of biblical doctrine as a point of departure for the history of Christian doctrines; with the difference, however, that it is not yet wrought out in scientific form, and is not a complete body of dogmatic ideas. These doctrines are rather pliable substances, possessing the capacity for life, and include the germs of ethical as well as of dogmatical development, in accordance with which the systems of faith and morality in the Bible are chiefly given in combination.

Relation of life and doctrine.

A largely systematizing treatment, or a purely historical and genetic procedure, may prevail in this regard, however, according as the contents of biblical doctrine are apprehended as a whole, thus constituting the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments; or are divided, to correspond with different times and persons, in thus forming the doctrine of Hebraism, of the later Judaism, of Jesus and the apostles; or, with a still closer reference to persons, forming the teaching of Paul, of John, and others. Each of these is given, so far as possible, in its genetic development, which holds good especially of the Pauline system of doctrines.[3] The more flexible the treatment of biblical dogmatics becomes in this regard, and the more the material which has crystallized into ideas is brought into its original flowing condition, the more closely will it approximate the history of doctrines, and the more decidedly will it fall within the historical field. But if the leading object be to represent, in its internal connexion, and as the foundation of ecclesiastical doctrine, the substance of

Flexible treatment of biblical dogmatics.

[1] On the peculiar difficulties of this task, see Schirmer, pp. 51–55. Should the first Gospels, or St. John, furnish the type?

[2] How St. Paul attained to his theology, and what is the relation of his teaching and that of the other apostles to the teaching of Jesus, are important inquiries in this connexion. See the treatise by Paret, referred to above.

[3] An analogous arrangement is possible in connexion with the Old Testament also, *e. g.*, the religion of Abraham, Mosaism, the religion of David, Solomon, Isaiah, etc. The individual element is less prominent in the Old Testament, however, being lost in the theocratic. Comp. Schirmer, p. 50.

Bible teaching as developed through exegetical[1] and historical inquiry, biblical dogmatics will partake more largely of the nature of systematic theology. It will be distinguished from dogmatics proper, however, by confining itself entirely to the beginning, *i. e.*, to the primitive Bible times, without in any way intruding upon ecclesiastical development.

A certain view exists which designedly ignores such development, so that the history of doctrines becomes an article of luxury, and chooses to know no other than biblical dogmatics. This opinion will be examined hereafter, in connexion with the history of doctrines. We may observe here, however, that, in assigning this position to biblical dogmatics, the aim is not to degrade it to a mere historical science, which could only be said with propriety if history were understood to designate what is antiquated. It is, on the other hand, our intention to lift it out from the rigid trammels of the letter into the living organism which forms the subject of historical inquiry. We do not, however, accept the view which holds that what was original is inferior and imperfect, and needs to be purified and elevated into the character of a higher wisdom.[2] The biblical doctrine, on the contrary, although by no means finished and complete in itself, and certainly needing to be explained in harmony with its historical development, continues to retain its normal dignity. The task of biblical dogmatics will be to so present this doctrine in its original vitality and its universal bearings upon the well-being of mankind, that the eternal and ever applicable idea of the God-given truth shall clearly and powerfully shine through the temporal veil of conceptions.[3]

SECTION VII.

HISTORY OF BIBLICAL DOGMATICS.

This science really began with the Reformation,[4] for it was the Reformation that delivered the whole of the science of dogmatics from its scholastic fetters, and established it on the Bible. But

[1] In exegesis the leading object is to recognize the tendency of the subjectivity and individuality in the original form; in dogmatics we seek to discover the identity and truth of the matter. The unity of both tendencies, accompanied with a steady consciousness of their diversity, must therefore be the governing idea in biblical dogmatics. Usteri, Entwickl. d. Paulin. Lehrbegr., 4th ed., Pref., p. vii.

[2] Comp. Strauss, Glaubenslehre, i, p. 177, and Schelling, Methode des akad. Studiums, p. 197 *sqq.*

[3] Very much that is valuable on the idea and method of this science may be found in Hävernick, Bibl. Dogmatik, p. 1 *sqq.*

[4] This does not deny that biblical theology, in the wide sense, has its origin in common with that of theology in general; for "the fathers of Alexandrian Christianity

biblical dogmatics was yet united with ecclesiastical by the Reformers Melanchthon and Calvin; and when, in the seventeenth century, scholasticism again intruded itself into dogmatics, it was found necessary to remain contented with mere observations, as in Vitringa, or, so far as biblical dogmatics as distinguished from ecclesiastical was concerned, with expositions of Scripture texts, as in Seb. Schmidius, Collegium Biblicum, Argent., 1671–76; Hulsemann, Vindiciae S. S. per loca classica systematis theol., Lips., 1679; Majus, Theologia prophetica, Francof., 1710; and Baier, Analysis et Vindicatio illustrium S. S. dictorum, Altorf, 1719. Spener's pietism, at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, again aroused a feeling for the restoration of the simple teaching of the Scriptures, but particularly with reference to its practical rather than its scientific aspects.

Pietism.

Theologia Biblica was understood to signify a popular presentation of the system of belief. It is remarkable that rationalism became the agency for turning back the current into the proper channel, its tendency in opposition to ecclesiastical orthodoxy causing it to labor for the separation of the Bible doctrine from that of the Church, and to endeavor to present it in its purity. In this effort it took away, however, the brightest of the peculiar ornaments of doctrine, so that the thinning out process of rationalizing abstraction left only the *caput mortuum* of a supposed rational doctrine. J. G. Semler published his historical and critical collections on the "so-called proof passages of dogmatics" (Halle, 1764–68) in this spirit, and Gabler wrote the work mentioned above with a like aim. The supernaturalists of that century saw themselves compelled, in the interests of a positive belief in the Bible teaching, to recognize the distinction between biblical and ecclesiastical doctrine. The elder Tübingen school (Storr, Flatt, Bengel, Steudel) took the lead in this direction. The Biblical Theology of G. T. Zachariae (five parts, the last by Vollborth, Gott., 1771–86), for instance, was written from the orthodox point of view; while Hufnagel's work (Erl., 1785–89) was composed in the interest of rationalism. Ammon, L. Bauer, and Bretschneider were likewise more or less in sympathy with the latter tendency. Concerning Kaiser, de Wette, Baumgarten-Crusius, von Cölln, Vatke, and Bruno Bauer, and also with regard to the more recent development of this science in general, comp. Hävernick, Bibl. Dogm., 2d ed., p. 8 *sqq.*, and Nitzsch, *supra.*

Elder Tübingen school.

were essentially biblical theologians;" comp. Nitzsch, p. 220, where attention is also called to the services of Erasmus, in whose works "the most valuable outlines of a Theologia Biblica are contained."

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SECTION VIII.

CHURCH HISTORY.

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The central point of historical theology is Church History. It is the history of the outwardly visible community within whose limits the kingdom of God, which Christ founded, is manifested, and attains to its ultimate development.

Church history is certainly dependent upon our conception of the real nature of the Church.[1] But a completed doctrine of the Church

[1] On the meaning of ἐκκλησία (עֵדָה קָהָל) comp. Gieseler, Ch. Hist., § 1; Bretschneider, Systemat. Entwicklung aller in d. Dogmatik vorkommenden Begriffe (4th ed., 1841), p. 749; Jacobson, Individualität des Wortes u. Begriffes Kirche (in ibid., Kirchenrechtl. Versuchen, I, 58-125). The word "church" (Germ. kirche) has been derived from *τὸ κυριακόν ἡ κυριακή*, *curia*, from the Celtic cyrch or cylch (central-point, place of assembly), and from the Teutonic kieren, kören, or kiesen (to choose), supposed to have been connected with the Latin circus or with keliku (a tower), etc. Comp. Wackernägel, Alt d. Wörterbuch, and Grävell, Die Kirche: Ursprung u. Bedeutung des deutschen Wortes (Görlitz, 1856); for the derivation of *κύριος* comp. Grimm, deutsches W. B., v, p. 790 ff.

"There can," says Trench, "be no reasonable doubt that 'church' is originally from the Greek, and signifies 'that which pertains to the Lord,' or 'the house which is the Lord's.' But here a difficulty meets us. How explain the presence of a Greek word in the vocabulary of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers? for that *we* derive the word mediately from them, and intermediately from the Greek, is certain. What contact, direct or indirect, was there between the languages to account for this? The explanation is curious. While the Anglo-Saxons and other tribes of the Teutonic stock were *almost* universally converted by their contact with the Latin Church in the western provinces of the Roman Empire, or by its missionaries, yet it came to pass that before this some of the Goths on the lower Danube had been brought to the knowledge of Christ by Greek missionaries from Constantinople; and this word *κυριακή*, or church, did, with certain others, pass over from the Greek to the Gothic tongue; and these Goths, the first converted to the Christian faith, the first, therefore, that had a Christian vocabulary, lent the word in their turn to the other German tribes, among others to

is no more to precede Church history than a doctrine of the person of Christ should form the introduction to a life of Jesus. It is, indeed, impossible to ascertain the nature of the Church in any other way than through its history. No great progress can be made by the adoption of the abstract notion of a religious association, whose origin is, perhaps, conceived after the analogy of Rousseau's Social Contract.[1] It will, accordingly, be necessary to start out, with Gieseler, with the statement that "the Church is a particular and historically given conception," which must not be generalized into that of a religious society. To speak of the Church relations of the Jews, Mohammedans, and Hindus is inexact, and the expression, "the Christian Church," is, properly taken, a tautology, or derives its signification from the contrast to the more specific conceptions of Catholic and Protestant, or of Romish, Spanish, and German Churches.

History to precede doctrine.

The Church not merely a society.

Some writers, such as Stolberg, have extended the idea backward into the Old Testament. But it would be equally proper to include Old Testament Christology in the life of Jesus. Nor does the life of Jesus belong within the range of Church history, which has its beginnings at the point where the circle of the earliest disciples begins to extend beyond the limits of a private association, and where a congregational organization is introduced. Hence Church history commences, strictly, as early as the apostolic period, but not until after the departure of Jesus from the earth. For this reason a majority of scholars regard the day of Pentecost following ascension as the birthday of the Christian Church. The apostolic period, at the same time, can only be considered the substructure upon which the edifice of the visible Church is reared, or the root from which the mighty tree

Pentecost the beginning of the Church.

our Anglo-Saxon forefathers; thus it has come round by the Goths from Constantinople to us. The passage most illustrative of the parentage of the word is from Walafrid Strabo (about 840), who writes thus: 'Ab ipsis autem Græcis Kyrch à Kyrios—et alia multa accepimus. Sicut domus Dei Basilica, i. e. Regia à Rege, sic etiam Kyrica, i. e. Dominica à Domino nuncupatur. Si autem quæsitur, quâ occasione ad nos vestigiatiæ: græcitatis advenerint, dicendum præcipuè à Gothis, qui et Getæ, cum èxtempore, quo ad fidem Christi perducti sunt, in Græcorum provinciis commorante, nostrum, i. e. theotiscum sermonem Labuerint.'" Study of Words, pp. 79–81, N. Y., 1854.

[1] Comp. Locke: "A church I take to be a voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God, in such a manner as they judge acceptable to him and effectual to the saving of their souls." Works, vol. ii, p. 145, Lond., 1751. For the insufficient and unhistorical nature of this view, comp. C. H. Weisse, Reden über die Zukunft der evangelischen Kirche, Lpz., 1849, p. 29 *sqq*.

grows, with branches interlacing like an involved network. If the Church be regarded as a complex organization of communities, and if for that very reason it be again distinguished from those communities, it will be apparent that Church history, in the strict sense, begins where the external union of such communities has already been consolidated.[1] But the idea of the Church must be defined with respect to its nature, as well as its range through time and space, and, at this point, care is needed to guard against both a false idealism and a superficial empiricism. The correct view, by which the external and internal, visible and invisible, are apprehended in their proper connexion and correlation, but are likewise distinguished from each other, and according to which Church history has to do with the actualization of the kingdom of God in time and under determinate relations of time and place, stands midway between the purely social and abstract notion and the strictly theocratic view. For, according to the social view, the Church is merely an association of accidental origin, analogous to an insurance company, while the theocratic conception represents the Church as absolutely Divine even in its outward manifestation. The social form, which takes its shape under the influence of apparently accidental occurrences, constitutes the body of the Church, while the idea which is developed in harmony with the laws of spiritual freedom, and therefore by an inward necessity, is its soul.[2] Church history is required to estimate both according to their true value, because they would otherwise represent a life that is neither a corpse nor a ghost.[3]

The Church is not alone social or theocratic.

SECTION IX.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH.

The Church, like every other phenomenon endowed with life, has an external or bodily, and an internal or spiritual, side to its nature. These cannot be sundered from each other, though they may be separated to a certain extent, and severally treated with particular attention. In this way the different, but constantly interacting, departments of church life come into being, which determine the arrangement of the material of Church history, both with regard to the logical rubrics under

The Church both external and internal.

[1] Rothe fixes the beginning of Church history as late as the destruction of Jerusalem; see his Anfänge der christl. Kirche.

[2] Schleiermacher, § 51.

[3] Concerning the relation of the ideal to the historical Church, see Schweizer, Glaubenslehre, p. 183 *sq.*

which it is to be placed and the more independent artistic combination and connexion of the matter itself.

Christianity entered the world, and was compelled to assume relations toward it. So, too, was the world required to enter into relations with Christianity. Christ himself had compared the kingdom of God to leaven which leavens the whole lump, and to a mustard seed which should develop into a wide-spreading tree. The expansive element is contained in the nature and the destination of Christianity—the Church must grow. In the first stages of the life of an individual the outward growth is more noticeable, and calculated to excite remark; and Church history has, similarly and most naturally, to deal, in its earliest periods, with the extension of Christianity. By the side of the expansion, however, we must trace the history of the limitation of Christianity—the persecutions—even as the shadow moves along with the person. For our Lord had even foretold that his Church would be obliged to suffer persecution.

Expansion and Limitation.

The two elements cannot be torn asunder, since the extension of the Church often gave rise to persecution, while the latter, being overruled by God, aided in the extension. The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church. Christianity struck its roots into the world, however, in proportion as its outward extent increased, and its growth involved, as well, the strengthening of the body of the Church. This must be regarded as the necessary condition of the life of the Church, although it seems to be connected with the danger of unduly emphasizing the body, and reducing the Church to the level of the world. To trace this incorporating process, and with it the course of partial secularization which it involves, is the task of the history of the constitution of the Church. But, in connexion with this, we must give attention to the relations of the Church to the State, especially when, under Constantine, the latter became Christian; and to the internal social conditions of the Church itself, such as the separation of the clergy from the laity, gradations of rank among the clergy, the development of the hierarchy, morbid excrescences, divisions or schisms in the Church, and such special phenomena in connexion with its life as monasticism, the *vita canonica*. But within this body, composed as it is of numerous members, for whose study an acute eye is certainly necessary, the soul of the life of Christianity unfolded itself, being partly carried forward and partly hindered by the body. So, Church History, as a branch of theological study, is first of all to fix its attention upon the soul. The soul-life of the Church, moreover, as manifested in worship, doctrine, and

Constitution of the Church.

The soul-life of the Church.

customs, is not only bound organically to the bodily element by numerous ties—for the history of the constitution of the Church holds an unmistakable relation of interaction to the history of worship and of doctrine—but it surrounds itself with a separate body. Worship seeks expression in various forms of art, and doctrine assumes the form of dogma, more or less fully developed, while both are determined by the spirit of special times and peoples, and by the degree of culture which has been attained by any particular age. It is, of course, true that Christian teachings and customs have superseded the old and replaced it by the new; but they have also been determined and modified from that very direction. The history of worship, doctrine, and customs, is, therefore, connected with the general history of civilization, in like manner as the history of the constitution stands related to ordinary political history.

The old conditions superseded.

No one side of the life of the Church can be thoroughly comprehended apart from the other. It would, therefore, be improper to treat Church history in the form of rubrics constructed on a merely external and logical plan, like the drawers in a sideboard. On the contrary, the richer the manifestation of that life is at certain points where it pulsates, the more impossible is it to enforce such a division. This is illustrated by the Reformation, which forces its way through all such limitations, with their superscriptions, by including in its scope at once the constitution, worship, doctrine, and life. An arrangement of the material in the form of extended groupings, by which means, at times, one feature of the life of the Church may be brought into prominence, and at other times another, admits of great diversity in the shadings of the representation, and is, for this reason, certainly preferable, in an artistic point of view, to the abstract mode of treatment by topics.[1]

Advantage of groupings.

It should not be forgotten, however, in the interests of methodology, that the storing away of the material in the memory is facilitated by the arrangement in tabular rubrics, and that the artistic treatment can be profitably employed only where a knowledge of the facts of history already exists.[2] It will be sufficient if, in connexion with the rubrical arrangement, we continually observe the dependence of the several departments upon each other, and direct attention to the links of the organic chain. The rubrics, moreover, will be required to change their titles and relation to each other with the change of

A necessary change of rubrics.

[1] Comp. the works of Henke, Spittler, Hase, Schleiermacher, etc.

[2] Warnings have, with propriety, been raised against too much cutting up of the material; comp. Fricke, Lehrb. der Kirchengesch., Part I, Pref., p. ix, and § 9.

times. It would, for example, be highly improper to assign the leading place in connexion with later times to the extension of Christianity, whose place has, in the course of progress, been removed from the centre to the circumference, while the foreground is occupied by the Church itself, whose outward form was, in the Middle Ages, conditioned by the papacy with its hierarchy. At the time of the Reformation, teaching, or dogma, again comes into the foreground. Such changes of scenery are positively necessary in order to avoid that fatal monotony of style which prevents the presentation from producing the proper impression. However, material cannot be arranged under such categories alone. Sometimes individual churches, in which the Christian spirit has taken on a peculiar stamp, such as the Church of Africa, Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, Germany, or Slavonia, demand a separate treatment. Sometimes great and exciting events, that shake the entire Church, and the world itself, break through the framework of established rubrics, and claim a special treatment. This applies, for example, to the history of the Crusades and the Reformation. A mode of arrangement that regulates itself according to the nature of the material will, consequently, become necessary, and in such plan the division with regard to time, or into periods, demands special attention.

SECTION X.

DIVISION INTO PERIODS.

The categories according to which the rich material of Church history is distributed, whatever may be their character, will be crossed by the lines of chronological division. The measure of these lines is found in those epochal events which have an important bearing upon the whole of the history, but not in the external symmetry of plan, or in occurrences of subordinate importance for the Church.

The division by centuries has, since Mosheim, been almost universally given up. The principle of outward symmetry, which certainly cannot be justified on scientific grounds, lay at its basis. But it cannot be denied, on the other hand, that the beginning of a new century, for example, the eighteenth, occasionally introduces an epoch.[1] The special point at

The centurial division wrong.

[1] To divide a historical representation by centuries is connected with inconvenient consequences. Events are not brought sharply to a close with any of them; the life and actions of mankind reach over from one to another. But all the reasons which govern any method of arrangement are based simply on some preponderating feature. Certain influences appear prominently in a certain century, without suggesting a desire to mistake the preparation for them, or to deny the future consequences they may have produced.—Goethe, Farbenl, ii, p. 169.

which the epoch that introduces a new period is to be assumed can hardly be definitely fixed, an approximation being the most that can ordinarily be secured. While Schleiermacher remarks that "the epochal points of chief importance are always such as not only possess equal value for the functions of Christianity, but are also important to historical development outside the Church,"[1] and the principle is correct in the main, attention may yet be called to the idea that distinct stages of development may be apparent in one field sooner than in the other, and that, therefore, the epochs of Church history can scarcely be identical with those of the history of the world.

The dependence upon theology, to which the latter was subjected in former days, may account for the custom of regarding certain great phenomena in the religious sphere, particularly the introduction of Christianity and the Reformation, in the light of epochs in the history of the world as well. Indeed, they certainly are such to the profounder researches of history into the past, though not to the immediate historical perception.[2] The influence of Christianity upon the history of the world did not become apparent until much later, at the time of the overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West. This event, therefore, is better suited to be made an epoch in secular history than the immediate appearance of Christianity in the world, although the latter constitutes the most natural beginning of Church history.

Influences of Christianity not immediate.

A similar idea will apply to the Reformation. The political transformation of Europe, which was doubtless directly promoted by the religious revolution, delayed its appearance in the world of phenomena until the Peace of Westphalia. The latter, accordingly, possesses greater significance for political history than does the Reformation, while, in importance to Church history, it is inferior to the Reformation. In like manner, other and even religious events, for example, the appearance of Mohammed, occur, and form epochs in the sphere of secular history, which yet have but a subordinate importance for Church history as such, however grave may have been the consequences that reacted upon the fortunes of the Church. An agreement of opinions will always be most readily secured with reference to epochs in connexion with which the factor that moulds a period[3] is most prominently displayed. These, therefore, are epochs in the full breadth of the word.

[1] § 165.

[2] Christianity is, no doubt, the hinge between the Old and the New World, but the hinge itself has a breadth—of centuries!

[3] The distinction between epoch and period is assumed to be from secular history.

In this sense the adoption of Christianity by Constantine, and the connected introduction of that faith to be the state religion, unquestionably constitutes an epoch, although it may be difficult to decide what year should begin the new period—A. D. 306, 312, or 325. With equal certainty Gregory VII. forms a strikingly noticeable feature in the history of the development of the papacy, and hence of the institution with which the character of the Church of the Middle Ages is involved. Nor will it escape the eye of the observer that the period from Gregory VII. to the Reformation embraces three stages—the progress of the papacy to the time of Innocent III.; its hold upon the elevation attained, to Boniface VIII.; and its subsequent decline, which may also be dated from the removal of the papal chair to Avignon at a somewhat later day, down to the period of the Reformation.[1]

What constitutes an epoch.

Finally, none will deny that the division of the Church in the sixteenth century forms an epoch in the treatment of Church history from both a Roman Catholic and a Protestant point of view, although the Council of Trent, rather than the Reformation, will be the turning point in the former case.[2] It will prove more difficult to find, on the other hand, one or more resting places—excepting Gregory the Great and Charlemagne, who are commonly assumed—between Constantine and Gregory VII. that would be equally acceptable to all persons. It is likewise difficult to fix an epoch between the Reformation and our own time, though all are compelled to acknowledge that a crisis intervened after the Thirty Years' War, and again during the first decades of the eighteenth century. It is difficult, however, to connect these with some single event of marked prominence, inasmuch as a multitude of factors co-operated to bring about the revolution in the character of that time. It follows that the settling of definite epochs will remain subject to a certain amount of fluctuations, which, however, involves no loss to science when the points upon which the whole must turn are clearly apprehended.

The Reformation a universal epoch.

[1] To overlook the wholly diverse nature of these two courses of development, and the epochal effect of the removal of the chair to Avignon, is to misunderstand the principal features in which the life of the Church pulsates.—Rettberg, Pref. to vol. vii. of Schmid's Kirchengesch, p. vii. It is not easy to say why Gregory VII. should not himself present a suitable beginning for a new period.—Fricke, i., p. 12.

[2] It is apparent how very different the periodizing of the history of the Reformation must be when regard is had to the Reformation in Germany alone from what it would become when that of other lands is also treated. It is usual to conclude the history of the Reformation with the religious Peace of Augsburg (1555), but this forms a real conclusion only for the German branch of ecclesiastical history.

SECTION XI.

PROPER TREATMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

The requirements for a thorough and profitable treatment of Church history, are:

1. An impartial recognition of the facts secured by the investigation of extant sources and documents. This is historical criticism.

2. Unbiassed estimation of the historical material in harmony with the law of the lower and higher causality. This we may call historical pragmatism.

3. A living interest in Christianity, and a disposition to value its manifestations according to the Christian standard. This is religious fervour or enthusiasm.

1. It is evident that what has been indicated above can be required only of this study in its finished state. This holds good especially of the study of sources,[1] which can be required of the beginner only in limited measure, and in connexion with which the labours of others must in any case prepare his way. Every theologian should, nevertheless, engage in the study of sources in some directions, even though not intending to make a specialty of Church history, with a view to quicken the historical faculty, and become able to estimate the labours of others in this field.

The criticism to be employed on sources is twofold. In one respect it coincides in function with exegetical criticism, as it deals with the authenticity and integrity of the historical monuments which it designs to use. It is governed by the same laws. To this philological criticism, however, is added that of real history. The question arises, whether the authority to whom we appeal could, in view of all his personal traits, his character, culture, and outward circumstances, have stated the truth, and whether he intended to state it? The examination must be impartially conducted, and the worth or worthlessness of the source as a whole, together with the truthworthiness of each statement in particular, be determined accordingly. Care must be taken, however, not to make the goal in this inquiry absolute truth, but relative, and not to apply the measure of our requirements to the earlier ages. A report based on the clear statements of a trustworthy witness is termed reliable, while one that lacks such complete confirmation is doubtful, unsupported, and possibly even suspicious. A correct historical judgment will guard against both a hypercritical or skeptical tendency,

Twofold criticism of sources.

Difference in reports.

[1] Comp. Schleiermacher, §§ 156, 157, 184, 190.

and such an uncritical direction as amounts to a blind belief in authorities and legends.

2. By the side of criticism stands pragmatism. To simply furnish approved narratives of facts, without any elaboration or adding of personal opinions, is the work of merely a good chronicler.[1] The mission of the historian is of a higher character, for history is a living, connected whole. The past is mirrored in the present, and contains within itself the germs of the most distant future. Every particular thing is the product of its age, which is itself determined by the co-operation of many individual elements. Nor can it be denied that national characteristics and constitutions, climate, and various other things, exert an influence over the subjective life, and that these, in turn, have a reflex influence upon the objective life.

Reciprocal influences.

It follows that an endless chain of causes and effects runs through the whole of history, that is, through the development of the moral world in time as through that of the physical world in space. To follow this chain, to ascertain and comprehend both the forces of attraction and of repulsion, according to the laws of social polarity, is the task of historical philosophy, or historical pragmatism. We postulate a twofold law of causality, however, a lower and a higher, a mediate and an immediate. Every concrete fact appears to us, in part, as the product of outwardly traceable, mechanical causes. But it must be remembered that the causal element is itself the effect of other causes, and that the new product contains within itself that causative power which will produce still further effects. But underneath all the various causes, mutually sustaining and supporting as they are, must lie a primal force, in which they find their absolute and positively ultimate base. In a true study of history each of these features will receive due recognition. The tendency to an atomistic mode of treatment must be limited and complemented by the dynamic, in order that no feature be in any way exaggerated. To lead back every thing to known, accepted, and historical causes, and deduce the most exalted matters from inferior antecedents, or explain the original by what has been made or has come into being, what is spiritually necessary and free by what is accidental and arbitrary—in one word, to explain life by death, is belittling, and devoid at once of taste and spirit.

Twofold law of causality.

This would become apparent if the attempt were made to explain

[1] On the distinction between chronicle and history, see Schleiermacher, §§ 152, 154. Upon the whole subject, compare Gervinus, Grundzüge der Historik, Leip., 1837.

the spread of Christianity in the first three centuries simply on the ground of the political and financial condition of the Roman State, the pecuniary difficulties of certain emperors, the excellent character of the Roman roads throughout the realm, and other lesser factors, or the Reformation as resulting merely from an insignificant quarrel between Augustinian and Dominican monks, or Congregationalism from a personal grievance of Brown, or Methodism from John Wesley's individual disapprobation of Oxford formality. For it is true, in appearance only, that what is greatest not rarely springs from what is least, since what is mathematically small is yet dynamically great. The oak comes only from the acorn. External and apparently accidental causes should not be overlooked and neglected, however, any more than they should be overrated. To endeavour to trace back every thing to a single, mysterious, primal cause, to the disregard of intermediate links, is to transform history into an exhausted garden, a magic lantern, out of which only disconnected, puzzling shapes arise, just to vanish again by a mere turn of the hand. "A shallow mind," says Herder, "finds and connects nothing in history but facts; a perverted mind seeks for miracles in it." The truth lies here, also, in the golden middle.[1]

True value of obscure causes.

The moral estimate to be formed of persons and their actions, is likewise dependent on a correct pragmatism in the mode of treatment. Here, again, two extremes must be avoided. An atomistic pragmatism is usually ready to apply the measure of moral perception belonging to its own time to every historical phenomenon, and in this way to be dictatorial over history. It scents fraud and base and dishonourable intentions everywhere, or it rejects, as being silly and fanatical, everything that does not correspond with its ideal of good reason. On this method the mediæval manifestations of the papacy and monasticism, especially, receive rough treatment, and doctrinal controversies assume the character of simply hateful quarrels. This method has no apprehension of the existence of the profounder impulses of the human spirit which are displayed under these fanciful forms. It lacks the elevation of soul that is needed to lift it out of its personal prejudices, and to

Extremes to be avoided.

[1] There was a time—it can scarcely be termed fully past—when people found pleasure in explaining history, even in its most important points of change, out of mere blind, accidental occurrences. This was termed the philosophical method. In our days many have fallen upon a directly contrary method; and this, too, is denominated the philosophical method.—Reuchlin, Geschichte von Port Royal, p. 54. Comp. Gervinus, supra, p. 69 sq. In more recent times Gfrörer has come to occupy this ground in part.

enlarge the individual consciousness until it becomes commensurate with that of the human species.[1]

The contrast to this narrow habit of observation is formed by that sublime objectivity which, in entire abnegation of self, abstains from expressing any moral judgment, and looks down from its speculative watch-tower upon the evolutions of the world-spirit as upon a divine drama. History thus becomes a merely natural process, without the superadding of any moral element. Between these two extremes, the one of which is involved in the nature of deism and the other in that of pantheism, is the ground upon which proceeds the truly theistic method of historical research, whose principle is that history moves in the sphere of freedom, though guided by a Providence which binds and controls all the threads of progress. This real history, therefore, also lies in the sphere of a higher necessity—a necessity which cannot, of course, be established by us on *a priori* principles, but may yet be apprehended by that keen sensibility which improves under the process of quiet observation.

The theistic method.

It is said that "history is the tribunal of the world." But we should probably find that the necessary documents for any real and practical application of the idea are wanting to us. God has reserved the judgment for himself; and for this reason our judgment should be exercised sparingly. The rule by which, in Church history, we are to estimate the different phenomena connected with the Church, can only be the word of God. This is the canon by which we are to judge of every further stage of development in the Christian life. In connexion with every new appearance we are to inquire, "How is it related to the idea of Christianity, as laid down in the New Testament?"

God's word the standard of judgment.

This should not be construed to mean, however, that every special form of the Christian life which does not thoroughly resemble that of the apostolic Church is to be rejected. Such a view would

[1] Hence, Neander, speaking with reference to the Crusades, says: "The lowest place is occupied by cold reason, which, more than other judges, denies the native nobility of human nature, and looks with aristocratic pity upon such times; not because it is governed by enthusiasm for the truly real, but because only that seems real to its judgment which is the lowest of all that appears, and because precisely what is most beautiful in this connexion is regarded by it as only fancy—namely, labour and daring expended for things whose only value lies in the bosom of mankind."—Der heil. Bernhard (1st ed.), p. 210. "It is usual to say," observes a Roman Catholic writer, "that the chest makes the orator. It may be said, in a higher sense, that the heart makes the historian; truth does not rest on criticism alone, but much more on the determination to love it, even when its language is not pleasant."—Hist. pol. Blätter für das kathol. Deutschland, 1854, No. 8, p. 654.

be the death of all history, whose very nature requires development. The developed life is related to the original like the plant to the germ. The life of the germ, however, passes over into the plant; and the principle of Christianity must similarly be traceable in every manifestation, any phase of church life being morally justifiable only in so far as that principle can be made to appear. Wherever this principle is lacking, or has been perverted into its contrary, the existence of a morbid state cannot be mistaken, though there are many different degrees in the malady. An entire institution in the Church, for instance the papacy, may, with all its consequences, appear to deserve rejection from the standpoint of pure apostolical Christianity, as being itself morbid and the product of morbid conditions, without compelling the conclusion that the history of the popes is, for that reason alone, a history of antichrist. On the one hand, it will be necessary to consider the papacy itself in its historical relation to the Christian world under its Germanic form, as the counterpoise to barbaric wilfulness and boorishness ; and, on the other, to estimate the different popes by the measure of the papal idea, which will at all events reveal a wide chasm between a Gregory VII. and an Alexander VI.

The principle of Christianity must be ever present.

It is also possible "for a historian to defend the mediæval popes, and, at the same time, to be a determined opponent of the persons who desire the restoration of the papacy of the Middle Ages for our own times."[1] The same applies to monasticism, from which the Reformation itself came forth, while the historical Reformation differs from a mere abstract theory of doctrinal improvement by reason of the fact that Luther passed through this very vital experience of the mediæval Church, upon which he was subsequently called to exert a reformatory influence. A comforting feature in history lies in the fact that error, even where it is most obdurate, is yet manifested only as an excrescence upon the truth, and that even a corrupt age contains within itself, though unconsciously, the remedies upon which a later time will lay hold with a more untrammeled judgment.

Remedies in even a corrupt age.

History thus becomes the teacher of the present, but only in the entirety of its development, though it may be said, with greater accuracy, that the present thus results from history. Hence it must be regarded as a gross abuse to make history subservient to so-called interests of the times and to personal preferences, in such

[1] Möhler, Kleine Schriften, i, p. 76. A striking example is found in Voigt in his treatment of Gregory VII.; comp. his Antwort an den Bischof von La Rochelle, June 23, 1829, (in pref. to 2d ed.)

way as to compel it to yield either ideals with which to dazzle the uninformed, or caricatures with which to excite their fears.[1] History is thus reduced to the character of an armory to which every combatant resorts for the weapon needed in any special emergency; and what they term "the spirit of the times," which they thus call up, according to their belief is not rarely "the spirit of the gentlemen themselves."

3. Our third requirement, the moral and religious disposition, is for this reason closely connected with the preceding remarks. It was during an extended period considered the highest wisdom of historical pragmatism to insist that the historian should belong to no religion, and that, therefore, the best Church History is that which displays the least affection for its object, and, at the same time, evinces no preference for any current tendency of thought—hence, which is distinguished by its lack of colour and animation. We recall attention, at this point, to our remarks on the objective tendency in exegesis. It is doubtless true that prejudice in any direction is damaging to free historical vision. The historian should be superior to the appeals of party interest. But this does not imply that he should neither have convictions nor express them. If such convictions do not amount merely to a clinging to blind prejudices, but are, instead, the fruit of intellectual effort, they may find expression, and naturally will, and ought to be, avowed, in proportion as they are living convictions. The person who possesses an enthusiasm for art, and has been initiated into the mysteries of its life, will surely be more competent to write its history than one who stands far aloof from it. Moreover, as a rule, the best history of a people will be furnished by him who has lived and felt with that people, and has been penetrated with a

Moral and religious disposition.

Damage from prejudice.

Best historians in sympathy with the people.

[1] Schleiermacher, § 155, note: "An excited, egoistic interest, and, consequently, every partial tendency, is a most potent influence to pervert the historical vision in the scientific sphere, as in common life." Comp. Ullmann, p. 677: "In an age that is agitated by the spirit of partisanship, nothing is so likely to mislead as the temptation to make historical inquiry, among other things, subserve the demands of party and the interests of the day, because fame and advantage may be thus secured, for the moment at least, if not permanently. But where this is the case, the thorough and comprehensive study of sources will possess no great value." "The introduction of present interests into historical labours," says Ranke, "generally results in hindering the independent performance of such undertakings" (Pref. to Engl. Geschichte, p. xi). Ranke, no doubt, follows his objective tendency to an extreme, with reference to ecclesiastical contrasts as well as other matters. He writes history "in the placid frame of a painter of fancy pictures." See the review in the Augsburg Allgem. Zeitung, supplement, 345, 1860.

recognition of its most sacred interests—such as Tacitus, Möser, J. von Müller, Macaulay, Palacky. The objection might be raised, indeed, that, for example, on this principle, the history of Islam could be best treated by a Mohammedan, and that of Judaism by a Jew. We must acknowledge the force of this reply, in so far as the Christian inquirer into history who would know and describe those religions as they are in their inmost being, will be required to enter personally into the life of Mohammedanism or Judaism, so as to reproduce them from within himself. It only remains to inquire whether such reproduction be possible; and at this point frequent errors have, unquestionably, taken place. Often, too, has the narrow spirit of Christian ecclesiastical historians prevented them from forming a correct estimate of the conditions of heathendom. For this, however, Christianity must not be blamed. Where the latter has attained to its highest development, it can be said with propriety that the Christian "proves all things." For the most independent and unprejudiced representation of a lower condition is always executed from a higher level. Indeed, the really moving principle of the lower state can be thoroughly apprehended and understood by him only who occupies the higher level.[1] The manner in which the Christian may apprehend and elaborate Judaism and Mohammedanism differs greatly from the treatment which the Jew or Mohammedan is able to accord to Christianity, or even to his own religion, to which he stands related as a dreamer. The "veil of Moses" is on their faces. The real character of such institutions is apparent only to the awakened and sober research of Christendom. The further elucidation of this question belongs to apologetics. We do not assert that certain branches of Church history are beyond the capacity of persons who have no sympathy with the vital principle of Christianity, or who are even in antagonism with it. But the efforts of such inquirers must be restricted either to the mere collecting of material or to narrow criticisms, while that which really gives movement and life to history remains concealed from their vision. This was emphatically the case with Gibbon.

Christianity not chargeable with narrow Church history.

The lower best understood by the higher.

Life, in its inmost relations, is disclosed only to him who loves,[2]

[1] Upon this point we coincide with Möhler (Kleine Schriften, ii, p. 284), the only difference being that he considers Roman Catholicism as constituting the highest stage, while we assign that character to Protestantism. Which of these latter is better qualified to understand the other, is, of course, a question of time, upon which, however, our own opinion is formed.

[2] Marcus Aurelius was a good and also an intelligent man, but he was no more able

while it is doubtless true that the eye of a cold observer, or of a foe, will be keener to discover faults and frailties than that of love, which is often blind to such traits. Such blindness, however, is checked by the cultivation of the true Christian spirit, which is a spirit of truth. In this spirit, and in the measure in which it has been received into us, the image of the Church is most accurately reflected, not, indeed, without spot or wrinkle, but exactly as it is, and with all its lights and shadows. The cold spirit of worldly wisdom catches upon the concave mirror of its really hollow head and heart only the caricature of the original picture, while it remains itself unknown.[1]

The Christian spirit both loving and just.

SECTION XII.

METHOD OF CHURCH HISTORY.

It is impossible, in view of the wide extent of Church History, to give equal attention to all the noteworthy factors within its domain. For this reason the relation of the general to the particular will be determined by the degree of theological interest which attaches to a given matter. Every scholar who desires to work successfully upon details will need to possess a general and systematic acquaintance with the whole field in its synchronous relations, in order to which the study of tables, or, better, the construction of them, will become necessary.

The whole field must be understood.

to conceive of the spirit that brought the martyrs to the stake, and strengthened them there, than a person absolutely devoid of speculative ability is able to comprehend Spinoza's ethics.—Kliefoth, Einl. in d. Dogmengesch, p. 174.

[1] Gieseler says: "The ecclesiastical historian must renounce party interest, as well as prejudices arising from the peculiarities of his time. On the other hand, he cannot penetrate into the internal character of the phenomena in Church history without a Christian, religious spirit, because no spiritual manifestation that is foreign to our habits can be apprehended with historical correctness without being reproduced in the imagination of the inquirer. Only such inquiry can discover where the Christian spirit is entirely wanting, where it is only used as a mask, and what other spirit has taken its place. Nor will it fail to recognize its presence, even though finding expression under forms of manifestation that are strange to our eyes."—Church History, American edition, vol. i, pp. 23, 24. Comp. also Schleiermacher, § 193, and Fricke, Lehrbuch der Kirchengesch, i, § 7. Thiersch makes it the great task of Church history "to recognize what, in the course of events, was natural development, what was human guilt, and what, in consequence of man's sin, supernatural interference." He continues: "Church history rises to the character of a true and real theological science only when it connects the whole of the past with the present, and traces the progress of events from the beginning of the Church to our day, in order thus to reveal the work of the Church that now is, to lay a foundation for the understanding of our own times, and open a conjectural view into the future of the Church." (Vorlesungen über Protestantismus und Katholicismus, vol. i, p. 138 sq. Erlangen, 1846.) Comp. also Ullmann, in the Preface to the 3d ed. of Neander, Church History.

But, from this whole, the Protestant theologian will be able to select those particular sections in which the Church was either predominantly engaged in the course of healthful development, or was returning to such state, involving, of course, the leading features of the history of its decline and degeneration during the Middle Ages, and also, as a necessary connecting link, the grand outward form assumed by the Church of that period.

Every scholar should, moreover, be especially acquainted with the history of the Church, and the Reformation, and Protestantism, in his own country; and, since the universal derives animation and clearness only through its details, it follows that the study of special features is to be recommended as being particularly fitted to stimulate and shape the mind.

The field of Church history is infinite in its extent,[1] and there is, consequently, no limit to the labours of the Church historian. The student, however, who is preparing for ordinary service in the Church, the theologian in a general way, can only be required "to be familiar with so much of this infinite material as is necessary to his independent participation in the government of the Church." To this end the general history of the Church, which furnishes him with the needed outline, is first of all necessary.[2] Every scholar should be so familiar with this as to leave no gap in the progress of centuries of development which he cannot fill with the names about which its principal reminiscences cluster. The fixing of this synchronistic syllabus in the memory, by the use of tables, is indispensable, the entering upon particulars being nothing more than a planless digging and grubbing unless such a picture of the whole has been impressed on the mind.

Necessity of general history.

Nor is the mere picture all that is necessary. The outline must be filled in, and made to live—a feature that should not be made to depend on accidental circumstances. No general decision can be rendered as to whether the history of the Church is more important in its ancient, its intermediate, or its modern periods. It is easy to see that the intermediate history will sustain a different relation to both the ancient and the modern, according to the Protestant or the Roman Catholic view. But it would be unhistorical, and ultra-Protestant as well, to argue that we might dispense with the history of the Middle Ages and the hierarchy as beyond the limits of the Church. If it be regarded simply as a history of the decline and corruption of the Church, it would be important to understand it for that very reason. But it is more than this. It connects the

[1] Schleiermacher, § 184.

[2] Schleiermacher, §§ 91, 185, 187.

various threads in many ways, however much it severs and entangles them in other respects; and it is necessary that such points of connexion be recognized, and that the Roman Catholicism of the Middle Ages be apprehended in its principles, a work that is possible only when some acquaintance with the details of the material of history has been secured. It would, nevertheless, lead away from the goal at which the Protestant student of theology aims in the study of Church History, if special attention were directed, for instance, upon the details of the history of the popes and religious orders, or of the Romish ritual—as has been done in Hurter's Innocenz III.[1]—while only a rapid survey is taken of the Reformation and the history of more recent times, or too great brevity is exercised while treating the ancient Church. The latter and the history of the Reformation, with the events resulting from it, constitute, therefore, the real soil of the Protestant Church, upon which the Protestant theologian should by all means be at home, even though he may not ignore the Middle Ages. The relation might almost be compared with that of the study of the Old Testament to that of the New, in the department of exegesis.

Necessary to understand Middle Ages.

To the above we must add the Church history of the student's native land. Every one ought to possess a more intimate knowledge of the founding and extension of Christianity in his own country, and be more familiarly acquainted with the history of its ecclesiastical institutions, and especially of Protestantism within its bounds, than will be possible to him from general history alone. In this direction private studies will become necessary to supplement the instruction received in the theological seminary.

Necessity of acquaintance with Church history of our own country.

It is further necessary that just proportions be observed in the extent of treatment accorded to the different departments in the life of the Church. Protestants are inclined to discuss the history

[1] Comp. § 14, and Schleiermacher, §§ 154 and 191. We would direct attention to the fact that, in the study of Church history in general, the leading object is not a mere knowledge of details and the cramming of the memory—not merely *conception*, but *perception*. Comp. Roth (in Gelzer's Prot. Mon. Blötter, 1851, Dec., p. 364): "The objective history of the Church may be learned from lectures or books, and is an object of conception; but the subjective history requires perception, as does scarcely another study. If the latter be taken as the object of conception merely, it will afford no nourishment to the mind. Is there anything more discouraging than an examination at which the candidate expresses his opinion respecting Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, or Abelard, in the precise terms which he copied from the respective lectures?" It appears, then, that to stimulate—be the subject what it may—remains the principal object of the historical lecture.

of teaching with greater thoroughness than the history of constitutions and worship. For a long time they neglected the history of art altogether, though it has now been properly restored by Hase, Piper, Hemans, and Northcote to a place in the organism of Church History The history of heresies should be treated in such way as to give prominence to the principal tendencies represented by the several heresies, and avoid distracting the gaze by dwelling too greatly upon unimportant details. At the same time, the danger incident to the generalizing process, of becoming superficial, and obliterating what is peculiar in any particular instance, should not be overlooked. It will, accordingly, be useful to pursue, at times, a thoroughly specific and particular question down to its last threads, and this not only for him who devotes himself professionally to the study of Church History, but for every person who desires to arrive at a clear and living apprehension of the facts of ecclesiastical history in general.

Protestant emphasis on the history of teaching.

This leads us to monography, and, more immediately, to biography. It is not only greatly instructive, but also truly refreshing and edifying, to enlarge one's own limited life by the process of entering thoroughly into the life of an age, or even of an individual and his inmost soul, until, so to speak, we breathe, think, and feel with him, look with his eyes upon the outer world, and travel, preach, and suffer with him. Let it be admitted that a momentary partiality is likely to result from this process. It will yet be most readily removed by a later absorption into a contemporaneous character of different type, by which means a new metempsychosis is passed through, and by a different road. An increased interest will also be obtained by studying, side by side, two antagonizing personalities, which appear to have been raised up in order to complement each other, like the two poles of the physical world; by explaining each by comparison with the other; and by constructing, in a psychological way, the history to which they give movement and life from such personal factors.

Necessity of monography.

For illustration, let Bernard of Clairvaux be placed beside Arnold of Brescia, Anselm beside Abelard, Erasmus beside Hutten, Luther beside Zwingli, Calvin beside Castellio, Knox beside Cranmer, and Bossuet beside Fénelon. Such parallels, if drawn by the hand of some Christian Plutarch, would necessarily be highly suggestive. In connexion with this subject it is important, however, that the law of mutual interaction be not overlooked, by which each age is seen to be the product of the spiritual and personal forces that exert a controlling influence upon it, while

Necessity of parallels.

they, in turn, are the product of their age, having been rooted in a long, extended past. It is equally improper to say that men make history, and to regard them as being merely the expression and human image of the prevalent spirit of their time. Every person is the child of his time; but it is not given to every one to become the father of a new generation.

While biography is undoubtedly a most valuable study for the developing theologian,[1] it yet does not exhaust the task of monography. The description of special forms of ecclesiastical life, for example, of Port Royal in the seventeenth century, and the pursuit of special tendencies of mind down to their ultimate details, such as monasticism, mysticism, and other vagaries, is, likewise, highly instructive and invigorating, provided the particular subject be not treated as a dry curiosity, but in its connexion with the entire development of the life of the Church.[2]

THE HISTORY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

* F. C. Baur, Epochen d. kirchl. Geschichtsschreibung, Tub., 1852; Ter Haar, Historiographie der Kerkgeschiedenis, part i, Eusebius to Laurentius Valla; part ii, Flaccius to Semler, Utrecht, 1870–71. John G. Dowling, New Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History, Attempted in an Account of the Progress, and a Short Notice of the Services, of the History of the Church, Lond., 1838. Philip Schaff, What is Church History? Phila., 1846.

The origin of the Church itself furnishes the necessary condition for the origin of its history, and every monument of the life and work of the Church is, directly or indirectly, a source for that history. The construction of a historical representation could not be undertaken before some time had elapsed, that is to say, before ground had been gained upon which to rear the structure of Church history. The first work of this kind was furnished by Eusebius, to A. D. 324, who availed himself, however, of the labours of an earlier writer, Hegesippus, about A. D. 150. Editions of Eusebius were published by Valesius, Paris, 1659 sqq., and Reading, Cant., 1720; manual edition by Heinichen, Leips., 1827–39, 4 vols.; and by Burton, including Vita Constantini, 1838. Later editions have been by Schwegler, 1852; Lämmer, 1859; and Dindorf, 1867. With regard to his trustworthiness, compare the

Eusebius.

[1] Fricke says: "Every person is an individual mirror of his time. But the great spirits of any age are those who are most pure, clear, and prophetic. It should never be forgotten, however, that both for the purposes of conception and representation, they are only important as being the especially prominent expression of the common mind of their respective times, which ought always to be apprehended," p. 6.

[2] Upon this point compare, especially, Ullmann in the Preface to Trechsel, History of Early Antitrinitarians.

works of Moeller, 1813, Danz, 1815, Kestner, 1817, Reuterdahl, 1826, Rienstra, 1833, and Baur, 1834.

Eusebius was succeeded by Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and the Arians, and by Philostorgius in the fifth century, and Theodorus and Evagrius in the sixth. Concerning the first three, compare Holzhausen, 1825. The Arians are found in the editions by Reading and Valesius.

Latin historians.

The Latin Church was less prominently engaged than the Greek during the first period in writing Church history. Mention should, however, be made of Rufinus, the translator of Eusebius, Sulpicius Severus at the beginning of the fifth century, Cassiodorus and Epiphanius (Tripartita History) in the middle of the sixth, and Gregory of Tours at its close. In the Middle Ages the following chroniclers in the West are prominent, besides the Byzantines (collected by Niebuhr, 1828 sqq., 46 vols.)—Syncellus, Theophanes, and Nicephorus, in the fourteenth century; Jornandes (550), Gregory of Tours (died 595), the Venerable Bede (died 735), Paul Warnefried (died 795), Haymo of Halberstadt (died 853), Anastasius (died 886), Hermannus Contractus (died 1054), Lambert of Herzfeld (died 1077), Sigbert of Gemblours (Gamblacensis, died 1112), Adam of Bremen (died about 1076), and still others. Besides these are many martyrologists and legend writers, who are generally uncritical and deficient in the qualities belonging to the historian.

Reformation of less effect upon Church history than exegesis.

The influence of the Reformation was less immediately effective upon Church history than upon exegesis. It was not until after the religious Peace of Augsburg, when the storms were in part over, that a number of Lutheran theologians at Magdeburg, headed by Matthias Flacius (Illyricus), undertook a diffuse history of the Church, arranged by centuries, and, at the same time, under rubrics. This is the Magdeburg Centuries, 1559–74. The work consisted of thirteen folio volumes, each of which covered a century. The German edition is by Count Münnich, Hamburg, 1855. Compare Twesten's Matthias Flacius, Berlin, 1844, pp. 16, 17. In opposition to the Centuries, Cæsar Baronius published Ecclesiastical Annals (12 vols., Rome, 1588–1607) extending to 1198; other editions, with continuations, have also been issued from a Romish point of view.

For a long time afterward Church history was cultivated simply in the interests of denominational parties. Of Lutherans, the more prominent writers were Kortholdt, Ittig, Cyprian, Buddæus, Weissmann, and Pfaff. Among the Reformed we may mention Hospinian, Turretin, J. Hottinger, Jablonsky, and others. Of Roman

Catholics we enumerate Natalis (Noel), Alexander, Fleury, Bossuet, and Tillemont. To these names might be added those of members of the order of St. Maur in France, who rendered useful service by publishing editions of the Church Fathers, and by the investigation of special portions of Church history. The mystic Gottfried Arnold endeavoured to give an impartial attitude to Church history by taking the part of the hitherto despised heretics and sectarians, in his History of the Church and of Heretics, published in 1699, and frequently since. But his impartiality became partiality in their behalf. The great Mosheim, who died in 1755, was the first to succeed in obtaining for Church history the character of an independent science, and from his time Göttingen became the seat of ecclesiastical historiography.[1] Special departments of Church history were industriously cultivated by Chr. Wilhelm Fr. Walch, who died in 1784, and by his father, Joh. Georg Walch, of Jena, who died in 1775.

Denominational character of Church history.

Mosheim the reformer of Church history.

Semler made use of criticism that was carried to the extent of scepticism, but "without any capacity to appreciate the peculiar conditions of earlier times,"[2] or a single trace of historical art. At this time the influence of modern views also began to make itself felt, giving rise to the pragmatical method of writing history. We must regard G. J. Planck, of Göttingen, as the chief representative of this tendency. L. T. Spittler wrote a manual which is thoughtful, though evincing a rather worldly judgment, and devoted to the service of the enlightenment of the age. By its perspicuous arrangement, however, it affords a clear view of the field. Schröckh's work, in forty-five volumes, furnishes a rich wealth of material, and is written from the standpoint of moderate orthodoxy. The rationalistic idea of Church history, by which it becomes predominantly the history of human folly, finds expression in Henke. Schmidt, of Giessen, retraced the way to that purely objective position which requires indifference as the primary and cardinal virtue of history. Danz and Gieseler, in their text-books—the latter furnishing a more judicious and comprehensive selection—led the student back to the sources, by accompanying the text step by step with extended quotations from the original authorities. Gieseler, especially, has added the most thorough elucidations of difficult points.

This pre-eminently learned treatment was followed by the orthodox and emotional method of Neander, who made it his object to present the history of the Church upon the basis of learned inquiry, "as a speaking demonstration of the

Neander.

[1] Compare F. Luecke, De Joanne Laurentio Moshemio, Gott., 1837.

[2] Hase.

divine power of Christianity, as a school of Christian edification, doctrine, and warning, for all who are willing to hear."[1] While his glance was almost exclusively directed to the internal side of ecclesiastical events, in order to ascertain their religious importance, the rich mind of Hase reflected, in all its features, the image of the times which, by his artistic skill, he outlines in glowing colours for such persons as are already somewhat familiar with the subject. Guericke, occupying the position of a prejudiced denominational polemic, employed the rich material, which had to some extent been borrowed from other writers, for the purpose of a defence of Lutheranism, accompanied with unjust insinuations against the Reformed Church views. A similar, though more independent, disposition characterizes the work of Kurtz, which is distinguished, however, by the richness of its material. Schleiermacher has left a valuable work behind him in his Church History. It, however, lays no claim to completeness, and is rather a magnificent sketch in the spirit of the author than a work of history. Baur has given the results of his critical inquiries and combinations from the standpoint of a definite, philosophical theory, in a series of descriptions of the several periods, which have lately been combined into a whole.

In the Roman Catholic Church various tendencies likewise come into view. Jansenism found its organs, and also the Illuminati of the reign of Joseph II. of Austria (1765–90), both being in opposition to the method of writing history in support of ultramontanism. Stolberg's Church History came to an end with year 530, and was continued by Kerz to the year 1300, and by Brischar to the present time. Among later works, those by Katerkamp, Ritter, Locherer, Doellinger, Annegarn, Reichlin-Meldezg, and Alzog, are of principal importance.

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SECTION XIII.

AUXILIARY SCIENCES.

The auxiliaries to Church History are:

I. Material.

1. A knowledge of the general history of the world, more particularly as connected with the general history of religion; of philosophy and the sciences; and of art, especially Christian art.

2. The Geography of the Church.

3. The Chronology of the Church.

II. Instrumental.

1. Acquaintance with the languages necessary for the study of sources. This is Ecclesiastical Philology.

2. The antiquarian skill needed for judging of the value of sources, monuments, and documents. This we call Church Diplomatics.

GENERAL HISTORY.

The importance of familiarity with the general history of the world will be apparent without discussion. Not only does church history, as an integral part of the history of the world and the human race, assume the latter, but the two often pass over into each other to some extent, as, for instance, in the Middle Ages. Hence, in this special field, non-theological and theological writers find a common ground.[1] Nor may we forget that the history of Christianity, which certainly should not be lost sight of in the history of the Church, covers a larger surface than church history itself. To oppose the history of the world to the latter, as being merely profane history, would be to commit serious error. "This is a mode of judging," says Rothe, "in connexion with which the Christian element in history will inevitably appear to become more and more exhausted as time goes

Intimate relations of general and church history.

[1] We cite, in illustration, Raumer's Gesch. d. Hohenstaufen, and similar works. An acquaintance with the literature of general history is taken for granted. Comp. Gieseler, Church History, vol. i, p. 19, notes.

on, and the history of the Christian world becomes the history of the self-effected dissolution of Christianity, according to a view that has now become popular."[1]

Nor may the ecclesiastical historian disregard the history of other religions, among which the history of the Israelites is most nearly related to Christianity, so that Old Testament history becomes at this point an auxiliary to church history. Not only did the arrangements of the early Church grow out of the later organization of the Jewish synagogues, but the whole of the Middle Ages presents to view, in certain aspects, a repetition of Israelitish history, such as the hierarchy, the temple service, the Levitical institution, the unifying of Church and State, intolerance, and the parallel between David and Charlemagne. The history of Mohammedanism is important for a proper conception of the Spanish, and also of the Greek and later Oriental, churches, as well as for the Crusades. But Hellenism and Paganism should also arrest the attention of the church historian. For the peculiarities of Christianity, whose historical development he is to describe, can only be recognized by contrast with non-Christian institutions. The significance of Christianity in universal history cannot be scientifically understood without acquaintance with the ancient world and its religions. Nor does the fact that the delineation of church history in general will connect itself with descriptions of the religious state of the ancient world, constitute the only important feature. For the missionary history of every country will always embrace the two leading elements of a description of what previously existed, and a statement of what subsequently took its place. The material for religious history will, consequently, increase in quantity in proportion as the continued expansion of Christianity provides a constant supply of new material for church history.

Mohammedanism.

Need of knowledge of the ancient world and its faiths.

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—— Denkmale deutscher Baukunst, Bildnerei u. Malerei. Lpz., 1853–69. 12 vols.

H. G. Hotho, Geschichte der christl. Malerei. Berl., 1867.

M. Carriere, Aesthetik. 2d ed. Lpz., 1873. 2 vols.

Bethmann-Hollweg, Christenth. u. bild. Kunst. Bonn, 1875.

R. Garrucci, storia dell' arte cristiana nei primi 8 secoli della chiesa. Prato, 1875–79. 5 vols.

C. B. Stark, Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst. Lpz., 1878.

G. Portig, Relig. u. Kunst in ihrem gegenseit. Verhältniss. Iserl., 1879 f. 2 parts.

Th. Seemann, Gesch. der bild. Kunst. Jena, 1879. 2 parts.

Periodicals for Christian Art:

Christliches Kunstblatt, founded by C. Grüneisen and others, now pub. by Merz u. Pfannschmidt. Stuttg., 1858 ff. (Yearly, 12 Nos.) Organ for Christian Art, pub. by J. van Endert. Köln, 1851 f.

Biographical:

Quatremère de Quincy, histoire de la vie et des ouvrages des plus célèbres architectes. Par., 1830. 3 vols. Deutsch, Darmst., 1831. 2 vols.[1]

J. Meyer, allgem. Künstlerlexicon. (2d ed. of Naglers K. lex.). Lpz., 1870 ss.

[1] The special literature is elaborately and accurately given in Otte's work. Compare also Liturgies.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE.

1. Culture and Literature.

H. T. Buckle, History of Civilization in England. 3 vols. New ed., Lond., 1878.

J. W. Draper, A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe. Revised ed. 2 vols. N. Y., 1876.

F. Guizot, The History of Civilization from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. Translated by William Hazlitt. 4 vols. N. Y., 1859.

W. A. Mackinnon, History of Civilization. 2 vols. Lond., 1846.

2. Architecture and Art.

C. L. Eastlake, History of the Gothic Revival. Lond., 1872.

C. E. Norton, Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages. Venice, Siena, Florence. N. Y., 1880.

G. A. Poole, History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England. Lond., 1848.

G. G. Scott, An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture Prior to the Separation of England from the Roman Obedience. Lond., 1881.

Sir G. Scott, Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediæval Architecture. Illustrated. 2 vols. Lond., 1879.

E. Sharpe, Seven Periods of English Architecture. Lond., 1871.

C. E. Clement, A Handbook of Legendary and Mythological Art. N. Y., 1872.

—— Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers, and their Works. 6th ed. N. Y., 1881.

Mrs. A. Jameson, The History of our Lord as Exemplified in Works of Art; with that of his Types: St. John the Baptist, and other Persons of the Old and New Testaments. 2 vols. New ed. Lond., 1872.

—— Legends of the Madonna. New ed. Lond., 1879.

—— Sacred and Legendary Art. New ed. 2 vols. Lond., 1879.

Ecclesiastical geography differs from political in the fact that countries are divided up according to their ecclesiastical relations. The Christian countries are separated from the non-Christian; and, within the limits of the former, the denominational are distinguished from the unconfessional by boundaries, while the territory embraced within the limits of a single ecclesiastical organization is further subdivided into the politico-ecclesiastical sections covered by patriarchates, dioceses, parishes, and other subdivisions. The places are topographically distinguished—with all of which the remarkable facts in Church history stand connected. In studies we must connect geographical charts with historical tables. It is also proper to adduce ecclesiastical statistics in connexion with the geography. But the former, considered as the science of ecclesiastical conditions, is rather a product of Church history than an auxiliary science.[1] The aggregate resulting from the past is represented in the present. We may name the following as important works:

[1] Older works by Clericus, Spanheim, Bingham, and others; see Gieseler (Amer. ed.), vol. i, pp. 16, 17. The works of Stäudlin, Wiggers, and Wiltsch; see under Statistics.

Atlas antiquus sacer, ecclesiasticus et profanis, collectus ex tabulis geographicis Nic. Samsonis. Tabulas emendavit J. Clericus. Amst., 1705 *sq.*

A. W. Moeller, Hierographie, vide supra under Tables.

J. E. T. Wiltsch, Atlas sacer s. ecclesiasticus. Gotha, 1843 *sq.* English ed., translated by John Leitch. 2 vols. Lond., 1859.

3. Ecclesiastical chronology is identified with chronology in general. The different eras are of special importance. The following are the best works in this department:

J. Ch. Gatterer, Abriss d. chronologie. Gött., 1777.

J. Ideler, Handbuch der chronologie. 2 vols. Berl., 1825, 1826. Lehrbuch do., 1831.

F. Piper, Kirchenrechnung. Berl., 1841–44.

* Brinkmann, Prakt. Handb. d. histor. Chronologie. Lpz., 1843.

F. v. Schmöger, Grundriss d. christl. Zeit- u. Festrechnung. Halle, 1854.

J. E. Riddle, Ecclesiastical Chronology. Lond., 1848.

II. 1. Ecclesiastical philology. This is generally understood to designate the knowledge of ecclesiastical Greek and Latin, and it is upon this soil that the language of the Church has actually secured its chief development in the accumulation of ecclesiastical ideas. But, in reality, the language of every people to whom the Gospel has forced its way—and it is destined to be proclaimed in all the tongues of the earth—is within the range of ecclesiastical philology. This applies to the different Oriental languages, the speech of the Occident during the Middle Ages, and the modern tongues of Europe and other lands. To trace the ecclesiastical language of Germany through its development by the mystics, Luther, the pietists, and the influence of modern philosophy, would prove a serious task. Much remains to be done with reference to the etymology of German ecclesiastical terms. The best authorities are:

J. Cp. Suicer, Thesaurus ecclesiasticus e Patribus graecis (1682). 2d ed. Amstel., 1728. 2 vols. f.

C. du Frèsne (du Cange), Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis. Lugd., 1688. 2 vols. f.

—— Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis (1678); ed. nova opera et stud. Monachor. ord. S. Benedicti. Par., 1733–36. 6 vols. f. New ed., by G. Henschel. Par., 1840 ff. 7 vols. 4.

P. Carpentier, Glossarium novum ad scriptores medii aevi cum latinos tum gallicos. Par., 1766. 4 vols. 4.

(J. C. Adelung) Glossarium manuale ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis. Halle, 1772–84. 6 vols.

* G. Hoffmann, Gesch. des Kirchenlateins. 1st vol., 1st part. Bresl., 1879.

Compare also C. L. Bauer, Glossarium Theodoreteum to Schultz's edition of Theodoret (Halle, 1775); Index Latinitatis Tertullianeae (by Schütz and Windorff) to Semler's edition of Tertullian (Halle, 1776), and the important Indices to the larger and smaller editions of the same church Father by Ohler (Lpz., 1853 f.).

H. Rönsch, Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache durch Beispiele erläutert. Marb. (Lpz.), 1869. 2d ed., 1875.
J. G. Scherz, Glossarium germanicum medii aevi ed. Oberlin. Argent., 1781–84. 2 vols. f.
E. G. Graff, althochdeutscher Sprachschatz. Berl., 1834–46. 6 vols.
J. A. Schmeller, bayerisches Wörterbuch. Stuttg., 1827–37. 4 vols. 2d ed., edit. by Frommann. Münch., 1872 ff. 2 vols.
W. Wackernagel, altdeutsches Handwörterb. Basel, 1861.
*J. and W Grimm, deutsches Wörterbuch. Lpz., 1854 ff. Continued by Heyne, Hildebrand, and Weigand; completed to the letters A–F. H–K.
*F. C. Diez, etymolog. Wörterb. der roman. Sprachen. Bonn, 1855. 3d ed., 1874.
A. von Raumer, die Einwirkung des Christenthums auf die althochdeutsche Sprache. Stuttg., 1845.

2. Diplomatics is the science of diplomas, i. e., of original documents (bulls, briefs, letters of institution or foundation, patents, etc.), with which numismatics, heraldry, and sphragistics are to be combined. We may cite as the best late work:

W Wattenbach, Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter (Lpz., 1871. 2d ed., 1877). On the general works of Mabillon (2d ed., Par., 1704), Gathrer, Schoenemann, see Gieseler, vol. i, p. 20.

SECTION XIV.

SEPARATE BRANCHES OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

It is possible to separate special divisions of the life of the Church from the whole field included within the range of Church history, and consider them in their separate development. In this regard the history of the system of Christian teaching comes most prominently into notice under the name of the History of Doctrines, and as endowed with a measure of independence. The next place is held by Patristics and Ecclesiastical Symbolics, and upon these follows the history of worship and of the constitution of the Church, under the name of Archæology. The latter constitutes the historical basis of practical theology, the others of dogmatic.

The possibility of according a special treatment to precisely these branches is not the result of accident. Dogma, constitution, and worship are the principal elements in the life of the Church. The territorial expansion of Christianity and its persecutions constitutes the trunk from which these branches rise. It is, of course, possible to consider the trunk itself alone. But it would result in furnishing but a barren picture so long as we look only to territorial extension and limitations. The History of Missions has, likewise, received separate treatment. But this will, whenever it is treated

forcibly, itself expand into Church history in its earliest periods, inasmuch as the object must be to show how Christianity was extended, what doctrines it taught, what customs and manners it introduced, and what fruits it has produced.[1] Or, it may be compressed into a monograph on the life of some distinguished herald of the faith.[2] It is only to recent Histories of Missions that the name can be applied with propriety, and here, if regard be had chiefly to the impulse of missionary effort, it coincides with the history of Christian life and work, such as the founding of missionary societies, or, where the attention is directed principally to results, it leads immediately into Statistics.

History of Missions.

The History of Missions has the same bearing upon the work of the future missionary that is exercised by the study of the history of the home Church upon him who designs to labour within its limits. Its special treatment should be appropriate for his needs. In proportion as the Church itself enlarges its share in missionary effort will every theologian be obliged to pursue this branch of Church history, to the extent necessary for acquaintance with the whole history of the Church, and for imparting animation to the picture in which that whole is described. It is otherwise, however, with respect to the branches mentioned above, which, bending outward from the trunk of the history, became immediately interwoven with the growth of other fields, such as the dogmatic and the practical. In this instance we obtain, on the one hand, the History of Doctrines, and, on the other, Archæology, with this solitary distinction—that the history of doctrines has assumed more of the form of a distinct science than is the case with archæology. This we shall show hereafter.

In addition to dogma, constitution, and worship, Christian ethics might receive attention ; and, in point of fact, both the History of Christian Morality itself and that of Christian Ethics, as a science, have received separate treatment. Properly considered, the latter should constitute the parallel to the History of Doctrines, or, rather, should grow out of a living treatment of this branch. The former appears to the best advantage as the blossom of Church history itself, and it is still a serious question whether it be advisable to separate it from the parent stem. The most vital view of Christian morality is obtained from the study of monographs and of archæology, especially when the latter is

Christian Ethics.

[1] This is the case in Blumhardt's Missionsgeschichte and Tzschirner's Fall des Heidenthums.

[2] The "Lives" of Columba, Gallus, Boniface, Ansgar, Otto v. Bamberg. Comp. the literature in text-books of Church history.

made to embrace a somewhat extended field. On the relation of Patristics and Symbolics to the History of Doctrines, see below.

Still other branches might be separated, but they would possess value only for the professional historian. This is true, especially, of the careful tracing of such features "as must be included in the historical presentation for the sake of continuity alone, and which are not to be regarded as properly historical elements."[1] A complete history of the popes, for instance, carried through from beginning to end, or a similar history of Church councils—in short, every thing in connexion with which completeness requires that, in addition to matters exerting an influence upon the history, special attention be given to names and figures, and the like, can only claim the attention of such persons as are called to cultivate historical science for its own sake. For "nothing is more unfruitful than the heaping up of historical knowledge which neither serves any practical ends nor imparts itself to others through the representation."[2]

LITERATURE OF MISSIONS.

German and French Works.

The Lettres édifiantes. Par., 1717–76 (in the spirit of Romanism).

Die Hallischen Sammlungen von 1705–69 (dän. Mission) und 1770–1834 (ostind Mission).

Die Elberfelder Nachrichten von der Ausbreitung des reiches Jesu Christi seit 1815.

Das Basler Magazin, by Blumhardt (1817–39) und Hoffmann, (new series since 1857 by Ostertag, now Hesse).

Der evang. Heidenbote (Basel, 1827 ff.).

Der Missionsfreund (Berl., 1846 ff.).

Das Elberfelder Missionsblatt by Ball (1836 ff.).

Das Calwer M. Blatt by Barth, now Gundert; das Hermansburger, by Pastor Harms; das der Brüdergemeinde by Römer; das evang. luther. by Graul, now Hardeland; die Biene auf dem Missionfelde, by Gossner, and others, now by Plath.

Die Missionsharfe (Gütersloh, 1866). G. Warneck, in der "Allgem. Missionszeitschrift." Gütersl., 1874 ff.

H. Zschokke, Darstellung der gegenw. Ausbreitung des Christenth. auf dem Erdball. Aarau, 1819.

C. Blumhardt, Versuch einer allg. Missionsgesch. Basel, 1828–37. 3 vols.

J. H. Brauer, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Heidenbekehrung. Altona, 1835 ff. The same: das Missionswesen der evang. Kirche. Hamb., 1851.

B. St. Steger, die prot. Missionen. Hof, 1838–50. 3 small vols. New ed., Halle, 1857.

F. Lücke, Missionsstudien. Gött., 1841.

* Handbüchl. der Missionsgesch. und Missionsgeographie. 3d ed. Calw, 1863.

W. Hoffmann, Missionsstunden. 2d ed. Stuttg., 1848. Neue Samml., 1851. Eilf Jahre in der Mission. Stuttg., 1853.

J. Wiggers, Gesch. der evang. Mission. Hamb., 1845 f. 2 vols.

K. C. G. Schmidt, kurzgef. Lebensbeschreibungen der merkwürdigsten evang. Missionare. Lpz., 1836 ff. 8 vols.

[1] Schleiermacher, § 154. [2] Ibid. 191 Anm.

R. Vormbaum, evang. Missionsgeschichte in Biographien. Elberf., 1849–60. 4 vols. (Vol. 1 in 2d ed., 1859-61.)

Alb. Ostertag, übersichtliche Gesch. der protest. Missionen von der Reform. bis zur Gegenwart. Gotha, 1858.

F. Fabri, die Entstehung des Heidenthums und die Aufgabe der Heidenmission. Barmen, 1859.

Fr. Hoffmann, Missionsgeschichten, with Preface by W Hoffmann. 6 vols. Potsd., 1857–61.

G. E. Burkhardt, kleine Missionsbibliothek. Bielef., 1858–62. 4 vols. and Register.

Ch. H. Kalkar, Gesch. der christl. Mission unter d. Heiden. German by A. Michelsen, 1st part. Gütersl., 1860.

Henrion, allg. Geschichte der Missionen. From the French by Wittmann. Schaffh, 1847 ff. 3 vols. (Compare also the single missionary accounts of Buchanan, Heber, Weitbrecht, Leupolt on India; Gutzlaff on China; Gobat on Abyssinia; Gerlach und Wangemann (Gesch. der Berl. M.-gesellsch. Berl., 1872–77. 4 vols.) on South America; Ellis and Krohn on the South Sea Islands; Wegener on the Friendly Islands, and the biographies of special missionaries.

Wallmann, Leiden und Freuden rheinischer Missionare. 2d ed. Halle, 1862.

Von Besser, John Williams, der Apostel der Südsee. 3d ed. 1863.

Roman Catholic:

† Wittmann, die Herrlichkeit der Kirche in ihren Missionen. Augsb., 1841.

On the Catholic Missions in China:

Huc, le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie, et en Thibet. Par., 1857. 2 vols.

On Missions in India:

Franz Xavier, ein weltgeschichtliches Missionsbild. Wiesb., 1869.

On Protestant Missions in India:

Lechler. See above.

English and American Literature.

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American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Memorial volume of First Fifty Years. Boston, 1861.

R. Anderson, Foreign Missions: their Relations and Claims. N. Y., 1869.

—— History of the Missions of the American Board. 4 vols. Boston, 1870–74.

A. R. Bonar, Incidents of Missionary Enterprise. Edinb., 1842.

W. B. Boyce, Statistics of Protestant Missionary Societies. 1871–73. Lond., 1874.

Miss C. L. Brightwell, Romance of Modern Missions. Lond., 1870.

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J. O. Choules, The Origin and History of Missions. 2 vols. Boston, 1842.

T. Christlieb, Protestant Foreign Missions. Translated by David Allen Read. N. Y., 1880.

Mrs. L. H. Daggett, Historical Sketches of Woman's Missionary Societies. Boston, 1879.

F. S. Dobbins, A Foreign Missionary Manual: Geographical, Synoptical, Statistical. and Biographical. Phila., 1881.

D. Dorchester, The Problem of Religious Progress. N. Y., 1881.

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Mrs. J. T. Gracey, Woman's Medical Work in Foreign Lands. Dansville, N. Y., 1881.
J. Holmes, Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren to 1817. Lond., 1827.
E. Hoole, The Year Book of Missions. Lond., 1847.
R. C. Houghton, The Women of the Orient. Cin., 1877.
Jubilee, The Missionary: an Account of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, at Philadelphia, 1864. N. Y., 1865.
Bishop C. Kingsley, Round the World. 2 vols. Cin., 1868.
J. Kingsmill, Missions and Missionaries. Historically Viewed from their Commencement. Lond., 1853.
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—— A Manual of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. N. Y., 1868.
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C. Merivale, Conversion of the West. 5 vols. N. Y., 1879.
—— The Conversion of the Roman Empire. N. Y., 1865.
—— The Conversion of the Northern Nations. N. Y., 1866.
Missions, Conference on, held in 1860 at Liverpool. Lond., 1860.
F Max Müller, On Missions, a Lecture delivered in Westminster Abbey. N. Y., 1874.
H. Newcomb, A Cyclopædia of Missions: containing a Comprehensive View of Missionary Operations throughout the World. N. Y., 1854.
J. M. Reid, Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 2 vols. N. Y., 1879.
J. H. Seelye, Christian Missions. N. Y., 1876.
F. Smith, The Origin and History of Missions, Compiled and Arranged from Authentic Documents. 2 vols. Boston, 1842.
S. F. Smith, Missionary Sketches: a Concise History of the Work of the American Baptist Union. Boston, 1879.
Bishop E. Thomson, Our Oriental Missions. 2 vols. Cin., 1871.
W. Warren, These for Those: Our Indebtedness to Missions. Portland, 1876.
Mrs. M. S. Wheeler, The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. N. Y., 1881.
For full Literature on the special mission fields, see Hurst's Bibliotheca Theologica, pp. 179–188.

SECTION XV.

THE HISTORY OF DOCTRINES.

J. A. Ernesti, Prol. de theologiæ historicæ et dogmaticæ conjungendæ necessitate, Lips., 1857, and in the Opusc. theol., Lips., 1792; L. Wachler, De theologia ex historia dogmatum emendanda, Rintel, 1795; De Wette, Religion u. Theologie, section 2, pp. 167–193; Ch. Fr. Illgen, Werth d. Christl. Dogmengeschichte, Leips., 1817; Augusti, Werth der Dogmengesch. in Theolog. Blätter ii, p. 11 *sqq.*; W. K. L. Ziegler, Ideen über d. Begriff u. d. Behandl. d. Dogmengesch. in Gabler's Neuest. theol. Journal, 1798, ii, p. 325 *sqq.*; Thomasius, Aufgabe u. Behandlung der Dogmengesh. in Harless' Zeitschr, für Protestantismus 3, 2; * Th. Kliefoth, Einleit. in d. Dogmengesch. Ludwigslust, 1839; F. Dörtenbach, Methode d. Dogmengesch. in Stud. u. Krit., 1852, No. 4, pp. 757–822; Kling, in Herzog's Encykl., iii, p. 450 *sqq.*; Ritschl, Methode der ältem Dogmengeschichte (Jahrbb. für Deutsche Theologie, 1871, 2).

The History of Doctrines is a scientific representation of the gradual unfolding, establishing, and settling of the Christian faith

into a definite body of doctrines, the distribution of the same into its particular elements, and the transformations and changes through which it passed under the influence of different and progressive forms of culture. It forms the bridge between Historical and Systematic Theology, and employs Church history in the character of an auxiliary.

History of Doctrines defined.

Christianity presented itself at the beginning with a doctrine, but not with a system of dogmatics. Its dogmas were compressed in the glad tidings of a salvation which had appeared to men, and its religious conceptions connected themselves with the figurative and popular phraseology of the time. The need of dogmatic development was only gradually felt. The tendency toward such development, which inheres in Christianity, was already apparent in its earliest adherents. The reflection and dialectics of Paul unfolded themselves side by side with the contemplation of John, both being strictly within the bounds of the religious sphere. But the necessity of defending Christianity against other modes of thought, and of guarding against the influence of the foreign principles of Judaism and Ethnicism, led by degrees to those definitions of doctrine which the Church accepted as its common symbol. Individual tendencies come into view, however, beside the inclination toward a common form of doctrine. Different states of mind within the Church affected the mode in which its teaching was understood, and thus began the formation of a body of dogmas, conditioned by the circumstances of the time, and struggling into definite shape by the force of its own inherent nature. It is the task of the history of doctrines to follow out the process by which such formation of doctrine took place, to ascertain its internal laws, to compare what has come into being with the original from which it sprang, and trace it back to the idea, as well as to ascertain the measure of truth it may contain in the midst of the erroneous elements in which it is involved. This is a task that can certainly be fully performed by him only who has apprehended the significance of the doctrine in its profoundest meaning, so that it would seem that the history of doctrines could only be successfully treated where it follows upon dogmatics. It should again be remembered, however, that no branch of any science can be completely developed without involving the others in the process. Moreover, while it is certain that the history of doctrines, in its scientific perfection, presumes acquaintance with dogmatics, it is equally certain that he alone is able to apprehend a doctrine in its vital relations who has cast a preliminary glance over its historical progress,

Individual tendencies.

The task of doctrinal history.

Relation of one science to others.

Without this it would be to him only a rigid hieroglyph, a dead statute.[1]

The principal thing, in connexion with the problem which the history of doctrines is expected to solve, is to furnish an account of the relation between what has come historically into being and what was originally revealed. This must neither be regarded as, from the standpoint of a false biblical positivism, a mere degeneration, or a running off into ordinances of simply human origin; or, from the standpoint of speculative narrowness, as an unconditional advance from the mere conception to the pure idea. Attention must be equally bestowed upon the divinely intended and natural development of the truth contained in the Scriptural germ, and the divinely permitted, and likewise natural, aberrations from the truth, which are conditioned by the very fact of such development.

Problem of history and revelation.

The history of doctrines has to do neither with evolution simply nor with corruption alone, but with both; and its work is, substantially, to determine the relation sustained by the one to the other. It deals with the positive acceptance of doctrine by the Church and with the petrifying influence of traditional beliefs, with agreements upon dogmas reached by the scientific process and with the insipid character they assumed in the course of rationalistic manipulations, with the transfiguration received at the hands of a true speculation and the volatilizing effects of idealistic processes, and, finally, with the pregnant interpretations of presaging minds and the obscurities entailed by a pseudo-mysti-

Province of doctrinal history.

[1] The primary meaning of δόγμα is *statute, decree*, in the outward and positive sense. Comp. the "decree that went out from Cæsar Augustus," Luke ii, 1, and also Dan. ii, 13; vi, 8; Esther iii, 9; in the LXX, and 2 Macc. x, 8, in the Apocrypha. The term δόγματα is also applied in the New Testament (Eph. ii, 15; Col. ii, 14) to the Jewish ordinances from which Christ has delivered us; for it is to be presumed that the better class of exegetes are agreed that the teachings of Christianity are not so designated in those passages. Christian doctrine is never designated by the term δόγμα in the New Testament (εὐαγγέλιον, κήρυγμα, λόγος or ὁδὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ being used instead); in Acts xv, 22 and 26, where it occurs, the reference is to conclusions reached with regard to a practical question. By the Stoics, however, the word is used in the sense of doctrine (or principle), e. g., by Marc. Aurel. in Libro ad se ipsum, ii, 13; and similarly the Latins employ the words *decretum*, *placitum* (Cicero, Acad. Quæst. iv, 9; Senec. Epp., 94, 95). This usage was afterward followed by the Church fathers. Comp. the citations in Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v. δόγμα, and Hagenbach, Hist. Doct., § 1, note 1. But they too employ it in the sense of a firm, established principle (το θεῖον δόγμα), and at others to designate a temporary subjective opinion. The History of Doctrines may not, however, be made simply a record of passing opinions, although it must take cognizance of them as elements of temporary importance. Comp. J. P. Lange, Christl. Dogmatik, p. 2; Herzog, Encykl. iii, 433.

cal mode of treatment. The work of the history of doctrines is properly performed only when all such elements are rightly apprehended and appreciated.[1] This task should not be rendered more difficult by the carrying of unnecessary ballast of any kind. For this reason much that requires notice in the treatment of Church history may here be presumed as falling within that department.[2]

SECTION XVI.

GENERAL AND SPECIAL HISTORY.

The unfolding and demonstrating of the dogmatic spirit that runs through the whole will be continually apparent in the defining of particular dogmas, which again, in turn, determine the doctrinal spirit of an age. For this reason the general and the special history of doctrines is found to be interwoven in such a way as not to admit of their being totally separated, but to require that, in their treatment, regard be had to the relations they sustain to each other.

Christian doctrine a unit.

Christian doctrine is, in its root, a *unit* (τὸ θεῖον δόγμα), and the various formulations of particular doctrines are merely members into which the organism may be divided. A living recognition of this fact leads to the ignoring of the distinction between general and particular; and many late writers have, accordingly, rejected the division into general and special history of doctrines. It is certain that the method which presents the general history in one series, or volume, and the special in another, without establishing any living relations between the two sections, must be set aside.[3] For the former thus becomes merely an expanded chapter from ecclesiastical history—a history of the Church teaching, and also, in part, a history of dogmatics—while the latter is reduced to the character of a historical supplement to dogmatics,

[1] It would not be proper, for instance, to formulate in advance a general idea of rationalism, mysticism, etc., and then seek to adapt the different features as observed to such preconceived scheme. Every such tendency must be explained in conformity with its historical aspects and relations; comp. Kliefoth, p. 319.

[2] Hase says: "The distinction between the History of Doctrines as a special science, and as a part of Church history, is merely formal in its character. For if the difference of extent, which is determined by external considerations, be left out of the question, the two deal simply with different poles of the same axis. The former treats the dogma as it develops itself in the form of definite conceptions, while Church history discusses the dogma in its relation to outward events." Church History (Blumenthal and Wing's ed.), p. 12. Similarly Kliefoth, p. 324: "The whole of Church history is to be regarded as introductory to the History of Doctrines." Concerning its relation to other historical departments (e. g., the history of heresies), comp. Hagenbach, Hist. of Doctrines (Smith's ed.), § 6.

[3] This is the chief fault of arrangement in Augusti and Baumgarten-Crusius.

a *historia dogmatis.* This difficulty can be avoided only by an elastic treatment of the general history, so as to allow it to extend partially into the Special, or by arranging the matter according to periods, and giving the precedence in each period to the general history. Thus the dogmatic principle governs the period, and the special history is made to follow. In this case the general history of doctrines takes on the character of an introduction.[1] We consider the latter to be the more suitable plan in a methodological point of view, though, for purposes of artistic treatment, the former is even still more favourable. The arrangement of the particular doctrines, moreover, should not be unconditionally governed by a firm and previously constructed dogmatical system, but solely by the dogmatic character that predominates in the periods to which they respectively belong.[2] For every period has a keytone, derived from some doctrine of preponderating influence, which underlies and runs through the whole of its development, and gives to the period its dogmatic character.[3] This principle leads to a division into periods of corresponding character.

Elastic treatment of General History necessary.

Arrangement controlled by dogmatic character.

[1] At this point we coincide with Kliefoth, p. 334 *sq.*: "When the entire mass of dogmatic phenomena has been classified by periods, it becomes requisite to describe the internal progress of the periods, and to determine the historical point within the period that each particular dogmatic phenomenon has occupied. Not until this has been done can the historical relations of every such phenomenon be thoroughly understood." It is, of course, evident that external events, e. g., the progress of a controversy, the holding of councils, the publication of decrees, etc., cannot be entirely disregarded, since they afford the necessary points of connexion. But "the writer on the History of Doctrines will need to include only so much as may be necessary to constitute the thread between the different knots in the course of dogmatic development, or as may be otherwise needed for illustrating the history of the dogma upon which he is engaged." Kliefoth, p. 346; also p. 367 *sq.*

[2] The inadmissible character of the "local" method was already noticed by de Wette (Rel. u. Theol., p. 179). Comp. also Kliefoth, p. 370, and Meier's method of treating the History of Doctrines. Baur correctly observes (Dogmengesch., p. 14): "The general element which must be prefixed to the history of each period as an introductory feature can consist only in the determining of the general point of view under which each period must be regarded, and in the assigning of its rightful place to the period as a definite element in the process of historical development in general.

[3] Hase says, "That certain particular doctrines form epochal points in one century, while certain others fix the attention in another, is not the result of accidental causes merely, but is an interest grounded in necessity; and any dogma can attain to epochal importance but once in the course of its history."—Rosenkranz, p. 248. "History embraces only what has truly lived at some time, and has thereby become immortal, as constituting a point at which the rays of the Christian mind were refracted; for it is a history of the living, and not of the dead, even as God is the God of the living only."—Church History, p. xii.

SECTION XVII.

DIVISION OF DOCTRINAL HISTORY.

Comp. Hagenbach, article in Stud. u. Krit., 1828, No. 4, and Kliefoth, l. c., p. 56.

Division of doctrinal history into periods.

The division of the history of doctrines into periods is governed by a different principle from that which applies in connexion with Church history in general. The epochs which appear important to the Church, considered as a whole, are here secondary to those which give a different direction to doctrine. It follows, therefore, that the division is to be conformed to the dogmatic spirit which prevails in, and animates, any given time.

Difficulty of discovery of beginnings of change.

It has been remarked, that the periods in ecclesiastical do not always coincide with those of secular history, because elements that exert a decisive influence in the one department are not equally important in the other. A similar observation will apply to the relation sustained by the history of doctrines to that of the Church. For, while the history of doctrine is involved in that of the Church and its constitution, it is yet possible that "great changes may come to pass in the field of the one, while all continues unchanged in the other, and that a particular time may be important as the point of an unfolding in the one while it is altogether unimportant in the other."[1] It is, of course, difficult to discover the true turning points at which the circles of doctrine separate, and the knots at which they run into each other. The determining of such points is itself dependent on the fixing of the nature of the dogma. The inquirer who regards the speculative side of the dogma as the regulative feature will mark out a different division from him who, before all else, goes back to the religious disposition of which the dogma is simply the intelligible, but inadequate, expression, and who seeks to ascertain what practical influence was exerted by the dogma upon an ecclesiastical period. In a similar way the material aspect, which is the preponderance of certain doctrines—or the formal element—which is the practical conditions under which the formation of a doctrine was brought to pass—may become the determining influence with different minds.

Material and formal methods.

The division we advocate, for instance, into Apologetical, Polemical, Scholastico-Systematic, Symbolical and Confessional, Philosophically Critical, and Speculative Periods, is predominantly formal, while Kliefoth has proposed a

[1] Schleiermacher, § 166.

division according to material conditions, based, at the same time, in the formal way, on national characteristics, and has ingeniously subdivided the several periods into stages of growth, of settling in symbolic form, and of decline. His first period is the Grecian, in the course of which both the objective doctrines of God and of Christ (Theology and Christology) were developed (Origen, Athanasius, and the Cappadocians). The second is the Roman Catholic (Augustine and the Scholastics), to which the development of Anthropology belongs. The third is the Germanico-Protestant (after the Reformation), which moves within the field of Soteriology (Justification, Repentance, Sanctification). The fourth (the present), finally, has for its task to attain to a correct recognition of the Church, and thereby to a sound eschatology, based on the development of the Church considered as the kingdom of God.

Kliefoth's method.

Baur divides the whole of the history of doctrines, in strict accordance with his settled Hegelian philosophy, into three principal periods: "The period of the ancient Church is the period of self-producing dogma and of the Christian religious consciousness—the substantiality of the dogma, which attains to objectivity in the dogma, and knows itself to be identical with it. The period of the Middle Ages and of Scholasticism is that in which that consciousness returns from the objectivity of the dogma to its own subjectivity, and contrasts itself with the dogma under the influence of rational reflection" (as though this influence had not been operative at any former time!). "The period since the Reformation is that of absolute self-consciousness, which is no longer bound to the dogma, (?) and has assumed a place above it" (?). This is not the proper place for exploding this division in its details, nor yet for extensively noticing other attempts.[1] What has been remarked may suffice to indicate the necessity for adopting a principle of division which is drawn from the movements of the life of the science itself.

Baur's division.

[1] Münscher, for example, has adopted seven periods, and Lentz eight. Klee regards the division into periods as being wholly superfluous. J. P. Lange agees, upon the whole, with the arrangement we have adopted (Christl. Dogmatik, p. 65). Gieseler and Neander have retained the periods of Church history in the History of Doctrines as well.

SECTION XVIII.

MODE OF TREATMENT.

The only proper mode of treating the history of doctrines is that which, emanating from the true nature of the dogma, brings to distinct consciousness both what is changeable in the statements of doctrine and what is permanent in the midst of the changes, and gives rise to such mutability itself. Only such a treatment, moreover, will warrant the expectation of realizing the practical advantage of preserving the history of doctrines from yielding to the authority of a rigid narrowness of the traditional type, and from being dominated by a mania for novelty and condemning what is old. For the historical sense is the necessary base of a theological character.

Best method of doctrinal history.

The remarks, in a preceding section, relating to a true pragmatism in the treatment of Church history, are applicable at this point as well. The form assumed by particular doctrines may, indeed, not unfrequently be explained by a reference to different and external causes, such as political conditions and events, the scientific culture of a period, or even conditions of climate, and other surroundings. But, while seeking such explanations, the dynamical principle, which works from within outwardly upon the material, should not be forgotten, since the triumph of any chief tendency over others, which cannot be altogether accidental, must, in the end, be judged by that principle.[1] This twofold and self-complementary mode of viewing the history will guard against two errors which lie near at hand. On the one hand, the recognition of what is changeable in received conceptions of doctrine, and the connected observation that much which once was held to be indispensable to a correct faith is no longer so regarded by even very orthodox scholars, while other things which are now stubbornly maintained in many quarters were formerly regarded more mildly, or with indifference, will preserve the mind from being bound by the unworthy fetters of any system whose influence tends to confine inquiry from the outset within narrowing limits, and will infuse a noble confidence in truth, which is not alarmed for the safety of the Church with the springing up of every breeze.

The dynamic principle important.

Necessity of recognizing changes.

But, on the other hand, even greater attention will be fixed upon the one thing needful, which, whatever may have been the form of doctrine, has always asserted itself, and has always demonstrated,

[1] Comp. Rosenkranz, p. 248, and Hagenbach in Coburger Theol. Annalen, article Ueber den Sieg der Orthodoxie über die Heterodoxie, 1832, vol. 4, No. 1.

however frequent may have been its temporary obscurations, that it is the permanent element which is destined to abide. It will appear, moreover, especially when the periods have been properly arranged, and with evidential force, that every period was specially determined and guided by some particular truth; that, so to speak, it had its own polar star, by which it shaped its course, and which shone for it with a brightness such as, with a change of constellation, it could not possess for any other age. But God continually brings up new stars, with the object that all should guide to the One who is the salvation of the world. It is, therefore, a sign of crudeness, and of a want of genuine enlightenment, when the mind finds it impossible to so far enter into former modes of thought as to discover that the productions of the human mind, when engaged upon the very noblest work that could command its attention, are more than mere abortions of unreason and superstition.[1] The "absurdities of Scholasticism," which have so often been made matter for sport, are certainly as nothing when compared with the absurdity with which the schoolmen have been judged by the people, "whom they could not have used as copyists" (Semler).[2]

A central truth for every age.

HISTORY.

Comp. Baur, Dogmensgeschichte, § 6.

The history of doctrines, in its clearly defined outlines, is a new science. Materials for it have, however, been furnished from the beginning. A rich mine for discoveries exists already in ecclesiastico-historical and polemico-dogmatical works of the Church fathers, especially Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius. Down to our own time, also, works on Church history contain material for the history of doctrines. While connected in this way with Church history on the one hand, the history of doctrines stands similarly related to dogmatics on the other. We have only to bear in mind the great dogmatical works of Chemnitz, Hutter, Quenstedt, J. Gerhard, and others. Works preliminary to the history of doc-

[1] Rosenkranz, ubi supra: "While it cannot be denied that arbitrariness and accident form an element in the History of Doctrines, as in every thing that is human, it is also true that the play of subjectivity, its dabbling in opinions, forms a feature that destroys and subordinates itself, as being unimportant, to the real movement. The estimate of the History of Doctrines which finds in it merely a lumber-room of human follies and silly opinions, is itself a silly opinion, which has no perception of the yearning of the mind to know its own inner nature, and no conception of the secret alliance which binds all the actions of the mind into a general whole." Comp. Kliefoth, p. 208 *sq.*; Baur, Dogmengesch. § 3, and (with reference to the unhistorical disposition of Rationalism) pp. 42, 43.

[2] Comp. Möhler, Kleine Schriften i, p. 131 *sqq.*

trines proper were furnished by the Roman Catholic theologians: Petavius (1644–50, 1700), Thomassin (1684–89), Dumesnil (1730), and by the Protestant Forbesius a Corse (1645 *sqq.*). It is only since the days of Semler and Ernesti that a separate treatment was thought of (Ernesti, ubi supra, and Semler's Introduction to Baumgarten's System of Doctrine, Halle, 1759 *sq.*). At first, the attention was merely directed to the accumulation of material, and this was followed with the critical treatment of doctrines, for the expressed purpose of "enlarging the range of vision for incipient theologians or theological students in general" (Semler). The positive method of treatment was soon added, and the history of doctrines was made to serve in defence of dogma in the interests of Apologetics (Augusti). The higher view, which has regard equally to the critical and the dogmatical elements, and which dialectically mediates the contrasts between the positive and the speculative, is a fruitage of the recent science.

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[1] See below the monographs on Patristics and Dogmatics.

SECTION XIX.

PATRISTICS AND SYMBOLICS.

An exact acquaintance with the lives and works of individuals who rose to eminence above their contemporaries as teachers of the Church (Patristics), and whose efforts prompted the development of dogma, is included, though not wholly absorbed, in the circle of studies belonging to the history of doctrines. But inasmuch as the dogma is not the concern of individuals merely, having become the possession of the Church, nor an ecclesiastical branch, because it is the expression of the common faith, the teachings of ecclesiastical confessions (Symbolics) likewise form an integral part of the history of doctrines.

SECTION XX.

PATRISTICS.

1. Herzog, Real-Encyklopaedie. 2. M'Clintock and Strong, Cyclopædia.

The material usually comprehended under the name of patristics (patrology) is difficult to unite into an independent science with scientific limitations, because,

1. The term Church father itself designates a vacillating idea, whose only stability rests on empirical foundations.

2. The material of patristics is partly resolved in that of literary history and partly in that of ecclesiastico-historical monographs, while only the remainder is reserved for the use of the history of doctrines.

Patres ecclesiae[1] is the name given to men who by their intellectual energy promoted the life of the Church, especially in the earlier stages of its development. The additional name of *patres apostolici* is applied to such of them as stood nearest the apostles, the fathers of the first century, such as Barnabas, Hermas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Papias. The usage is, however, very variable. The Roman Catholic Church distinguishes between Church fathers, Church teachers, and Church writers. The latter class includes those who are not honoured as fathers, or whose orthodoxy is suspected—e. g., Origen—while Church teachers are those whose orthodoxy is acknowledged, and who have, in addition, exercised a determining and shaping influence upon the dogma. These are Athanasius, Basil the Great,

Church fathers.

[1] Corresponding to the Heb. אָב. The pupils of the rabbins were termed their sons. Comp. Schoettgen, Horae Hebr. et Talm., i, p. 745, on Gal. iv, 19; Clem. Alex. Strom., i, 317; αὐτίκα πατέρας τοὺς κατηχήσαντας φαμέν; Basil the Great in Constitut. Monast., c 20; Chrysost. Hom., 11 and 48, vol. v; Suiceri, Thesaur., ii, p. 637 b.

Gregory Nazianzen, and Chrysostom in the East; and Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great in the West. Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura are also included with them. The boundaries of patristics are indefinite also as respects time. Protestants close the series of Church fathers with the 6th century (Gregory the Great), Roman Catholics with the 13th. The scholastic divines, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and others, however, are preferably termed *doctores ecclesiae*, their activity being, in point of fact, chiefly limited to teaching; while, in the case of the fathers of the early centuries, the government of the Church, and also the characteristics of their personality, claim attention as well. This may be seen in the life of Cyprian, and in the much later illustration in Bernard of Clairvaux.

Limits of Patristics in time.

The Church fathers are not only ecclesiastical lights, *luminaria*, but also, in many instances, ecclesiastical princes, primates, and saints, *sancti patres*. This constitutes the reason why patristics is interwoven with different branches of the history of the Church. If it be chiefly regarded with reference to its biographical element—the lives of the fathers, to which some apply the distinctive name of Patrology[1]—it will coincide with ecclesiastico-historical monography. If attention be directed only toward the writings left by the fathers, it will become a branch of the history of literature.[2] Thus patristics will constitute an element in the history of doctrines only in so far as the object is to comprehend the teachings of an ecclesiastical personage in connexion with the modes of thought which prevailed in his time, and to assign to it a suitable place in the dogmatical development as a whole. The difference prevails, however, that in the former case the person himself becomes, monographically, the central object of the inquiry, while the history of doctrines is more especially concerned with the opinion of the individual as related to the development of doctrine at large. The history of doctrines is, for instance, less concerned to know how Augustine attained to his convictions than how the Church came to adopt his views as its own.[3]

Other terms for Church fathers.

[1] Danz, p. 322.

[2] This may likewise be treated as a distinct branch which, however, will be simply a collateral branch of the history of Christian culture in general. We assigned to it a separate place in our first edition (and also in the History of Missions), and Pelt also accords it separate treatment "only because of its special importance for theologians, and because it is the customary method," and without assigning to it a place in the organism of theological sciences (§ 57). It is probably better for the purposes of encyclopædia to narrow down the framework, for which reason we give it no separate paragraph.

[3] Comp. Hagenbach, History of Doctrines (Smith's ed.), § 5.

In all such cases it is difficult to understand why patristics should be erected into an independent study. In a scientific aspect it is immaterial whether the life of Augustine or that of Spener be under discussion—both of them are comprehended under the idea of monography. Bibliographical investigations, in relation to the various editions of Lactantius, have the same scientific character as though they were concerned with the letters of Luther or Calixtus. It follows, that the contribution to the history of doctrines rendered by patristics is not different in substance from that furnished by every monograph in which doctrinal history is involved. For, while we must be concerned to know the doctrinal system of an Athanasius or Augustine, it is equally important that Anselm, Luther, Quenstedt, Bengel, Schleiermacher, and Rothe be made to contribute toward the common work. The only qualification to which weight attaches is, that the possibility of pre-eminent service decreases with the progress of time.[1] Real productiveness is greater in proportion as the development is near the point of origin. But it would, nevertheless, be arbitary, and an evidence of mechanical views, if the attempt were made to confine such productiveness "altogether to the age of the so-called Church fathers."

Relation of Patristics to doctrinal history.

Remarks of a somewhat similar character will apply to the appellation "classic." In neither case is it possible to draw a clearly defined line, although certain eminences will be presented to every eye as decidedly and energetically prominent; and, as in that instance, the attention of students is to be turned toward the classical, so patristical studies are to be recommended here, in order that familiarity with ecclesiastical modes of thought and language may be acquired at an early stage. To attempt the reading of all the Church fathers would be far too great a task for the student, to offset which the treatment of Church history should include an outline of patristics. Certain of the fathers may, in addition, be described in monographs, and the more important of their works be read, in part or as a whole, as patristic selections, under the direction of the teacher. For this purpose we may particularly recommend, in addition to the Apostolical Fathers, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Apologists (Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Minucius Felix, and some portion of Tertullian), the Alexandrians (Clement and Origen, at least in extracts or summaries), Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa (in a similar way), some of Chrysostom's Homilies and the work De Sacerdotio, and

The term "classic."

Best works of the fathers.

[1] Schleiermacher, § 251.

Augustine's Confessions, De Doctrina Christiana, Enchiridion ad Laurentium, and De civitate Dei.[1]

THE HISTORY OF PATRISTICS.

The necessity of collecting the material of patristics could not arise before an ecclesiastical literature had been formed. Jerome (died 420) composed Illustrious Men, or Ecclesiastical Writers, and was followed by Gennadius (490), Isidore of Seville (in the 7th century), Ildefonsus of Toledo (in the 8th), and by Honorius Augustodunensis, Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Henr. Gaudavensis, Joh. Trithemius, and Aubertus Miræus (between the 12th and 16th centuries). All are found in J. A. Fabricii, Bibliotheca eccles., Hamb., 1718. The Benedictine monks, more accurately the Congregatio St. Mauri, have distinguished themselves by their editions of the Church fathers; and a number of theologians in the Anglican Church have likewise performed meritorious work in this direction. In later times patristical studies were promoted in the Roman Catholic Church by Robert Bellarmine (in the 17th century), Caspar Oudin, Ellies du Pin, le Nourry, Tillemont, Ceillier, Lumper, Sprenger, Möhler, and others; and, in the Protestant, by Scultetus, Nolten, Oelrichs, Cave, Schoenemann, and J. G. Walch. The earlier works were more particularly confined to the bibliographical department, while in modern times the method of monographical discussion has been elevated into an art.

[1] R. Rothe, writing while yet a student, says, "I am convinced that no person can become a thorough and skilful theologian who has not made a serious and life-long task of the study of the Church fathers, and who has not derived adequate and spiritual strength from their sanctified spirit and their genuinely religious application of a solid learning. But for this the longest life will ever be too brief, so that there can be no thought of completing the work while at the university" (C. Nippold i, p. 98). Certain mediæval writers—Scholastics and Mystics—have equal claim to be made the object of careful study, especially Anselm, Cur Deus homo, and pre-eminently the Reformers. The history of the Reformation, for instance, may be most attractively followed along the thread of the letters of Luther (published by de Wette), Zwingle (by Schuler and Schulthess), and Calvin (Strasburg ed., by Strauss, Baum, and Cunitz). Every student should have also read, in addition to the more important of Luther's writings (the Address to Christian Nobles of the German Nation, and that on the Babylonian Captivity), the Loci Communes of Melanchthon and Calvin's Institutes. In a word, the entire history of Christian literature should be made to pass in living forms before the eye of the theologian. This, however, is nothing more than the practical realization of the idea of thorough study of the field of Church history in general.

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1. *Best Editions of Collected Works of the Fathers.*

Magna bibliotheca vett. patrum et antiqu. scriptorum ecclesiast., ed. Margarin de la Bigne. Par., 1575. Most complete, Par., 1654. 17 vols. fol.

Maxima bibliotheca vett. patrum, etc. Lugd., 1677. 27 vols. fol. (The Greek fathers only in Latin translations. Especially important because of introduction of mediæval theologians.)

A. Gallandii, bibliotheca vett. patrum antiquorumque scriptt. ecclesiast. Venet., 1765–88. 14 vols. fol. (Gives the smaller writings of the Church fathers in the most complete collection. However, it remains unfinished.)

† M. Permaneder, Biblioth. patristica. Landsh., 1841–44. 2 vols. New ed., 1850. (Vol. I, entitled: Patrologia generalis s. encyclopaedia patristica.)

† A. B. Cailleau et M. N. S. Guillon, collectio selecta ss. eccl. patrum. Par., 1829 ss. 148 vols.

† J. P. Migne, patrologiae cursus completus s. bibl. universalis ss. patr. scriptorumque eccl. Par., 1844 ss. (Latin fathers to 13th century; Greek, to 9th, and still continued.)[1]

—— theologiae cursus completus. Vol. I, Par., 1879. (Expected to be in 28 vols.)

† A. Reifferscheid, Biblioth. patrum latin. italica. (Catalogue of MSS. of Latin Church fathers in the Italian libraries.) Vienna, 1865 ff.

† Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum ed. consilio et impensis Academiae literarum Caesariae Vindobonensis. 1866 *sqq.* (Vol. I, Sulpic. Severus. II, Minucius Felix. III, Cyprian. IV, [1875] Arnobius.)

Horoy, medii aevi biblioth. patristica. Vol. I. (Honor. III.) Par., 1879. (Expected to be in 100 vols.)

2. *Extracts and Chrestomathies.*

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J. Ch. W. Augusti, chrestomathia patristica. Lips., 1812. 2 vols.

H. J. Royaards, chrestomathia patristica. Part I. Traj. 1831.[2]

* L. de Sinner, novus ss. patrum graec. sec. iv. delectus. Par., 1842.

Homiliarium patristicum, edd. L. Pelt, H. Rheinwald, C. Vogt. Berol., 1829–32. Vol. I, fasc. 1–4.[3]

J. C. Orelli, selecta patrum eccl. capita ad exegesin sacr. pertinentia. Tur., 1820–24. 4 specc.

Fragmenta selecta ex scriptis patrum eccl. latinae, edd. J. Hagen et A. Listov. Hafn., 1850.

[1] The collections of Oberthür (1780 ff.), Gersdorf (for Latin fathers, 1838 ff.), and Richter (for Greek fathers, 1826 ff.), remain unfinished.

[2] The collection of Olshausen, see Literature of Church History.

[3] At the same time also German; Homiliensammlung aus den ersten 6 Jahrh. Berl., 1829 ff. Comp. the Predigten auf alle Sonn- und Festage aus den Schriften der K. Väter (Lpz., 1838 f. 2 vols.), published in German translation by J. C. W. Augusti, and also his Auswahl von Casualreden der berühmtesten Homileten der griech. und lat. Kirche aus dem 4. und 5. Jahrh. Lpz., 1840.

Bibliotheca patrum graecorum dogmatica, cur. J. C. Thilo. Lips., 1853 f. 2 vols. Vol. I, S. Athanasii; Vol. II, (cur. J. D. H. Goldhorn,) Basilii et Gregorii Nazianzeni opp. dogmatica selecta. Acc. appendix Eunomii apologeticum et confessionem et Amphilogii epist. synodalem continens.

F. Oehler, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, eine Auswahl aus deren Werken. Urschrift mit deutscher Uebersetzung. Lpz., 1858 ff.

† H. Hurter, patrum ss. opuscula selecta. Innsbr., 1868 ff. (thus far 39 vols.).

V. Thalhofer, Biblioth. der Kirchenväter. Auswahl der vorzügl. patrist. Werke in deutscher Uebers. Kempten, 1869 ff. (thus far 322 vols.).[1]

3. *Editions of Patristic Writings for the Use of Students.*[2]

Patrum apostolicorum opera recogn. * † C. J. Hefele (Tüb., 1839; 5th ed., by F. X. Funk, 1878); other editions, by Reithmayr (Münch., 1844), on Barn. and Clemens, by E. von Muralt (Zür., 1847), on Clemens, Ign., and Polyk., by Jacobson (Oxford, 4th ed., 1863).[3]

Patrum apostolicor. opera, ed. A. R. Dressel; accedit Hermaė Pastor ex fragm. graecis Lipsiensibus auctore C. Tischendorf. Lips., 1857. * Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn undertook a new ed. of Dressel's ed. Lpz., 1875–77. 3 fasc. (Briefe des Clemens in 2d ed., 1876, Br. des Barnabas, 1878; minor edition of the whole work. Lpz., 1877.

Bibliotheca patrum ecclesiasticorum selectissima, cur. B. Lindner. Fasc. I–IV. Lips., 1857–61.

Novum testam. extra canonem receptum ed. A. Hilgenfeld. Lips., 1866.

Clementis Romani epistolae ed., Lightfoot (Lond., 1869), Laurent (Lips., 1870), Tischendorf (Lips., 1873), Hilgenfeld (Lips., 1876). The complete MS. of the Clementine Epistles found by Bryennius in Constantinople, in 1873, was published by the discoverer (Constantinople, 1875). The hitherto wanting portions of it were published by Lightfoot (Lond., 1877) as appendix to his edition of 1869, and by Gebhardt and Harnack (Lpz., 1876).

J. G. Müller, Erklär. des Barnabasbriefes. Lpz., 1869.

Barnabae epistula ed. A. Hilgenfeld. 2d ed., Lips., 1877.

Clementis Rom. quae feruntur homiliae, pub. by A. Schwegler. Stuttg., 1847. More complete by A. R. Dressel, Gött., 1853; P. de Lagarde, Lpz., 1865.[4]

Constitutiones apostolicae, pub. by W. Ueltzen. Schwerin, 1853; P. de Lagarde. Lpz., 1862.[5]

Ignatius, by W. Cureton: Corpus Ignatianum. Lond. (Berl.), 1849.

Ignatii, quae feruntur epistolae, ed. H. Petermann. Lips., 1849.[6]

[1] Also the rich collections of early Christian hymns by Ald. Manutius, G. Fabricius, Björn, Gebser, and others. For more minute details see Winer, I, p. 879 f.

[2] Of the larger, and, for the most part, magnificent editions, we may mention chiefly those of Cotelerius, of the Apostolic fathers, Maran's ed. of Justin, Massuet's ed. of Irenæus, Rigoetius' ed. of Tertullian and Cyprian, Potter's ed. of Clemens Alexandrinus, de la Rue's ed. of Origen, Montfaucon's ed. of Athanasius and Chrysostom, Petavius' ed. of Epiphany, Vallarsi's ed. of Hieronymus, and the Benedictine ed. of Augustine.

[3] After the large edition of J. B. Cotelerius (Par. 1672) and J. Clericus (Amst., 1698. 2d ed., 1724., 2 vols. fol.). Also editions by Ittig (Lpz., 1669), Frey (Bas., 1742), Rusel (Lond., 1746), Hornemann (Hafn., 1828). On the Apostolic fathers see literature on History of Doctrines. See also: F. A. Karker, die Schriften der apostolischen Väter. Breslau, 1847.

[4] See also C. E. Francke, die Lehren des Clemens von Rom. in Guericke's und Rudelb. Zeitschrift 1841. III.

[5] Likewise O. Krabbe, über Ursprung u. Inhalt der apostol. Constitutionen. Hamb., 1829. †J. S. v. Drey, neue Untersuchungen über die Constitutt. u. Kanones der Apostel. Tüb., 1832.

[6] Also the works of Arndt, Düsterdieck, Bunsen, Baur, Denzinger, Hefele, Uhlhorn, Lipsius, Merx, Hilgenfeld, and others.

Justini Martyris Opp. ed. J. C. Th. Otto. Jena, 1842 ff. 3 vols. 3d ed., 1875 ff. (Vols. 1–5 des Corpus apologetarum christian. saec. secundi; vol. 6 contains Tatiani oratio ad Graecos; vol. 7, Athenagorae opera; vol. 8, Theophili ad Autolycum ll. III.; vol. 9, [1872], Hermias, Melito.)

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Irenaeus, by A. Stieren. Lpz., 1848–53. 2 vols. in 4 parts; by Harvey. Camb., 1857. 2 vols.

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Eusebius, hist. eccles., by Heinichen (Lips., 1827 f. 3 vols. 2d ed., 1868 f.), Schwegler, (Tüb., 1852), Dindorf (Lpz., 1871).

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Tertullian, collected works by F. Oehler, in larger (Lips., 1853 f. 3 vols.) and smaller editions (Lips., 1854).

Lactantius, by Bünemann (Lips., 1739; O. F. Fritzsche (Lips., 1842 ff. Vols. 9, 10 of Gersdorf's biblioth. patrr.)

Clemens Alexandrinus, by R. Klotz (Lpz., 1831 ff. 4 vols.), W. Dindorf (Oxford, 1868 f. 4 vols.).

Origenes *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, by E. R. Redepenning (Lpz., 1836); works by Lommatzsch (Berl., 1831–48. 25 vols.), from the edition of de la Rue.

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Chrysostomus de sacerdotio, by Bengel (Stuttg., 1725, and Lpz., 1825), by Leo (Lpz., 1834); single Homilies by Bauermeister (Gött., 1816), Becher (Lpz., 1839), and others.

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C. T. G. Schoenemann, bibliotheca histor.-liter. patr. latinorum a Tertulliano usque ad Gregor. M, et Isidor. Hispal. Lips., 1792–94. 2 vols.

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† V. A. Winter, krit. Gesch. der ältesten Zeugen od. Patrologie. Münch., 1814.

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[1] Comp. the work of Otto, Jena, 1845, and W. A. Hollenberg, Berl., 1853; also the review of Otto in Gersdorf's Repert. for 1854. 1st vol., p. 263 ff. J. F. Overbeck, über den pseudojustinischen Brief an Diognet. Basel, 1872, 4., and the replies of Hilgenfeld and Keim.

*† J. A. Möhler, Patrologie od. christl. Literärgesch. 1st vol. (1–3 Jahrh.); pub. by F. X. Reithmayr. Regensb., 1839.

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[1] Comp. the monographs on Church History.

[2] See above, the writings of Hilgenfeld on the Apostolic fathers in general.

[3] Comp. also L. F. W. Seinecke, über Leben und Schriften des Bischofs Hippolytus, in Illgens Zeitschr. für histor. Theol., 1842, 1843, p. 48 ff., and †J. J. Döllinger, Hippolytus und Kallistus. Regensb., 1853.

[4] Also the monographs of Matter and Guericke on the Alexandrian School.

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[1] On the knowledge of theological books: J. G. Walch, bibliotheca theol. selecta. Jena, 1757–65. 4 vols. J. A. Nösselt, Anweisung zur Kenntniss der besten allgem. Bücher in allen Theilen der Theologie. Lpz., 1779. 4th ed., 1780. Continued by Simon. Lpz., 1813. D. G. Niemeyer, Bibliothek für Prediger und Freunde der Theolog. Liter. Halle, 1782–84. 3 vols. Newly revised and continued by A. H. Niemeyer and H. B. Wagnitz. Halle, 1796–1812. 4 vols. W. D.

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SECTION XXI.

SYMBOLICS.

Symbolics, in a broad sense, designates the science of the origin, nature, and contents of all the public confessions in which the Church has laid down a summary of its teaching, and which it has erected at certain times and under certain forms as the standard of its faith. In a more limited sense, the term is used to denote a knowledge of the distinctive teachings which, especially since the Reformation, separate the different divisions of the Church from each other in doctrinal matters, the contrast between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and the minor differences therewith connected. Symbolics forms an integral part of the history of doctrines, or coincides with comparative dogmatics, or polemics, in proportion as the purely historical or the dogmatico-polemical interest predominates in the stating and discussing of such opposing standards. It is probably best to regard it as a historical science connected with the history of doctrines, but as also, under this form, a necessary aid and point of transition to dogmatics.

Definition of symbolics.

Σύμβολον (a token, mark[1]) denotes, in ecclesiastical usage, a formula preserved by tradition or in writing, by which all who belong to the same ecclesiastical party may recognize each other. The symbol is the common shibboleth, the ecclesiastical standard, about which the community is gathered. The use of such symbols, of which the so-called Apostles' Creed was the earliest, is derived from the ritual of baptism. Its first office, therefore, was to distinguish the Christian, as belonging to a different religious society, from the Jew and the heathen; and it was afterward employed to distinguish orthodox Catholic

First and later office of symbol.

[1] Comp. Suicer, Thesaur. Eccles., *s. v.*, and Creuzer, Symbolik Mone's ed., § 16, p. 13). Σύμβολον signifies what is formed by the joining together of two parts; *e. g.*, the term σύμβολα was applied to the two halves of the tablets which served as pledges of a contracted hospitality (*tesseræ hospitalitatis*). It was afterward employed to designate all unions; and, subsequently, everything that in the progress of time came to take the place of the coarse tokens of earlier times, a pledge in general. Thus we find it applied to the ring, which was given instead of ordinary contributions toward a common feast, and later to the pledge for subsequent redemption, which was in use in matters of exchange; also to the *tessera militaris*, the *parole;* in brief, to any token, any sign, by which those belonging together, the initiated, might recognize each other. Its derivation from συμβάλλειν, for the purpose of proving that each of the apostles contributed one article to the Apostles' Creed, is absurd. Nor is art symbolism to be taken into account in this connexion. This has its place, but in a different theological department (Liturgics), although but little has been done as yet toward its thorough scientific development. Comp. the section on Archæology.

Christians from heretics. The *ὀυσούσιος* of the Nicene symbol served in this way to discriminate the adherents of the Athanasian (orthodox) faith from the Arians.

The Nicene, the so-called Athanasian—the Symb. Quicumque of later date—and the so-called Apostolic Creed, form the three principal symbols of the Church. But when the adherents of the purified doctrines separated from the Roman Catholic Church, in the time of the Reformation, they laid down the doctrines held by them in common, first apologetically, and then polemically, in separate symbolical writings, the Lutherans and the Reformed party each constructing their own, because of deviations from the truth that had taken place — each, however, holding fast to the three leading symbols of the early Church. The differences existing within the above-mentioned parties, together with the controversies that agitated the Protestant Church as a whole, gave rise to still further symbolical divergencies. It was also desired to erect barriers against all intermixture with non-Catholic bodies (Anabaptists, Anti-Trinitarians, Anti-Scriptuarians, etc.), with whom the Reformers wished to have nothing in common.

Lutheran symbols.

The following are the Lutheran symbols, brought together in 1580 in the Book of Concord: The Conf. Augustana, 1530, the Apology, 1531, the Articles of Smalcald, 1537, and the Formula Concordiæ, 1579, to which must be added the two Catechisms of Luther, 1528 and 1529. The Reformed Confessions are less sharply distinguished from other theological productions, and less generally received. The more prominent are the Swiss (Conf. Bas. i; Helv. i or Bas. ii, and Helv. ii), Gallic, Belgic, Anglican (xxxix Articles), Scottish, and American, and the Anhalt, Brandenbergian, and Heidelberg Catechisms. To these must be added the Arminian Confession, by the Remonstrants of Holland. It consisted of 26 chapters, and appeared first in 1622.[1]

The Roman Catholics, on their part, now saw themselves compelled to present more clearly what was distinctive in their teaching. This was done in the Professio fidei Tridentina and the Catechismus Romanus. The smaller sects and ecclesiastical parties likewise reduced to writing the points at which they diverged from the general belief; *e. g.*, the Anabaptists (Mennonites), Socinians, Quakers, and others, although such writings have, in some instances, simply the authority of private productions. The Socinian Catechismus Racoviensis might deserve to be considered a symbolical book more than any of the others. The idea of confessional writings cannot be entertained in connexion with the Quakers, who make their

[1] Comp. Winer (Pope's ed.), Creeds of Christendom, p. 28.

religious life altogether independent of the letter, even that of the Bible.[1]

The task of Historical Theology embraces even the origin and fortunes of these books. To whatever extent symbolics is primarily engaged upon this external history, it will coincide with the history of ecclesiastical literature. Or, it might, if not in too detailed a form, be incorporated with Church history, which is necessarily obliged to take notice of the origin of movements of great importance. But the task of symbolics is more extensive. What has been thus far noted partakes more of the nature of introduction, analogous to the introduction to the books of the Bible. To this must be added exegetical investigation, inasmuch as the meaning of these confessional writings is to be ascertained, construed, and explained. But as exegesis leads immediately into Biblical dogmatics as its resultant, so symbolics does not rest satisfied with having explained each particular confession, but passes on to construct, in harmony with the definitions of the several symbolical writings, a system of Roman Catholicism, of Protestantism, of Anabaptism, Socinianism, Quakerism, and the rest. Finally, it proceeds to compare these ecclesiastical systems with the general principles upon which they are based, or with each other, by an examination of particular doctrines which they receive. In the latter function it becomes Comparative dogmatics.[2] When it goes to the length of taking part directly in favour of some mode of belief, and of defending it, in opposition to other beliefs—*e. g.*, the views of Protestantism against those of Roman Catholicism—it becomes Polemics.

Scope of symbolics.

Symbolics thus provides the weapons for polemics, and is its historical base. It is related to the history of doctrines as is the knot to the trunk of the tree, or the eddy to the stream. The history of doctrines is obliged to pass through the field of symbolics, and even becomes symbolics to some extent. In the history of doctrines we have made a distinction between the general and the special. Symbolics may similarly be treated in a general way by discussing principles, noting opposite ideas at large; for example, those of Roman Catholicism and

Relation of symbolics to history of doctrines.

[1] The term symbolics is not, therefore, thoroughly appropriate, and can only denote, in instances where no symbols exist, that "the statements are conformed to the most classical and generally acknowledged mode of presenting any particular faith."—Schleiermacher, § 249, note.

[2] Schleiermacher, § 98, distinguishes between Comparative Dogmatics and Symbolics, but is not wholly decided to recognize either as a science which could well exist independently.

of Protestantism, or it may trace the particular differences in separate doctrines. The two methods must be combined. It has been justly observed, however, with reference to the conflict of principles, that the task of symbolics has not been fully accomplished when it has brought into view the existing dogmatic contrasts, since the differences between the several confessions extend also into the domains of ethics, politics, and social life.

Symbolics a broad science to-day.

The symbolics of to-day will, accordingly, need to be expanded into a science that shall not only embrace the dogmatic vital tendencies of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and, further, those of Lutheranism, and Calvinism, of Episcopacy and Puritanism, of the Orthodox and the Schismatic in Protestantism, but also the moral, political, artistic, and scientific factors, bringing the whole together for purposes of comparison, and pointing out how every such confessional feature stands connected with the fundamental dogmatic principle upon which the confession rests.[1] The material for such a science, which would be highly interesting as bearing upon the history of culture as well, but for which the term "symbolics" would no longer be an adequate designation, must be sought in the history of the Reformation, and of later times, down to the present.

HISTORY.

Origin of modern symbols.

Symbolics, in the broad sense, was already cultivated, in part, in the antiquity of the Church, inasmuch as certain teachers in the Church—like Augustine, On Faith and Symbol, A.D. 393—explained the ecclesiastical symbols. But a "definite recognition of ecclesiastical contrasts was begotten by the Reformation" (Pelt, p. 444). Symbols, strictly speaking, first originated in the Lutheran Church, though the term *confessio*, which was preferred by the Reformed, was also in use (Confessio Augustana). Upon the basis of this symbolism polemics unfolded itself, Chemnitz, Examen concilii Trid, being on the one side, and Bellarmine, De controversiis fidei, on the other; and, likewise, between Lutherans and the Reformed party, Hospinian, Concordia discors, 1607, and Hutter, Concordia concors, 1614. The need of Historical Introductions to the symbolical books was not felt, however, prior to the middle of the 17th century.

The pragmatic method.

This method of discussing simply the history of the books was supplemented in the 18th century by the pragmatic method, the foundation for which was laid by Planck,

[1] Pelt applies to this the name "Science of Confessional Principles, or Science of the Principles of the Separate Churches," pp. 375 and 444.

and which was developed by Marheineke and Winer, the former giving more attention to the general discussion, the latter to the treatment of particular questions (locis). Koellner followed in the footsteps of both these writers with his large work, while Guericke again departed from the position of impartial investigation, and pressed symbolism into the service of his Lutheran proclivities. A presentation of symbolics, from the Roman Catholic point of view, by Möhler (1832), naturally aroused a lively interest for this subject, and called forth a number of works in opposition (by Nitzsch and others), particularly the Symbolics by Baur (1834), and a continued interchange of further writings. This science, which had for a time occupied the position of quiet objectivity, was thus transferred again to the ground of polemics, and called for a renewed treatment in harmony with its principles.

Opposition between Lutheran and Reformed.

The opposition between the Lutheran and the Reformed views, which had at one time sunk into indifference, and had subsequently been compromised by the establishment of the "Union," or, at least, had been reduced to its merely relative importance, has also come into the foreground of late, and been carried to excess. Science has gained thereby, inasmuch as the differences connected with the principles of the Reformers, which had formerly been overlooked, were now more sharply apprehended and more definitely stated. It is to be regretted, however, that the passions and the narrow spirit of the disputants have often perverted the actual points of view, and caused a confusion from which we can hope to be delivered, through God's mercy, only by a cautious theology enlisted in the service of truth and not of a party.

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SECTION XXII

ARCHÆOLOGY.

While the history of doctrines, in connexion with patristics and symbolics, presents the history of the development of doctrine apart from Church history in general, making of it an object for special consideration, ecclesiastical archæology deals pre-eminently with the history of worship. But the boundaries of this science are as indefinite and changeable as its name is inappropriate.

Gieseler says: "In strictness of language everything that once existed in the Church, and has now become antiquated, would belong to ecclesiastical archæology. But if this principle be admitted, it will not be easy to justify the separate treatment of archæology, as if it were an independent historical science. What scientific reason could be assigned for attempting the historical representation of everything that is ancient in the Church down to the boundary where it touches upon what now exists, but really excluding the latter from such representation? For it is held to be a leading principle in historical science, that it should show how the now existing has been developed out of what once was."[1]

[1] Uebersicht d. kirchenhistor. Literatur, in Stud. u. Krit, 1831, No. 3, p. 627 *sq.*

The case resembles that of patristics. Arbitrary boundaries have been assumed, some extending archæology down to Gregory the Great only, while others continue it to the time of the Reformation. But as patristics must be brought down to the latest times in the form of a history of the literature and a history of theology, so must archæology be carried onward as a history of worship. For the ancient is not entitled to separate treatment simply because it is old, though it will not be denied that, as in patristics, the first six centuries are of special importance as the constructive period, and especially so in liturgical features.[1] By taking archæology out of its connexion with the living development of the Church, and making it an incense-breathing reliquary, we degrade it as a science into a mere hunt for bric-a-brac, and give it an un-Protestant varnish of idle curiosity and favouritism. It becomes instructive and quickening only through its relations to the present, which is obliged, in the interests of both dogmatics and liturgics, to continually draw from the ancient sources, and renew its life at the original beginnings of the Church itself. Archæology, as the history of worship, enters into a relation with the history of Christian art as close as that sustained by the history of doctrines to historical philosophy; and, as the latter prepares the way for dogmatics, so does the former for liturgics.

Archæology as a history of worship.

Archæology necessarily related to the present.

Certain writers, especially older ones, and Boehmer among them, include the history of constitution in archæology. But it is questionable whether a separate treatment of that branch is needed, or be allowed to quietly retain its place upon the tree of Church history, with which it is intimately united.[2] It would, at all events, be impracticable to regard the two as forming a single science. The history of worship also sustains an intimate relation with Christian morals, or Christian life itself, in the more independent forms of its manifestation. Each is largely involved with the other; for example, the history of asceticism, of fasting, and of feasts, the Church feasts being likewise popular festivals. It is difficult to indicate the boundaries at this point, and the historian will be obliged to depend

Worship and morals.

[1] Comp. Schleiermacher, §§ 168–70; Danz, § 70; Rosenkranz, p. 221, and Guericke in Herzog, Encykl. s. v.

[2] Rheinwald's definition, according to which Christian archæology is "the representation of the entire life of the Church, in the course of its development and according to its results," is evidently too broad, since it would include the history of doctrines also in archæology. Compare, for a contrary view, Boehmer, who, however, holds to the boundary of the first six centuries.

upon a certain tact to preserve him from wandering away into foreign matters.[1]

HISTORY.

The history of archæology depends upon the history of worship itself. In the same measure as the latter rose from its original simplicity to an artistic representation under various forms, has it offered material for antiquarian research. The simple collecting of the material from the appropriate sources, as ancient liturgies, Acts of Councils, and Papal decretals, was all that was undertaken at first; for example, in the Roman Catholic Church, by J. Bapt. Casalius (Christianorum ritus veteres, 1645), who was joined by Cardinal Bona (died 1694), Claude Fleury (1682), Martène (died 1739), Th. Maria Mamachi (1749–55), and Selvaggio (1787–90). In the Protestant Church the initiative was taken, certainly not as the result of accident, by the Anglicans, and first of all by Joseph Bingham (died 1723), in the Origines Ecclesiasticæ (Antiquities of the Christian Church, 1708–26), whose work was translated into Latin by J. H. Grischow, Halle ed., 1724–38, and again in 1751–61 (10 vols. 4to). The best English edition is by Pitman, London, 1840, 9 vols. 8vo. He was followed, among Germans, by J. A. Quenstedt (Antiqu. Bibl. et Eccles., Vit., 1699) and Hildebrand at Helmstedt (died 1691), who published a series of dissertations. G. A. Spangenberg's Comp. Ant. Eccles. was published by G. Walch, Lips., 1733, and upon this followed S. J. Baumgarten, Simonis, and others.

SECTION XXIII.

STATISTICS.

Comp. Schleiermacher, §§ 95, 232 *sq.*; Hagenbach's article on Statistics, in Herzog's Encyklopædia; Schem, American Ecclesiastical Year-Book, New York, 1860. Dorchester, Problem of Religious Progress, New York, 1881.

All history, on arriving at the present time, expands into statistics, which has to do with conditions instead of events. Ecclesiastical statistics, accordingly, deals only with ecclesiastical conditions. It is possible, however, to secure resting-places in the past, also, from which to conduct a statistical review. On the other hand, the germs of a further historical development lie in the conditions of the present. The contrast between history and statistics must, for this reason, be considered a flexible distinction.

[1] The History of Morals must be distinguished from the History of Ethics, in the same way as the History of Dogmatics is distinguished from the History of Doctrines, the History of Liturgics from the History of Worship, and that of Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence from that of Constitution. All of these are simply departments of the History of the Theological Sciences.

"Statistics," says Schlözer, "is history at a standstill;" but this is not a real pause, and what has been at this moment treated as statistics will in a few years belong to history. The historical presentation itself is obliged to furnish statistical information respecting the age of which it treats, thus interrupting the progress of the narrative, and changing the past into the present. It is not possible, however, to furnish such reviews with equal facility at all times, the periods of general confusion being especially unfavourable to such inquiry, while the times immediately before and afterward are eminently suitable. This may be seen, for example, in the state of the world immediately before the introduction of Christianity, or the condition of the Church before the Reformation, or in the time of Charlemagne, Gregory VII., or Innocent III. The most favourable point for a statistical review is always where an old period ends and a new one begins. The statistics of the present, or statistics in the proper sense, includes, like the history, the whole of the kingdom of God in its earthly manifestation—the outward state of Christianity in its spread; its geographical extension, or the statistics of missions; and the constitution, worship, customs, and teaching of the Church.

History must furnish statistics.

Statistics of doctrine may either content itself with simply stating the prevalent confessions and tendencies of belief, as is usual with works of this character—numerical strength of the Roman Catholic population of a country, of the Lutheran, and others—or it may draft a somewhat detailed description of the existing state of doctrine. For it really is what Schleiermacher calls it, though it is but outwardly so, "a description of the teaching accepted in modern times." Statistics generally deals most largely with ecclesiastical constitutions—because this element is more easily grasped and understood than others—and also with the worship. The most difficult feature to include in a description is the life itself, with all its shadings and gradations; and for this work, as for the narrating of historical events, the skill of the artist will be required. The groupings may be arranged to correspond with different points of view; for example, by countries, confessions, forms of doctrine, constitution, worship, and their factors. Each method has its advantages and disadvantages,[1] and it will be advisable to combine different systems in the execution of this work. The best source for statistics is, beyond question, personal study and observation, which here

Statistical and ecclesiastical constitutions.

Best source for Statistics.

[1] See Pelt, p. 363 *sq.*, and the combination proposed in that place: "Much remains to be accomplished by special effort in this department, with reference to both the material and the form.—Schleiermacher, § 245.

possibly may assure us to some extent, but is absolutely denied to us in history. Exact observation, however, is possible only when based on the facts of history down to the present time; and the testimonies of contemporaneous authorities are largely needed with regard to existing facts. Suitable helps, in addition to works of a properly statistical character, may be found in official reports, descriptions of travels, especially when written by persons who travel in the interests of ecclesiastical affairs, and ecclesiastical periodicals and newspapers.

The student of theology will, of course, need to become acquainted with such matters. He is required to comprehend the time in which he lives, and to enter with all his abilities and sympathies into its progress. But the *nequid nimis* has its application to his case. In the absence of a thorough historical preparation, and of the historic sense, the only attainment likely to be reached will be a limited knowledge instead of thoroughness. For nothing is more dissipating and destructive of thoroughness than an exclusive reading of newspapers and journals; and the temptation to employ the reading of travels simply as a pastime is likewise an imminent danger. A shallow literature, of the tourist and journalistic type, has, unfortunately, deluged all lands, and it affords nothing but superficial reasonings. Beware of it! Fortunate is the youth who has a paternal friend at hand, to impart counsel and aid in interpreting the signs of the times!

Shallow books of travel.

1. *Statistical Textbooks.*

C. F. Stäudlin, kirchliche Geographie und Statistik. Tüb., 1804. 2 vols.

J. Ch. W Augusti, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Statistik der evangel. Kirche. Lpz., 1837–38.

J. Wiggers, kirchl. Statistik oder Darstellung der gesammten christl. kirche nach ihrem gegenwärt. äussern und inneren Zustande. Hamb., 1842 f. 2 vols.

J. E. Th. Wiltsch, Handb. der kirchl. Geographie und Statistik von den Zeiten der Apostel bis zu dem Anfang des 16. Jahrh. Berl., 1846. 2 vols.

St. J. Neher, kirchl. Geogr. u. Stat. Regensb., 1864.

A. de Mestral, tableau de l'église chrét. au 18. siècle. Laus., 1870.

C. J. Böttscher, Germania sacra. Ein topograph. Führer durch die Kirchen- u. Schulgesch. deutscher Lande. Lpz., 1874 f.

Statistics of the Catholic Church:

† Statistisches Jahrb. der Kirche, oder gegenwärt. Bestand des gesammten kathol-Erdkreises, by P. Karl. Regensb., 1860.

† J. Silbernagl, Verfassung u. gegenwärt. Bestand sämmtl. Kirchen des Orients. Landsh., 1865.

Protestant Church of the Present Time:

D. Schenkel, die gegenwärtige Lage der protestant. Kirche in Preussen u. Deutschland. Mannh., 1867.

H. Kritzler, die deutsche evangelische Kirche in der Gegenwart. Gotha, 1869.

2. *Ecclesiastical Travels.*

A. H. Niemeyer, Beobachtungen auf Reisen in und ausser Deutschland. Halle, 1820–26. 5 vols.

F. F. Fleck, wissenschaftliche Reise durch das südliche Deutschland, Italien, Sicilien, u. Frankreich. Lpz., 1835–38. 2 vols. in 5 parts.

Th. Fliedner, Collektenreise nach Holland und England, nebst einer ausführl. Darstellung des Kirchen-, Schul-, Armen- und Gefängnisswesens beider Länder. Essen, 1831. 2 vols. (Only embraces Holland.)

Th. F. Kniewel, Reiseskizzen, vornehmlich aus dem Heerlager der Kirche; gesammelt auf einer Reise in England, Frankreich, Belgien, Schweiz, Oberitalien, Deutschland im Jahr 1842. Lpz., 1844. 2 vols.

CHAPTER III.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

SECTION I.

Comp. Schleiermacher, § 196; von der Goltz, Der Weg zum Systeme der dogmatischen Theologie, in Jahrbb. für deutsche Theologie iv, p. 679 *sqq.*

Henry B. Smith, Analysis and Proof Texts of Julius Müller's System of Theology (translation of) in Amer. Presb. and Theol. Review. New York, 1865. *The same author's* Introduction to Christian Theology, (edited by W. S. Karr), New York, 1883.

Systematic Theology is the scientific and connected presentation of Christian doctrine in its relation to both faith and morals. Formerly it was regarded and treated as a single science of Christian teaching. But latterly, since the time of Danæus and Calixtus, it has been divided into two distinct branches. These, however, should be regarded as simply different sides of that same life which manifests itself in faith and morals, and whose various qualities are in constant relation with each other.

Christianity destined to develop into a system.

We have observed, in a former connexion, that Christianity was not, at the outset, an organized and self-inclusive body of doctrines. But this does not necessitate the conclusion that Christianity was not destined to unfold into a system of doctrine at some future time. The pre-requisites for such a consummation existed from the first, and a sound development of its teaching could only lead to the analysis of its contents, and to their comprehension under a single idea. A relative distinction may be established between the several doctrinal conceptions of John, Paul, and other apostles. But the respective systems are simply members of the great organism of the developed Christian teaching as a whole. There is no cessation in the development of doctrine. Where an apparent pause is observed, there is danger of stagnation and petrifaction. But there are single stages in the history, at which the dogmatic consciousness of the Church appears in a more assured light, and where the unfolding arrives at a relative conclusion. These are the times of symbols and of the greatest dogmatical writings, in which the belief of an entire age, or at least of an ecclesiastical party, or a school, is reflected.

It thus becomes proper to speak of Lutheran, Reformed, or Roman Catholic dogmatics, whose results may be brought into the light of objective history. Such objective description has also been denominated Ecclesiastical Dogmatics, in distinction from Biblical Dogmatics. But neither the latter nor the former is dogmatics in the strictest sense.[1] Both are merely introductory in their character; and ecclesiastical dogmatics results from symbolism, and is a further historical basis for dogmatics proper, just as biblical dogmatics results from biblical exegesis, and is the basis for the history of doctrines. The object of dogmatics proper is not simply to record historical matter, but also to express the conviction entertained by the writer who presents the system to our notice in word and print.[2]

Ecclesiastical Dogmatics.

Object of dogmatics.

It is, therefore, for adequate reasons that systematic theology is taken from the soil of history, into which it has struck its roots, and is made a separate branch of study,[3] the very centre of the theological sanctuary and the heart of theological life. It takes the exegetical and historical material, and out of it constructs for the

[1] Dogmatics should always be ecclesiastical; that is, be linked to the Church to which it owes its birth. But we understand by *ecclesiastical* what has been ecclesiastically fixed and authorized, the symbolically statutory, or, as it has been termed, the socially established. See J. P. Lange, Christl. Dogm., i. The attempt has been made, of late, to limit the term dogmatics to this statutory, symbolical, and traditional branch, while the German phrase "Glaubenslehre"—System of the Faith—has been applied, as alone appropriate, to what we would characterize as dogmatics proper. This is done, for example, by Alex. Schweizer, who, in his Christliche Glaubenslehre, follows in the track of Rothe. But it is impossible to understand, in view of the elastic meaning of the word δόγμα, why the term dogmas may not be used with reference to the theology of the present day. This usage is further recommended by the ease with which the adjective "dogmatic," and the verb "to dogmatize," may be formed from the noun. Comp. Krauss on 1 Cor. xv, pp. v and vi. Von der Goltz (ubi supra, p. 688) likewise declares that he is unable to attach the importance to the difference between dogmatics and the term advanced by Schweizer which that writer urges, and continues: "The mere stating of the doctrines held by the fathers is no dogmatics, but a cross section taken from the history of doctrines."

[2] Qualified, of course, by the feature that such personal conviction claims to have discovered the true expression of ideas that now live in the Church, and have earned the right to make themselves heard. Only upon this ground does the work deserve the name of dogmatics. The mere statement of subjective views, sometimes having no reference to the Church, and even designed to antagonize the Church, and break down its teaching, reducing it to a mere zero, deserves to pass by any other name rather than that of dogmatics, or a system of the faith.

[3] Lücke, Stud. u. Krit., 1834, No. 4, p. 775: "I am of the opinion that the scientific interest which gives birth to systematic theology is predominantly unlike the historical, even though it include the critical element. It is simply the systematic, and not merely the subordinate, interest, in an orderly arrangement of a given historical material, but at the same time a desire to state scientifically the doctrines of Christian

present time that doctrine which, in its turn, yields the governing principles for practical theology. In this work it may also appropriate to itself the name of theology, κατ' ἐξόχην.

Ethical character of Christian doctrine.

Christian doctrine is not, however, simply a doctrine of the faith, in the sense that the faith is merely turned in the direction of religious perception and apprehension. But it is, to an equal extent, ethical doctrine, or, more precisely, a doctrine of the life. Disposition and the life are embraced as one under Christianity. It preaches both faith and repentance,—a change of disposition—and its thoroughly practical character even causes the regeneration of the soul to be of primary importance, while thought upon it, or reflection, has but a derived value. Christianity is, first of all, a religion, and not a theology. While it has been observed that religion, in its essence, is neither a form of knowledge nor of action, though it necessarily leads to both, it follows that the doctrinal system of a religion will need to develop in the two directions of knowing and doing. This is generally conceded with reference to the practical department. It would not be desired that either the doctrinal or the moral element should be wanting in a catechism of Christian teaching. The same is true of those sermons in which the two factors of doctrine and ethics are presented in combination. These, as in the case of Wesley and Dwight, are justly regarded as superior to homiletical literature in general.

Predominance of the dogmatic interest.

The question is, however, whether the same rule shall apply in the scientific field as well. At the first, while the science itself was being developed out of the practical elements at hand, the two features were interwoven with each other. We see an illustration of this in Augustine's Christian Doctrine. The dogmatic interest, however, has, upon the whole, always overbalanced the ethical in religious controversies. The Reformation seemed to spring primarily from moral, not directly doctrinal, causes. But a change of relations soon took place, which resulted in the attaching of greater weight to the definition of doctrinal points. It might be said that attention was, with entire propriety, directed chiefly to the settling of the truths belonging to the faith, since works spring from faith. But the faulty

faith and action with absolute truthfulness, in such a way that all doubt and opposition, and all want of congruity in Christian thought, may be removed. This is wholly unlike the historical object." Lange, p. 49: "The importance of dogmatics is materially obscured when it is treated, as it was by Schleiermacher, simply as a branch of historical theology. The immediate object of historical theology is to make dogmatics possible, but not to absorb it."

principle consisted in this fact, that the faith was too little apprehended from the dynamical, and too greatly from the merely theoretical, side, the apprehending of the faith being confounded with tendencies of belief, and the understanding of the faith with its power. In this way Christian ethics long failed to receive just treatment. It was a mere tenant on the premises of dogmatics, sparingly introduced in connexion with the teaching of the divine law; and a practical application (*usus practicus*) was appended to the several dogmas as occasion might require. It is not strange, therefore, that Calixtus should fall upon the idea of emancipating ethics from dogmatics, and assigning to it a separate field.[1]

Calixtus separating ethics from dogmatics.

But the idea of emancipation should never have been entertained. Christian ethics must ever be grounded, and at home, in Christian dogmatics, if it is not to renounce the Christian character, and degenerate into a general or philosophical morality. The latter event actually came to pass; and there was even a time when morality spread itself over the practical field so broadly that dogmatics was shrivelled into a narrow extract. The separation of the two became an error as soon as it extended to principles, and assumed an internal independence of ethics from dogmatics. In this regard the recalling to mind of their original unity and connexion has been of advantage. It is a different question, however, whether their fusion into a single science must be the result. Science must often separate elements which are combined in life, and theology may distinguish between dogmatics and ethics with the same propriety as philosophy discriminates between the philosophy of religion and ethics. The one has to do with things to be believed, the other with things to be done. The one moves upon the ground of conception and recognition, the other upon that of modes of disposition and conduct based upon such recognition. In other words, "Dogmatics represents life in its transcendent relations to God, the eternal basis of its being; ethics according to its immanent relation to the world of man. Dogmatics regards it in its specifically ecclesiastical character, ethics in its general human character. Dogmatics describes the organ, ethics indicates the tasks that await its energy. Dogmatics teaches how man derives his Christian life from God, ethics how he is to give proof of it in the world of men, by human methods and in that exercise of incarnated power which we call virtue."[2] The

Difference between dogmatics and ethics.

[1] The Reformed theologian Danæus attempted this even earlier than Calixtus. Comp. Nitzsch, *ubi supra*.

[2] Lange, *ubi supra*, pp. 46, 47.

reference of the one to the other should, therefore, never be forgotten, and a really Christian dogmatics will always guide into morality, while Christian ethics will point back to dogmatics.

It may be noted, moreover, that Schleiermacher already deemed it "desirable that the undivided treatment should be employed from time to time,"[1] and this desire has been responded to in recent times by two theologians, Nitzsch and Beck, although in diverse ways.[2] The method has also been tried, finally, by Rothe, of including the substance of the doctrines of belief in ethics as being, in effect, the determining influence of the latter, and of regarding only the historical residuum as dogmatics.[3] But it is not to be supposed that the usage has been thereby settled for all time.

[1] Schleiermacher, § 231. J. C. v. Hofmann allows no other excuse for the separation of dogmatics from ethics than that of convenience. "Both branches have been at times considered historical, and at other times systematic, or dogmatics has been assigned to historical theology, while a special treatment has been demanded for ethics. The writer who distinguishes between the science of the kingdom of God in itself and the science of its actualization in man, or who designates dogmatics a history of the dealings of the redeeming God in their development, and ethics a history of development in the men redeemed by him, will be compelled to treat the same material twice, wholly or in part, and this without any appreciable profit, but simply from different points of view. For it is impossible to describe God's dealings with man without discussing at the same time man's action toward God, or to describe the attitude of the Christian without preceding the description with a direct or implied reference to the attitude of God, to which the former corresponds. If the relation sustained by God be presumed, it is admitted that ethics is simply the part of a greater whole. If it be stated, ethics is thereby made such a part, nothing remains but the admission that Christian ethics, as the science relating to Christian conduct—not that of men in general—toward God, is indeed a separable, but not for that reason an independent, part of the one body of teachings which has its origin in the publication of that relation existing between God and man which has been established through the mediation of Christ."—Schriftbeweis i, pp. 14, 15.

[2] Nitzsch, System der Lehre fur akadem. Vorlesungen. Bonn, 1829, 6th ed., 1851. Tob. Beck, Einl. in d. System der christl. Lehre, oder propædentische Entwicklung der christl., Lehrwissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1838. Die christl. Lehrwissenschaft nach den bibl. Urkunden, Stuttgart, 1840.

[3] Theol. Ethik i, p. 38. In opposition see Lange, *supra*, p. 49, and Julius Müller in Herzog's Encykl., iii, p. 439, and also Dorner in *ibid.*, iv, p. 187: "Dogmatics and ethics are as certainly separate departments as God and man are really different from each other. Dogmatics is engaged upon the being, thoughts, and actions of God, which have for their object an ethical world; Christian ethics has to do with the good that comes into actual being in the form of man's free-will, and under the actualized purpose of the love of God." Comp. also Schenkel's Dogmatik i, p. 13.

SECTION II.

DOGMATICS.

Baumgarten-Crusius, Einleitung in das Studium der Dogmatik, Lpz., 1820; F. Fischer, zur Einleitung in die Dogmatik der evangelisch-protestantischen Kirche, Tüb., 1828; Mynster, über den Begriff der christlichen Dogmatik (theol. Stud. u. Krit., Jahrg., 1831, No. 3); Rust, Rede über christliche Dogmatik, Frankf., 1830; Kling, über die Gestalt der evangel. Dogmatik (Tüb., theol. Zeitschrift, 1834, 4); F. H. Th. Alihn, Einl. in das Studium der Dogmatik nach den Ergebnissen der neuesten wissenschaftl. Forschungen, Lpz., 1837; Beck a. a. O. J. P. Lange, christl. Dogmatik, 1st part, Heidelb., 1849; Th. A. Liebner, introductio in dogmaticam christianam, Lips., 1854; J. Müller, in Herzog's Realencykl. III, p. 433 f.; Rothe, Begriff der evangelischen Dogmatik (Zur Dogmatik I.); Wiedermann, christl. Dogmatik. Einl., p. 1-20; Von der Goltz, *ubi supra*, and his Dogmatik, mentioned below.

The best English and American treatment of Introductory Systematic Theology is found at the beginnings of the works, and not in separate volumes. For the older works, see Lowndes, The British Librarian, pp. 682-814. Hodge and Van Oosterzee, of later writers, furnish the best introductory discussion.

Christian Dogmatics forms the central point of all theology. The reason is, that the results obtained by exegetical and historical inquiry, in so far as they touch upon the Christian faith, are wrought over, and impressed upon, the consciousness of the present time, and are combined into that scientific whole from which the principles underlying ethics and practical theology are to be deduced. Dogmatics is neither a mere philosophy of religion nor a mere history of doctrines, but a science including both historical and philosophical elements. It is the science which presents to our notice the material obtained by exegesis and history in an organized and systematic form, representing the sum of the truths of the Christian faith in organic connexion with the facts of the religious consciousness. It, therefore, demands preparatory training in exegesis and history, as well as in philosophy.

Dogmatics defined.

What has been said of systematic theology in general applies more especially to dogmatics, as constituting the centre of gravity in this matter. For ethics, which is connected with it, depends upon it in the last analysis. Hence Augusti is justified in the remark, that the old and generally adopted usage, which conceives dogmatics and theology as being synonymes, is evidence of the high importance which has always been attached to this first of all the departments of theology.[1] It is, to use Lange's expression, "in a specific sense the theology of the Church." But there is, nevertheless, no universal agreement respecting the extent and importance of this science, some regarding it as being simply historical in its nature, and others making it merely philosophical or speculative. Again, they who admit that it combines within itself both historical and philosophical elements, yet differ greatly with regard to the relations sustained by the one to the other.

[1] System der christl. Dogmatik, § 1.

The reducing of dogmatics to a mere historical science may grow out of various fundamental views. Those make a great mistake who regard the system of doctrines as completed once for all, for they confine dogmatics within the boundaries of the past. This is precisely the view of the sceptic, who seeks to degrade it into a mere old history, whose highest usefulness consists in its walking behind, and bearing the train, very easily dispensed with, of the wisdom of our own time. There was no lack of opinions of the latter sort during the last century, and a number of dogmatical works dating from the present century, such as those of Bretschneider and Wegscheider, are filled with unmodified historical matter. Tzschirner took the ground of simple statement, without entering upon any direct discussion.

Dogmatics a progressive science.

There is, however, still another historical view of dogmatics, which at least grows out of a living apprehension of history, and therefore demands intellectual mediation between the past and the present. This view is represented by Herder,[1] and especially by Schleiermacher, who, in point of fact, steps out from the past altogether, and makes of dogmatics, as he would of statistics, a science of the present as historically conditioned, since he conceives it to be "the science of the combination of doctrine which prevails in a Christian ecclesiastical community at a given time."[2]

Schleiermacher's definition of dogmatics.

[1] Von Religion, Lehrmeinungen und Gebräuchen, § 37: "Dogmatics, even on the conception which underlies its name, is simply a history of doctrines. How beneficial is it to carry forward every dogma to its limits, philologically, historically, philosophically!" Though Röhr, in his Briefe üb. Rationalismus, announced the expectation that the time will come when our dogmatics shall appear only in the character of a history of doctrines, and appealed for justification to the progress made by the spirit of inquiry among theologians since Socinus and Herbert of Cherbury, there seemed to be but little hope that the prophecy would be fulfilled. A certificate of death has, however, been issued in behalf of dogmatics from a different quarter, and in a different connexion, it being characterized as the "science of Church doctrines," in distinction from doctrines of the faith. (Page 39.) Schweizer says: "The dogmatics of former times has been superseded by the doctrinal system of the evangelical Protestant faith, which, having been contained in the former in a very subordinate and restricted character, has thrown off its dogmatic fetters, and become the system of faith in each separate state of development in the Evangelical Church." But this language is connected with the *usus linguæ* referred to above. The wild cry, "No more dogmatics!" which has been uttered in certain writings of a partisan character, can only impose upon persons who have no sympathy with anything that has been historically developed. We are able, on the other hand, to agree with Biedermann, who asserts (p. 17) that "the science of mere ecclesiastical doctrines must be overcome by a true science of the Protestant faith." Upon this point he remarks, however, that this cannot be accomplished by simply declaring that dogmatics is such a science of traditional doctrine.

[2] Darstellung, §§ 97, 196 *sqq.;* Der christliche Glaube, vol. i, p. 1.

With reference to this definition, the question has been properly asked, what is to be understood by "prevalent"? Schleiermacher responds, "That form of doctrine is prevalent which is employed in public transactions as representing the common piety,"[1] or that "which is officially asserted and made known, without calling forth official contradiction."[2] Upon this point he is obliged to concede, however, that "the boundaries must be extended or narrowed as time and circumstances may require." Since this definition requires that not what was formerly accepted should be presented, but what now prevails, it removes dogmatics to some extent from the strictly historical field. But Schleiermacher proceeds further still. He demands that dogmatics should not state the views of others simply, but also the personal views of the writer, and even ascribes to it a kind of sagacity that will detect the truth, since he defines its task to be the "purifying and perfecting of the doctrine."[3] Further, he insists upon the application of critical processes, which, of course, applies also to history. He thereby elevates dogmatics into a science which is directed toward the future, and which teaches, to an equal degree, what must be accepted in the future, and what is authoritative now, or has been so in the past. By this method dogmatics is evidently lifted out from the framework of historical theology, and it is for this very reason that adherents of the school of Schleiermacher, and some other writers as well, have raised objections that are not wholly unfounded against its incorporation with that branch.[4]

Objections to Schleiermacher's definition.

[1] Der christl. Glaube, vol. i, p. 1.

[2] Darstellung, § 16, note.

[3] Christl. Glaube, vol. i, p. 130. Schleiermacher speaks with especial clearness in opposition to a mere empirically historical view respecting dogmatics and ethics, p. 9: "We may, at all events, insist that every representation of Christian doctrine is historical, but it may not on that account cease to be systematic; and, on the other hand, while every one is systematic, it must be not only systematic, but in every instance also historical and systematic."

[4] Comp. the extract from Lücke, p. 721 of MS. Von der Goltz says, in a similar spirit: "If the designation of dogmatics as a historical department is designed to specify simply that it is not merely a speculative construction of Christianity, but that it is the positive truth of the Christian faith as the common possession of the Church, with its internal combinations wrought into intelligible form, there can be no objection to the idea. But the designation 'historical' is nevertheless misleading. Its originator, Schleiermacher, adds to it the feature that systematic theology is only to present the historically given matter, without laying claim to the right of presenting authoritative truth. This is an error. Dogmatics has always striven to report not only what the Church teaches, or has taught, but what it should teach. Dogmatics aims to furnish authoritatively what constitutes the normal statement of the truth in

It does not follow that the historical character of dogmatics is thereby denied. This is in any case to be retained, unless dogmatics is to become equivalent to the philosophy of religion. The material of dogmatics is certainly historical, but it is required to pass through the philosophical process of reflection. Dogmatics has to do not simply with the abstract religious consciousness, but with the consciousness of the Church, and with revelations addressed by God to man which have been historically transmitted. It is only necessary that the divine, in so far as it may be apprehended by the human mind, be cognized with human certainty, and be received into the scientific consciousness of the present. In this way scientific knowledge and systematic philosophical thought will interpenetrate each other in the treatment of the system of belief. "A reference of religion in itself to religion, as it appears in Christianity and in the manifestation of the latter through the evangelical Church, is established," as Hase correctly shows.[1] In his later editions he presents the idea with greater definiteness, "of the relation of the Christian religion in itself to the religious spirit."[2] Schenkel likewise holds that,

Dogmatics to pass through reflection.

the domain of Christian belief. This is in harmony with the proper meaning of the word dogma; for dogma is an established term, attested by the Church, to designate a truth belonging to the Christian faith."

[1] Evangel. Dogmatik, I, § 2. The definition of De Wette (Dogm., I, § 60) may be made to agree with that of Hase: "The representing of Christianity as related to the culture of an age is dogmatics." Other definitions are very obscure, e. g., those of Reinhard, Wegscheider, and Tzschirner, that of the latter being: "Dogmatics is the science of the Christian belief, or the scientific presentation of the doctrine of God and divine things contained in Christianity." Biedermann teaches, that dogmatics is both a positive and a speculative science (but observe, not a "mixture of both"!), while Rothe terms speculative dogmatics a "wooden iron." It is evident that much confusion respecting the scientific nomenclature still prevails upon this point.

[2] The 5th ed., for instance, says, "Dogmatics is the systematic presentation of the Christian religion in so far as it has taken definite shape in the form of dogmas, and as it stands related to the religious spirit." Comp. § 11 (in the older editions): "As philosophical dogmatics, when not connected with historical references, is a mere abstraction, so the historical presentation of biblical, ecclesiastical, and comparative-symbolical dogmatics can only become actual science by its union with philosophical dogmatics—a science which embraces the consciousness of Christianity in its primitive form, the self-consciousness of the Church, and a comprehension of the different forms in which the Christian spirit, affected by human errors, has found expression. While each of these is, in its own way, important, it is yet but an isolated view of Christianity, for whose complete recognition dogmatics is required, which apprehends the Christian faith in the whole of its development, and teaches how to become acquainted with the nature of the religious spirit." The recent Protestantism of France, contrasting with the former abstract view of dogmatics, likewise recognizes the co-operation of various factors in it—the religious, the historical, and the scientific. Comp. the pamphlet, M. Scherer, ses disciples et ses adversaries, Par., 1854, p. 3.

"Christian dogmatics is the scientifically connected presentation of the saving truths of Christianity, as founded upon personal convictions, and as historically conditioned in the form of the common consciousness of Christians."[1] It follows that a genuine dogmatist must receive into himself all the stages of theological culture, and not only control the entire field of theological knowledge intellectually, but also demonstrate with his personal character that he represents the Church in his teaching, and that the consciousness of Christians generally finds a living and concrete illustration in his own—the highest duty assigned to the theologian! He must be firmly grounded on the basis of the word of God in the Scriptures, but have at the same time taken into himself the entire progress of the history of doctrines, have wrought out all contrasts, have reduced every thing to clearness and certainty in his own consciousness, and be able to render to himself an account of the internal and external character of every doctrine. The human spirit, with its capacities for religion, and its needs and strivings, must, as well as the Scriptures, with their profound teachings, be open to his eyes. He must be acquainted with the present and with the past, and he must make use of both to carry forward the development for future times and the preparation for new developments;[2] "following the age, but not subservient to it."[3]

Necessity of a pure and well endowed personal character.

SECTION III.

APOLOGETICS AND ITS RELATION TO DOGMATICS.

Schleiermacher, § 32–42. Comp. the article by Heubner, in Ersch und Gruber's Encyklop., vol. 4; Schmid, über christl. Apologetik, in the antagonistic serial on Theol. und Philos., 1829; *Lechler, über den Begriff der Apologetik, ein histor. Beitrag zur Bestimmung der Ausgabe, Methode und Stellung dieser Wissenschaft, in the Stud. u. Krit., 1839; Hänell, die Apologetik als die Wissenschaft von dem der Kirche und der Theologie gemeinsamen Grunde, in the Stud. u. Krit., 1843; J. Hirzel, über die christl. Apologetik, (Vortrag an die Züricher Synode,) Zürich, 1843; Kienlen, die Stellung der Apologetik und der Polemik in der theologischen Encyklop., (Stud. u. Krit., 1846.) See Hagenbach's article in Herzog's Realencykl., I.
Hetherington, Apologetics of the Christian Faith, N. Y., 1867.

The presentation of the Christian faith presumes the truth of that faith as a whole, or regards the fact of Christianity as a divine fact. It is the office of science, however, to justify that presumption to the religious sense. Hence, apologetical investigation must

[1] Christliche Dogmatik, p. 1.

[2] Hase distinguishes five functions of the dogmatist: first, the philosophical unfolding of the religious belief; second, historico-critical apprehension; third, systematic arrangement; fourth, ascertaining and estimating its religious value; fifth, organic further development of the Christian system.

[3] Kling, *ubi supra*, p. 11.

precede the purely dogmatical. In its formal aspect, apologetics, like dogmatics, is a philosophical and historical science, for its proofs are drawn both from within and without—from reason and conscience, and from history. With regard to its contents, the relation it sustains toward dogmatics is that of elemental and constitutive to the systematically developed, or of the keynote to its scale. It is, accordingly, possible to separate the two branches from each other, yet not absolutely, but only relatively.

Apologetics must precede dogmatic science.

Schleiermacher, who assigns dogmatics to the department of historical theology, has, nevertheless, erected a separate department of philosophical theology, and given it the first place. It is subdivided into apologetics and polemics. Hence these branches thus come to occupy the position of outposts, though in a somewhat lost and isolated state, being far removed from the main body of theological forces, and separated by the interposition of other departments, such as exegesis and Church history; we, therefore, consider it advisable to call in these outposts and incorporate them with the main body. They are certainly included in dogmatics, and constitute the organs through whose exercise it makes itself understood by outside observers. The life of dogmatics beats in them; they constitute the two poles at which the electric flash that passes through dogmatics is discharged both positively and negatively. At every step taken by the system of Christian belief it is obliged to defend its just claim to be so regarded against the attacks of unbelief, and it is also obliged to assert its determinate character as a particular form of belief, as the Protestant, in distinction from other similar beliefs, such as the Roman Catholic.[1] Dogmatics itself thus adopts the apologetical mode of procedure at one time, and the polemical at another, in its teaching, provided the latter has a living aim. It becomes apologetic when it purposes to bring into prominence, in connexion with the statement of every doctrine, the underlying

Apologetics and polemics in relation to dogmatics.

[1] The apologetic or the polemical interest will predominate at different times. The latter was uppermost in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; while dogmatics, without a persistently apologetic character, is inconceivable at the present day, though the newly awakened strife of confessions has considerably repressed quiet and unprejudiced apologetic expositions. Ullmann, in his Preface to the 6th German edition of his Sinlessness of Jesus, p. v, justly complains that "many contemporaries, even of the younger class, are so involved in the formulas of ready finished doctrines, whether framed in the interests of belief or unbelief, as to reject every attempt to establish the faith at the outset; in the one case because they will not think of an authentication that must be constantly renewed, in the other because they refuse to know the faith itself."

principle of Christianity as radically different from every other religion, and thus to fasten the conviction that Christianity, as a whole, is true and divine by opening up to view each separate element. It is polemical in so far as it rejects all that is improper or that obscures, defaces, or works injury to the dogma, and as it protects the view held by the Church against the non-ecclesiastical and pseudo-churchly ideas which may exist.

This does not forbid the separate treatment of apologetics and polemics.[1] The former, especially, has established its right to such treatment. But it must not be allowed to remove to a distance from dogmatics. On the contrary, "while defending the ground" of the latter,[2] it must go before it and prepare the way, as the Baptist before Christ, either by way of introduction to dogmatics, or independently. It will in either case act in the service of dogmatics, and with reference to its needs. The leading place at the head of dogmatics must, accordingly, be given to apologetics, though not the first place in the entire course of theological study, as Schleiermacher decides. It may be said, indeed, that exegesis and ecclesiastical history also cannot be regarded as sciences belonging to Christian theology in their inmost nature, unless a previous understanding of the nature of Christianity in general be secured. But such an understanding is attainable only upon the ground of history—unless it is to be based on the air—so that we again are forced to the conclusion that no department has an absolute beginning. Certain apologetical assumptions must be necessarily taken for granted in the study of exegesis and Church history, though with the understanding that they are to receive thorough investigation in the proper place. This procedure approves itself as correct on the grounds of methodology also. An apologetical course at the very beginning of theological study would, assuredly, be of little service to the student whose interest for apologetics needs to be awakened, and who for that end requires exegetical and historical studies, particularly the life of Jesus and the history of the king-

Apologetics an introduction to dogmatics.

Remote beginning of all departments in theology.

[1] Sack, in his Polemik, has conceived the distinction on this wise: "Dogmatics is Christian doctrine as adapted to Christian thinkers, implying friendliness on their part; apologetics is Christian doctrine in a form adapted to heathen thinkers, and presumes hostility on their part; and polemics adapts the doctrine to the state of heretical Christian thinkers, proceeding on the supposition of dissatisfaction on their part." These different functions frequently run into each other, however. What dogmatics, for instance, does not afford evidence of such dissatisfaction in this age, which is dissatisfied in so many regards?

[2] Zyro, in Stud. u Krit., 1837, 3.

dom of God. But after the theologian has arrived at dogmatics he can no longer dispense with apologetics as a science which deals with the principles of the former.

Apologetics in the schools.

No absolute reply can be given to the question whether a separate chair should be devoted to its service, or whether it should be taught in connexion with dogmatics. Departments should not be multiplied unnecessarily, and experience has probably demonstrated that, while, in the field of authorship, special apologetical works are much to be desired, since they call forth a thorough discussion of the vital question upon whose solution the whole of dogmatics depends, the *Apologetica* in schools come to occupy a somewhat isolated position when not connected with some other department.[1] In former days apologetics was connected with introduction to the books of the Bible, because the demonstration of the genuineness of such writings, and the discussion of revelation and inspiration, were held to constitute the substance of its task. But it has been correctly shown, in more recent times, that it is not the particular features, but rather the Christian religion, in the whole of its manifestations, that must constitute the object upon which the line of apologetical proof is directed.[2] The latter will proceed upon a twofold basis and become a "demonstration of the Spirit and of power" (1 Cor. ii, 4). This was formerly restricted to the ground of merely prophecy and miracles. But we would prefer to say that the demonstration of the Spirit lies in the inward justifying of Christianity to the Spirit, in that it demonstrates itself as religion, while the demonstration of the power consists in its being apprehended as a definite historical fact, as an effective actualization of religion, as that religion which is endorsed by the world's historical experience.

Entire Christianity the object of apologetics.

The task of apologetics.

The task of apologetics may, accordingly, be, with Lechler,[3] considered as a twofold one, viz.: (1) To show that Christianity is a religion, and (2) That it is the true religion, or unmodified religion.[4] It thus connects itself on the one hand

[1] Noesselt already decided against the separate treatment of apologetics, and also Tholuck, Verm. Schriften, part i, p. 376, and Literar. Anzeiger, 1831. But compare Nitzsch Protest. Beantwortung von Strauss' Philo. Dogmatik, in Stud. u. Krit., 1842, No. 3. Are not lectures on apologetics generally delivered as an introduction to dogmatics at the present time?

[2] Lechler, *ubi supra.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 605.

[4] "The Christian religion forms the subject, and absolute religion the predicate; while apologetics itself forms the copula; for it is simply the scientific process through which Christianity is shown to be the absolute religion."—*Ibid.*, p. 608.

with the philosophy of religion, and on the other with the results obtained by exegesis and Church history. It forms this connexion with the former because its office is to determine the nature of religion in general, while apologetics applies this general notion of religion to Christianity, and shows its concrete realization in this form; with the latter, because the entire development of the divine wisdom in revelation, and, first of all, the manifestation of Christ and the existence of the Church, form the basis upon which their evidences rest. In other words, the demonstration of the absolute purpose of Christianity to become the religion for all peoples and times, the religion for the individual and the race, is in scientific form precisely what the popular definition seeks to express when it declares it to be the task of apologetics to prove the truth and divine character of Christianity.

Divinity and the truth involved in each other.

This has too often been understood to mean that the divine element is merely another predicate superadded to the truth, and its existence has, from the standpoint of the older supernaturalism, been looked for exclusively in the extraordinary features of revelation, its inspiration, prophecies, and miracles;[1] whereas the divinity is already involved in the truth, and the truth in the divinity. This is not intended to signify that the divine element in Christianity consists simply in its generally acknowledged moral truths and its abstract correspondence with the laws of reason, though even this is something, and affords a field of apologetic effort even to the rationalist; but that the truth of Christianity is of a peculiar kind, having been born with Christianity, and therefore revealed; for what "eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and what hath not entered into the heart of man God hath prepared for them that love him, and hath revealed it unto us by his Spirit" (1 Cor. ii, 9, 10). But this specifically peculiar divine truth is certainly required to establish and approve itself to the inner consciousness as involving the human element also, that is, as a truth for man.[2] For this reason it must first render the negative proof that it contains nothing which conflicts with the

[1] The erection of such entrenchments, without any direct connexion with the contents of the Gospel, caused that "hateful ditch" concerning which Lessing declared that he could not pass over it. Comp. Hirzel, p. 22 *sqq.* The divine nature of Christianity does not appear in the absence of natural factors in the development of human affairs. If this were so Christ and Christianity would, of course, be fables, and not the subject of history. It manifests itself through the renewing might of the Spirit in the living consciousness of believers."—Bunsen, Hippolytus i (Pref.).

[2] "Were the eye unlike the sun
How could it bear His light?"—Goethe.

nature and the mission of man, and hence that contradicts the absolute reason, but that its definiteness constitutes at the same time a reasonable character.[1]

SECTION IV.

THE HISTORY OF APOLOGETICS.

The necessity of defending Christianity in general—the faith and morals of Christendom—against attack, was apparent at an early day. The earliest form of apologetics was the juridical, in the character of a defence against unjust charges before the tribunals of heathen authority. This form of necessary resistance was soon joined with theological apologetics in the stricter sense, so that the defensive element soon became the offensive, and apologetics took on a polemical character. The earliest Christian apologists represented heathenism in its emptiness, Judaism in its insufficiency, and Christianity in its greatness and unique character. The first apologies, by Aristides and Quadratus, and also those by Melito of Sardis, Miltiades, and Claudius Apollinaris, are either lost or exist only in the fragments we find in Eusebius. The oldest in our possession are the two apologies by Justin Martyr, about the middle of the second century, and those of Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and Hermas. The Alexandrian divines, Clement and Origen, defended Christianity—the former against the Greeks generally in his Admonitory Treatise, and the latter against the attacks of Celsus, in which undertaking they, like their predecessors, made ample use of Grecian philosophy. In the African Church, Tertullian became the attorney of Christianity through the publication of his writings—The Apologist, Against the Gentiles, and Against the Jews. He

The field of earliest apologetics.

Clement and Origen.

[1] The term "apologetical" may, however, "be applied in instances where it is being demonstrated that the decisive feature cannot be properly introduced into the demonstration at this point. It follows that an apologetical significance is to be ascribed to the little work by Lavater entitled "Nathanael, or the Certain but Unprovable Divinity of Christianity." Hirzel says: "Apologetics can only remove hinderances from the way of the thinking reason, in part, and in part bring an already existent belief into harmony or into a clearly apprehended relation with the entire sum of knowledge and of life." "No syllogistic method of proving the truth of Christianity is incontrovertible. But no human ingenuity has as yet succeeded in putting to shame the demonstration of the Spirit and of power."—Schenkel, Der ethische Charakter des Christenthums, in Prot. Monatsbl., 1857, p. 115. Melanchthon, too, remarks concerning the truths of Christianity: "Geometrica pingi et oculis subjici possunt; haec vero, de quibus hic dicimus, non ita pingi et oculis subjici possunt, sed attenta consideratione paulatim magis intelligentur."—Loci Communes (in Bretschneider, Corpus Reform. xxi, p. 646).

was subsequently joined by Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius (about A. D. 303), and Lactantius (died about 325).

The fathers of the second period, though directing their efforts more especially upon internal affairs, likewise continued the work of apologetics; for example, Athanasius, in his Treatise against the Greeks, Cyril of Alexandria (died 444), who wrote the books against Julian, and still other writers.

After ancient heathenism had been overcome it was necessary to defend Christianity against the continued attacks of the Jews, and, after the appearance of Mohammed, against the followers of Islam. A number of apologetical works of this character originated during the Middle Ages. We may mention those by Agobard, of Lyons, in his Insolence of the Jews, 822; by Abelard, in his Dialogue between the Philosopher, the Jew, and the Christian; and by Thomas Aquinas, in his Truth of the Catholic Faith against the Gentiles.

Conflict between philosophy and Christianity.

A kind of uncertainty respecting the foundations of Christianity began, moreover, to manifest itself within the pale of the Church itself. Philosophy and Christianity came into conflict, and in this way the apologetic writers came to regard internal conditions, especially after the restoration of the sciences in the fifteenth century. The truths of Christianity were protected against philosophical scepticism by Marsilius Ficinus in his Christian Religion and Piety of Faith (Opp. Par., 1641, tom. i, pp. 1–73), and against the intellectual scepticism by Savonarola in his Triumph of the Cross.

Grotius and Limborch.

The period of the Reformation was more particularly engaged in prosecuting the conflicts that arose within the Church; but the claims of apologetics soon afterward came again into notice. In 1627 Grotius composed the work, Truth of the Christian Religion,[1] primarily for mariners who came into contact with non-Christian peoples, in order to furnish them with a cable that should save them from Mohammedanism and heathenism. But the work was suited to the learned class rather than the unlearned, and has long maintained its reputation among them. The Arminian Limborch subsequently walked in the path of Grotius, in his Truth of the Christian Religion. He had for his object the defeat of the Spanish Jew, Orobio, and the Portuguese deistical Jew, Acosta. The rise of freethinkers of England furnished the impulse for apologetical authorship in that country, where it was even promoted by the institution of prizes. Mention must be made of Locke (1695–1733), Samuel Clarke (1704), Lardner, in his Credibility of the Gospel History (1764–67, iv), Addison, in his Evidences of the Christian

[1] Frequently edited. A good edition is Le Clerc and Madan's, Lond., 1814.

Religion, Stackhouse, in his Worth of the Christian Religion, and Butler, in his Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion.

In the Roman Catholic Church of France, Pascal, in his Thoughts (1668), and Astie (1857), and Havet, have defended Christianity against the objections raised by sceptical thinkers. The same work was performed in the Reformed Church by Abbadie (died in Ireland, 1727), Jacquelot (died 1725), and G. A. Turretin (died 1687), in his Treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion.

German apologies.

The German apologists of the last century largely followed the English at the first; but the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, since 1777, were chiefly influential in calling forth apologetical works. A measure of uncertainty was soon apparent, however, in the fact that people were not agreed with reference to the condition of the defence itself. What should have been maintained was often given up, and other matters were insisted on which might have been conceded, or which, at least, in the form in which they had been held, were untenable.[1] The apologists were divided into two camps—that of the strictly orthodox, and that of the latitudinarians. The prominent names at this point are Lilienthal, The Good Cause of Revelation (Königsb., 1750–78, in 16 vols.), Euler,[2] Haller, A. F. W Sack, Jerusalem, Noesselt, Less, Spalding, and Klenker. Chateaubriand defended the genius of Christianity and proved its greatness by the history of its martyrs (The Genius of Christianity; or, the Beauty of the Christian Religion, Par., 1802), from the position occupied by modern culture in France, and from that of æsthetical Roman Catholicism as well. The progress of development in theology in Germany gave rise to the conflict between Rationalism and Supernaturalism, by which means apologetics was transformed into polemics. The question concerning principles generally was at stake. Most of the works mentioned above were called into being by practical and temporary conditions rather than by scientific considerations. This is true in recent times also of Stirm; but the attempt to establish apologetics upon a strictly scientific basis was now made by Karl Sack, at Bonn, who was inspired thereto by Schleiermacher. The same effort was made

[1] Lessing says, with reference to the apologetical literature of his day, "It often appeared to me as if the gentlemen had exchanged their weapons, like those which are presented in the fable of Death and Love. The more forcibly one attempted to prove Christianity to me the more did I become inclined to doubt. The more recklessly and triumphantly another sought to tread it under foot the more assuredly was I conscious of maintaining it, at least in my heart." See C. Schwarz, Lessing als Theolog, Halle, 1854, p. 35.

[2] Comp. Hagenbach, Leonhard Euler, als Apologet des Christenthums, Basle, 1851, 4.

in the Roman Catholic Church by Drey (comp. Pelt, p. 398 *sq.*). Apologetics thus came to be clearly distinguished from apology; but it has not yet succeeded in attaining to an assured position as a separate science. Nothing has been gained by assigning to it a place under Practical Theology, as has been done in recent times, for it can only be practically applied after its foundations have been theoretically established.

Apologetics not yet a separate science.

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SECTION V

POLEMICS AND IRENICS.

Comp. Schleiermacher, §§ 52–62; Pelt in Herzog's Encyklopædia, vii, p. 60, and xi, p. 791. M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, articles Irenics and Polemical Theology, vols. iv and viii.

While dogmatics is governed by apologetical motives on the one hand, its entire substance is pervaded by polemical considerations on the other. That is to say, it has continually to recognise confessional contrasts, as historically revealed by symbolics, and to bring into view what is peculiar in the confession which it professes to support. It thus receives the confessional stamp, without which it would cease to be the dogmatics of a particular Church. It has, moreover, to reprove what is erroneous and morbid in the Church itself, and to present the unimpaired rule of doctrine in opposition to dogmatical perversions. This polemical feature does not, how-

ever, exclude the irenical, whose aim it is to discover the measure of truth in the keeping of opposing parties, and to point out the conditions upon which a gradual understanding, and ultimately a true and lasting reconciliation, of existing contrasts, may be brought about. Neither polemics or irenics is therefore to be regarded as a separate branch of theological study, but simply as a special side of the department of dogmatics.

Polemics and irenics not separate departments.

The older divines already distinguished between the acroamatic and elenchical theology. But symbolics had not yet received its present scientific form. If we assume that the distinctive doctrines have already been discussed in symbolics in so far as they are available as historical material, there will be nothing more for the dogmatic theologian to do than simply to move about on this historical ground with freedom and security, and to know how to strike chivalrous blows for his Church. But if it is not possible that he should be allowed to escape such service, it is not easy to understand why polemics should become a distinct branch.[1] Each depends for its life upon the other; polemics becoming empty disputation when it has no dogmatic basis, and simple dogmatics without polemical salt being an insipid hash. Dogmatics derives its confessional character, as Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and other types, from the polemical tendency it manifests, just as it is shown to be Christian dogmatics by the apologetic exposition with which it is introduced. A dogmatics that is Christian without any qualifying feature, to be satisfactory to both Roman Catholics and Protestants in a scientific point of view, is, in the present condition of affairs, wholly inconceivable.[2] If the attention were even confined altogether to biblical dogmatics, the latter would assume a very different form under Roman Catholic from that under Protestant treatment. But, as has been shown in a former section, dogmatics is not simply a statement of Bible doctrine, but it assumes both that and ecclesiastical doctrines.

Dogmatics both biblical and ecclesiastical.

The features added by the dogmatic theologian can only amount to a closer specification of the relation sustained by himself, or rather by his age—in so far as he has apprehended the latter and received

[1] "Peaceable minds are also, against their will, swept into the stream of polemics, and faithful adherence to denominational belief excites the feeling of resistance to the uninterrupted assaults upon his views in proportion to its strength."—Schenkel, Gespräche, etc., i, Vonede iv.

[2] Comp. Schleiermacher, § 197, note. The task of dogmatics is, nevertheless, not cut short thereby, as Biedermann asserts (Dogmatik, p. 9)—the task, namely, passing beyond the acknowledged existence of diverse views, "of following the confessional branchwork down to its root, the real principle of Christianity, and of basing its judgments of confessional differences upon that foundation."

it into himself—to the Bible and the Church, and thus open the way in which the doctrine is to move in the progress of its further development. But how can this be accomplished in the absence of confessional determinateness? Since, however, the ultimate goal of our efforts cannot be division, but unification, the dogmatic theologian will not be authorized to cling to the letter of the doctrines of his Church, as hitherto received, with a tenacity that makes all approximation toward other confessional views impossible. To defend to the death what is untenable and merely peculiar to the stage of development attained by any particular age, influenced simply by obstinacy and party interest, is bad polemics.

The judicious dogmatist a harmonizer.

Every judicious dogmatist must be intent upon eventually compromising and harmonizing such contrasts as may exist.[1] But such harmonizing is not to be accomplished by an overhasty obliteration of differences, or by forcibly breaking off their points and grinding their edges, so as to reduce every thing to indefiniteness and imbecility. This is false irenics. It is necessary, on the contrary, that the contrasts be sharply apprehended and followed down to their last details. This honest mode of procedure is less liable than any other to the danger of misrepresenting the views of opponents. For the more earnest the effort to understand the peculiarities of even an antagonistic doctrine, the more will such doctrine display characteristics which afford a ground upon which reconciliation is possible. The understanding of a disease is the only guide to a right selection of remedies for its cure, while palliatives can only harm. This has been shown by the history of the latest times in the case of two of the leading confessions of Protestantism—the Evangelical Union of the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions of Prussia, introduced by King Frederick William III., in 1817. An external union has certainly been established, but it could not be made effective in all quarters, because the internal differences had not yet been wholly overcome; the result being that they were only made more prominent. The conflict, however, if it only be conducted in the interests of truth, and without the intervention of blind passion, may, and will, result in demonstrating that the several evangelical modes under which Protestantism comes into

Evangelical Union of Prussia.

[1] It is most of all necessary that a false consequential spirit be avoided, as it constitutes a mortal principle to the sciences. A French writer has some capital remarks upon this point: Man is not a system which is divisible like a thread. He is not a mechanical force which prolongs itself infinitely. Fanaticism in all things is the reduction of intelligence by passion under the yoke of an exclusive idea.—Remusat, De la Reform et du Protestantism, p. 52 f.

notice are equally justified in the forum of science and before the pious consciousness, and that each serves to complement the other, though neither may be absorbed into the other.[1]

The reconciliation of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism appears in a more difficult light up to this time, and the work of the dogmatic theologian will, for the present, be obliged to retain a polemical character in this field rather than assume an irenical nature. The agreement has been carried so far, however, as to admit of the recognition that the differences between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, which have, upon the whole, remained unchanged, are to be very differently defined by science from what was the case at the beginning of the struggle. The relation between Scripture and tradition, for instance, is presented by the later theology of Protestantism in a form materially modified from that of former days. The same is true of justification and sanctification. The doctrine of the Church, also, is now, for the first time, approaching its thorough development and elaboration. In the Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, the contrast between the Romish and the more independent principle is steadily becoming more prominent. In proportion as the purely evangelical element shall attain to clearness, and be distinguished from vague liberalism through the efforts of the nobler spirits in that Church, will agreement, if not unification, upon the common ground of Christianity become possible.[2]

Modification of Roman Catholic and Protestant polemics.

The idea of polemics is not exhausted, however, when justice has been done to confessional interest. For, while every thing that savours of conflict is termed polemics, it is also true that every science has its polemical side. Apologetics is polemical in one point of view,[3] and polemics, in the strict sense, involves an apologetical element. We see illustrations of this in Melanchthon's Apology and similar writings.[4] Schleiermacher distinguishes between apologetics and polemics, so as to conceive the former as facing outwardly and the latter as turning its attention within, and then

[1] "Many Lutherans have long since become Calvinists, and many Calvinists Lutherans; it only remains necessary that the right methods of promoting and expressing this already existing unity be discovered."—Henry at the "Kirchentag" at Berlin (Verhandlungen, p. 34).

[2] An attempt of this kind, as is well known, was recently made by Doellinger, the best representative of Old Catholicism.

[3] "It is self-evident that no defence that should be simply defensive and not also offensive, and that should not especially lay positive foundations, is possible on scientific grounds."—Lechler, *ubi supra*, p. 597. Comp. Hirzel, *ubi supra*, p. 13.

[4] Schleiermacher, § 52. Each one of the parties is obliged to defend itself against the charge of anarchy or corruption.

proceeds to regard polemics more generally as having to do with the repressing of morbid appearances in the Church at large, as we call indifferentism and separation.[1] But it is hardly necessary to establish a separate department for either this work or the restraining or partial and perverted tendencies in the science generally. Such morbid tendencies[2] are either to be dealt with theoretically, by dogmatics and ethics, or combated in a practical way, in the field of clerical work and that of general Church activities. But, in the latter case, the canon by which the contest must be regulated, the ἀληθεύειν ἐν ἀγάπῃ (Eph. iv, 15), is likewise ethical. Both polemics and irenics have, for this reason, a place under practical theology. In connexion with dogmatics it is better to regard them in the light of "applied dogmatics."[3]

Schleiermacher's definition of relations of apologetics and polemics.

SECTION VI.

THE HISTORY OF POLEMICS AND IRENICS.

Christianity was born for conflict. Christ said that he came not to bring peace, but a sword. Christian polemics, accordingly, began with the beginning. Paul and John opposed false teachers. The fathers trod in their footsteps—Irenæus, with his work against a false Gnosis, and Tertullian, with his work on Prescription against Heretics, being especially prominent as fighters of heresy. The entire body of Church doctrine passed through the surges of conflict. Irenics sometimes went hand in hand with polemics; but such ill-timed attempts to promote unity served only to increase the intensity and confusion of the struggle.

Patristic polemics.

The separation of the Western Church from that of the East, professedly on account of the filioque controversy, introduced a long polemical contest between the two bodies, and also, since the beginning of the eleventh century, many attempts to bring about a reunion. Strict polemics begins with the division between the

[1] Sack has carried these categories still further; Indifferentism (divided into Naturalism and Mythologism); Literalism (into Ergism and Orthodoxy); Spiritualism (into Rationalism and Gnosticism); Separatism (into Mysticism and Pietism); and Theocratism (into Hierarchism and Cæsaro-Papism). H. Steffensen (in Theol. Mitarbeiten, Kiel, 1841, pp. 3–32) leads back these morbid forms to two fundamental states, according as they obscure "the piety of the Church (the substantial life of the Church) or pious ecclesiasticism (the formal life of the Church").

[2] The attention is, of course, not to be fixed simply upon the appearances, but, as Sack says, they are to be "traced back to the inward dispositions from which doctrinal differences are developed, as from their root."

[3] This is done by J. P. Lange in connexion with Dogmatic Statistics and General Therapeutics.

Churches in the Reformation, and the number of the controversial works called forth by circumstances during that period is legion.

But similar works continued to issue from both camps in the Church in later times. In the Romish Church the Spanish Franciscan Alphonso de Castro (died 1558 at Brussels) wrote, in the reign of Philip II., Against all Heresies (libri xiv, Paris, 1534); the Jesuit Francis Coster issued a Controversial Manual (1585); and Gregory de Valentia wrote on Controversial Matters of Faith in this Time (1591). Special prominence attaches to Bellarmine (died 1621) and his work, Disputations on the Controversies of Christian Faith and also to Martin Becanus (died 1624, having been the confessor of the Emperor Ferdinand II.), the author of a Manual of Controversies of this Period. This Church found a skilful and somewhat peaceably disposed defender in Bossuet, the Bishop of Meaux, who wrote an Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church on Controverted Matters (Paris, 1671). Among Lutherans the following deserve mention: Chemnitz, Examination of the Council of Trent (1565); Nic. Hunnius (died 1643), Examination of the Fundamental Dissent of Lutheran and Calvinistic Doctrine (Vit., 1616); Conrad Schlüsselburg, superintendent at Stralsund, Catalogue of Heretics (1597–99); and Abr. Calov, Synopsis of Controversies. Other dogmatical writers also mingled a large measure of polemics with the dogmatical material in their works.

Reformed writers.

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The irenical tendency occasionally progressed side by side with the polemical, or took its place when polemical zeal had spent its force. Thus, Nicolas de Cusa wrote, in the fifteenth century, his Dialogue on the Peace or Concord of Faith (ed. by Semler, 1787). The irenical tendency was represented in the Protestant Church by G. Calixtus, whose efforts led to the Syncretistic controversies. An Introduction to Polemical Divinity was written, in 1752, by J. G. Walch, of Jena.

The zeal for polemics diminished after the middle of the eighteenth century, and particularly toward its close, and writings and maunderings were composed about unity, generally emanating from the position of indifferentism. The newly awakened confessional zeal of Protestantism in the nineteenth century, however, called

forth a large number of controversial writings in the conflict against Ultramontanism and Jesuitism; but the purely scientific interest was often subordinated by the fervour of the combatants to the practical questions of the hour. The scientific treatment of polemics was even relegated to the more peaceable field of symbolics; and it is quite recently that Hase has restored polemics to honour as a science in the strict sense, and has again incorporated it with the circle of theological studies.[1] The scientific status of irenics, on the other hand, is altogether of recent date, and its system is not yet developed to any considerable extent. It secured a foothold as a factor in the domain of practical life, but often served only to provide new material for polemics. Thus the union which was consummated in Prussia and elsewhere in the course of the second decade of the century, called forth a multitude of works and counter-works. We may mention J. Schuderoff, on the General Union of the Christian Confessions (Neust., 1829); H. Steffens, What Lutheranism is to Me (Breslau, 1831); Rudelbach, Reformation, Lutheranism, and the Union (Leipz., 1839); K. F. Gaupp, Union of the German Church (Breslau, 1843); J. A. G. Woltersdorff, The Ecclesiastical Union (Stendal, 1851); and * Jul. Mueller, The Evangelical Union (Berlin, 1854). Of historical work are the following: Nitzsch, Archives of the Evangelical Union (Berlin, 1853); R. Stier, Unlutheran Theses (Brunsw., 1854); and Carl Schulz, The Union: An Inquiry into its History and Doctrine (Gotha, 1868).

Scientific status of irenics.

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K. H. Sack, Christl. Polemik. Hamb., 1838.

J. P. Lange, Die gesetzlich-kathol. Kirche als Sinnbild der freien evangelisch-katholischen Kirche. Heidelb., 1850.

D. Schenkel, Unionsberuf des evangelischen Protestantismus. Heidelb., 1855.

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For wider circles of readers:

D. Schenkel, Gespräche über Protestantismus und Katholicismus. Heidelb., 1852, 1853. 2 vols.

[1] It is true, indeed, that Schleiermacher already assigned to it an honorary place among such studies, and that Sack wrote, in A. D. 1838, a textbook of this science; but the example produced no lasting consequences.

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SECTION VII.

THE METHOD OF DOGMATICS.

The method of arranging and dividing the material of dogmatics is, beyond all question, dependent on the underlying dogmatical view, since it is no small question which doctrine shall control the others, or what relations the various articles of the creed are to sustain to each other, or what is their bearing upon the entire body of Christian truth. The traditional method, by Theological Topics, or Heads, has, on that account, not only been variously modified, but has also been superseded to some extent by other modes of division, and in part combined with them.

Theological Heads.

The question concerning the particular doctrine which is to be placed at the base, so to speak, the *πρῶτον κινοῦν* of dogmatics, reaches back into apologetics. What is the essential feature of Christianity? what is the principal subject of its teaching? what are fundamental articles? Upon these questions will depend the entire structure of the dogmatics. If it be held that the doctrine about Christ is less important than what he taught, and that the essential thing in connexion with Christianity is that it has thrown light upon the doctrines relating to God and his attributes, and also those which concern human destiny, the entire system will assume a character different from what it would be if it be assumed that the central point of Christianity

Dogmatics dependent on essence of Christianity.

[1] Excellent hints for the cultivation of irenics are furnished in the work by Lücke: Ueber das Alter, den Verfasser, die ursprüngliche Form und den wahren Sinn des kirchl. Friedensspruches: In necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in utrisque caritas. Gött., 1850.

lies in the personality of the God-man, or in the fact of redemption, or in the justification of the sinner before God by faith, or, finally, in the mystery of the Trinity. Each of these views will necessitate a plan on which to dispose of the separate doctrines within the general structure.

The traditional method began with God and his attributes, progressed through the creation until it arrived at man and his sin, passed through these to the Redeemer and his work, and then discussed the Church and the sacraments, until it closed with an outlook into the future, or the last things. This has been denominated the Local or Topical method, from *locus* or τόπος, which corresponds to the terms *caput* or *pars fidei*, or articles of faith (ἄρθρον τῆς πίστεως).[1] It is already found with John of Damascus and the scholastics, and it has been the usual method with Lutherans since Melanchthon, though the latter himself had followed a different method in the first edition of his Loci Communes, which begins with man and his need of salvation. Different principles of arrangement were attempted from time to time in the Reformed Church. Thus we may mention the Federal method (methodus foederalis) of Cocceius and Witsius in the 17th century,[2] which was adopted among moderns by Augusti;[3] and the division according to the Persons of the Trinity, by Melchior Leydecker, in the same century,[4] which is followed by Marheinecke in his Dogmatik, Schirmer in his Biblical Dogmatics, and Rosenkranz in his Encyclopædia.

The Local or Topical Method.

Schleiermacher's method is peculiarly founded on the contrast between sin and grace as constituting the turning point in the Christian conception of the world. His Dogmatics falls into two principal parts: 1. "The pious feeling of dependence, without reference to the contrast between personal inability and imparted ability;" 2. With a substantial recognition of such contrast. Hase divides dogmatics into ontology and Christology. Anthropology and theology are classed under the former head, and eschatology is discussed under anthropology, while the doctrines of the Holy Spirit, the Church, and the sacraments con-

Schleiermacher's method.

[1] See Bretschneider, Entwicklung der dogmatischen Begriffe, p. 191. The proof texts in Scripture were also termed *loci classici*, *loci probantia*, *dicta classica*, *sedes doctrinae*, and the science which treated proof passages was termed topics.

[2] *Foedus naturae et operum* and *foedus gratiae* with economies *ante legem*, *sub lege*, and *post legem*. Comp. Al. Schweizer, Ref. Dogm., p. 103 *sqq*.

[3] 1. Of the state of sin; 2. Of the state of grace; 3. The facts of Christianity (which hobble along at quite a distance).

[4] Comp. Schweizer, *ubi supra*, p. 115 *sqq*.

stitute a part of his Christology.[1] Like Schleiermacher, he places the Trinity, "as the sum and consummation of Christology," at the end. Kling argues that Christology is entitled to the first place.[2] He agrees with Hahn in considering the doctrine of Christ as the Son of God and of man, the Saviour of the world, the fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion, but, diverging from that scholar, prefers to begin with the doctrine of the person of Christ.[3]

Christ's person the centre of dogmatics.

It is more correct, however, to regard the person of Christ as forming the centre of Christian dogmatics, to which all our knowledge respecting God and man refers in a prophetic way, and from which it again proceeds, as having been satisfied by Christ. While the character of Christianity is the "divinely human,"[4] it yet appears to be a more natural method to consider, first, God in his relations to man apart from the mediation of Christ, as the Creator, Lawgiver, and Judge; next, man in his relations to God while unredeemed; (a) as the creature and image of God, (b) as a sinner, and (c) Christ as the God-man and Redeemer, the latter constituting the centre from which mankind as redeemed by him, as glorified in him, but also as progressing toward its consummation in him, is discussed. In this way the separate doctrines of salvation, or soteriology, and of the Church, the sacraments, and eschatology will form the completion of anthropology, on the one hand, while, on the other, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which finds its proper place at this point, in connexion with the exaltation of Christ and his kingly office, brings the doctrine of God in the Trinity to a full completion.

There is no propriety in discussing Christ before attention has been directed toward God and man, but it is not, on the other hand, possible to finish either the doctrine of God or of man without including Christ. The whole of the doctrine of the Trinity is left in the condition of an uncomprehended speculative problem, if it be not prefaced by Christology, and eschatology comes under notice too far in advance when treated, as it is by Hase, before the doctrine of Christ. The topical method, as a whole, may, therefore, be retained, but so that each topic shall find its completion

[1] Evangel. Dogmatik, 2d ed., p. 46 *sqq.*

[2] Gestalt der evang. Dogmatik in Tüb. Zeitschrift for 1834, No. 4.

[3] Hahn's division is as follows: 1. Theology, consummated in the Son of God; 2. Anthropology, in the Son of man; 3. Soteriology, in the Redeemer; 4. The doctrine of the Church, as founded, governed, and consummated by Christ, the promised and glorified King of truth.

[4] Comp. Ebrard's Inaugural Address, Die Gottmenschlichkeit des Christenthums, Zür., 1845.

in the others, and that, for that reason, it shall not be brought to a conclusion without bringing the others into account. This is the meaning which underlies the federative method, and, also, the arrangement of Schleiermacher. Both these methods seek to destroy the invariable and mechanical arrangement by which the articles succeed each other under regular rubrics, and to establish living relations among the various doctrines. We would not, therefore, argue in favour of the traditional method without modifications, as does Pelt,[1] though we see no reason for rejecting the customary terminology, such as theology, anthropology, and the rest.

Retention of topical method.

The outlines of a system of dogmatics, such as we should prefer, would be as follows:

Outline of dogmatical system.

1. God, and his relation to the world and to man as his creature. Natural, legal, and prophetical theology.

2. Man, as related to God and the world, so long as they have not been brought together through the mediation of Christ. The doctrine of man's primeval state; the destination of man, and sin.

3. The doctrine of the personality of the God-man and his work for the redemption of mankind. Christology and objective soteriology—the heart of Christian dogmatics.

4. Man as related to Christ, and through Christ to God. The doctrine of salvation, subjective soteriology, the *ordo salutis*. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

5. Man as related to Christ, and through Christ to the world. Communion of believers, the Church, and sacraments. Hence, also, man's changed relation to nature—death, the resurrection, and the whole of eschatology.

6. God, manifested in Christ, in his relation toward himself. The Christian doctrine of the Trinity in its immanent meaning.

7. God in his relation to the world, viewed in connexion with the fact of redemption.

The kernel of the whole, Christology, is thus inclosed within theology, and the interior connecting links will constitute the anthropology.

The attributes of God need not, in this arrangement, be separated from each other, as Schleiermacher's method requires. They may be placed under the first head, but would, of course, attain their full significance only at the end.

A method that corresponds, in the main, to the above, and that commends itself to favour by its clearness, is that of Al. Schwei-

[1] Encyklopaedie, p. 502.

zer.[1] It possesses the additional advantage of having taken the so-called prolegomena, generally constituting a separate part, in which the fundamental elements are laid down, from its isolation, and bringing it into organic connexion with the remainder of the system of belief. In this way he obtains the following division into three parts: 1. The laying of foundations, or the consciously realized faith of Christianity in the Evangelical Church as a whole; the apologetic, or better, the grounding part. 2. The elements contained in the pious Christian consciousness which do not involve the specifically peculiar character of Christianity—the elemental part. 3. The specifically Christian side or part. It is evident, of course, that the two former divisions will be more abbreviated than the latter.

Schweizer's method.

SECTION VIII.

THEOLOGY.

Comp. Nitzsch, in Herzog, Encyklopaedie, s. v. Gott.
Article Theology, in M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, vol. x.

Theology is, in Christian dogmatics, used to designate the doctrine relating to God, and more especially God as he has appeared to man. Such theology has nothing in common with scepticism, which everywhere professes to know nothing about God, nor with that false dogmatism which claims to know more about God than he has permitted man to know. In treating his nature and attributes it, accordingly, has respect not to metaphysically ontological questions as it does to religious considerations, and is conscious of the figurative character of the language and modes of reference it must employ, as well as of the real and substantial basis upon which such language and modes rest.

Meaning of theology.

We may appropriate to ourselves the assertion of Feuerbach, that theology is, at bottom, merely anthropology, without accepting it in the sense of Feuerbach. In fact, his definition may even be employed against him. We concede that, in a certain sense, theology is anthropology, and that it must be anthropological through and through, if it be acknowledged, on the other hand, that anthropology is also modified by theology, or that the two are simply diverging members of a single body, which body is religion. The Bible everywhere teaches a *human* God, that is, a God for man. This is the true anthropopathy. He is a God who is likewise superhuman, but whatever of the superhuman is revealed always has reference to the human element.

God, human and superhuman.

[1] Christliche Glaubenslehre nach Protestant. Grundsätzen, p. 86. Comp. the entire section, Methode der Glaubenslehre, p. 70 *sqq*.

The entire Old Testament speaks of God as dwelling in the midst of his people; the entire New Testament describes him as manifested in Christ, and through Christ become the father of humanity. Even the creation of heaven and earth is narrated in a human method, that is, from a human point of view, and is adapted to the needs of man, whose home is in the earth.

This constitutes religion, which dogmatics is to apprehend, in all wisdom and humility, as the religion that emanates from God, and is willed and ordered by him. It does not seek to comprehend God as he exists from eternity to eternity; it is satisfied to know that he is. But it desires to know every thing respecting his nature that he has revealed to man, and also the relation into which he has entered with man, who is modelled after the image of God. Hence, all sound dogmatic theologians have, from the beginning, asserted the incomprehensibility of God as strongly as they have taught that, with reference to our salvation, he is comprehensible by us,[1] and they have demonstrated, in the works of creation and redemption, the glories of his character which have been made known to us. Their position is at once that occupied by reason and the Scriptures.

Incomprehensibility of God.

Dogmatics is not obliged to prove the existence of God. But it, nevertheless, takes that slender thread which runs through the history of the human race which inquires after God, and points out how the consciousness that he exists is manifested in connexion with the different forms of argument—the physico-theological, cosmological, ontological, historical, moral, and the rest—and that the very fact that search for such proof is made, is, in this case, of itself a sufficient proof.[2] It treats the attributes of God, not as coming upon him from without, and attaching themselves to him in an external way, but as being the unfolding of his nature in behalf of our natural and moral consciousness.

Here, then, is the place in which to discuss the relation of God to the world and the human spirit, but in an ethical and religious light,

[1] Comp. the citations from the Fathers in Hagenbach, History of Doctrines, § 27 (Smith's ed.).

[2] "More than one hundred demonstrations in geometry have been made of the Pythagorean theorem, all of which accomplish the same object. Innumerable proofs of the existence of God have likewise been constructed, but they failed to accomplish what they promised to achieve. God is not a right-angled triangle, and it is not possible to invent either numerous or striking evidences respecting him. There is but one proof for God, and this he wields himself."—Rosenkranz, Encyklopaedie, p. 6. Hamann, already, remarks that "if he is a fool who denies God, he is a much greater fool who attempts to prove his existence." Comp., however, G. A. Fricke, Argumenat pro Dei existentia exponuntur et judicantur. Lips., 1846.

rather than in that of pure speculation. The idea of the divine personality is here to be investigated in its religious bearings, and anthropomorphism and anthropopathy here find their psychological basis and theological corrective, the language of the Bible and the needs of the human heart being duly recognized.[1]

God's relation to the world.

The doctrines of the creation and preservation of the world, of Providence and the government of the world, as well as of sin (theodicy), all depend on theology. Here, again, dogmatics is required to fix a clear boundary between matters which belong to the religious conception of the world and those which are properly cosmical in their character. The older dogmatic theologians, even John of Damascus, included physics, natural history, and astronomy. But the more recent science has properly thrown over all such ballast. Still, there is constant temptation to wander off into foreign fields, such as geological researches with reference to the narrative of the creation. Theology must content itself with the idea of creation as such.

Angelology and demonology.

The doctrines of angels and of demons are usually connected with that of creation, though the second one stands more particularly related to the doctrine of the fall, and hence with that of sin. It is to be remembered, however, that the idea of angels was in existence when Christianity appeared, and that the latter adopted the existing views without formulating them into a distinct doctrine, or founding on them any material feature of revealed religion. Here, again, we meet the temptation of straying off into false metaphysics, of identifying, without qualification, the poetic with the didactic, and popular figurative notions with definite scientific statements, all of which are not easy to keep asunder in the given case. Or, we are exposed to the danger of a gross realism, by which the one element is mistaken for the other. It is, therefore, necessary to commend at this point that judicious dogmatical procedure which aims, first of all, to bring the religious element of a doctrine into prominence, and thereby naturally preserve the true medium between coarse literalism and superficial negation.[2]

Religious element of a doctrine should be prominent.

[1] Comp. § 29. "Human forms of speech, anthropomorphisms, are most frequently applied to God when piety is vital and communion with him is habitual; and the Bible leads in this direction; so that, in this very matter, and even in expressions that are at first offensive to reason and exposed to ridicule, there is reason for admiring the high degree of pedagogical wisdom in religious things, however great the *naïveté*, and for observing that even the pious *naïveté* alone has the best of the argument."—Hirzel, in the Kirchenfreund, 1873, No. 10, p. 154, article Zum Streit und Freiden.

[2] Comp. the article Engel, in Herzog's Encyklopaedie, iv, by Boehmer. It is not

SECTION IX.

ANTHROPOLOGY.

Theological differs from physiological anthropology in that, although it proceeds upon the basis of man's natural condition, it does not regard him in his relation to nature, but as he stands related to God. It is divided into the two leading sections of a doctrine of man's original state prior to the fall, and a doctrine of the fall and of sin, which was thereby introduced into human nature, and has since perpetuated itself and been actualized in the experience of every individual.

Theological anthropology of a scientific character is, of course, impossible apart from physiological anthropology; that is, apart from all acquaintance with man as naturally constituted. But the latter serves merely as a natural foundation. The most perfect familiarity with human nature in its anatomical and physiological, and even in its psychological, aspects, in so far as psychology restricts itself to psychological limits, will not be competent to disclose to our view the religious nature of man.[1] It is

Theological anthropology.

allowable, of course, to find mere accommodation in the discourses of our Lord which relate to the world of angels and demons, which are not only based on a religious idea, but also on an earnest reality. The doctrine concerning Satan, for instance, rests on the fact of the power of evil, which reaches down into the deepest abysses of darkness (Daub's Ischarioth). It has been wittily said by Rougemont, with reference to this point: Men have pretended that all the demonology of Jesus was only an accommodation to the prejudices of his people and his age. This is as much as to say that the battles of Alma and Inkerman are only an accommodation of Napoleon III. to the prejudices of the French against the Russians. What struggle has ever been more real, more terrible, more gigantic, than that of the Son of God and of Satan in the wilderness?—Christ et ses Temoins, vol. i, p. 152. But this yields no stronger proof for the personality of Satan than for that of death, sin, or hell, which, likewise, are powers that were overcome by Christ in a real sense, and not figuratively only. The figurative designation of the thing is here interchanged with the thing itself, whose reality continues unchanged. Schenkel, following in the footsteps of Schleiermacher, has subjected the doctrine of the devil to the light of a rigorous criticism (Dogmatik, i, p. 247 *sqq.*). On the other hand, persons are not wanting who hold that effects are still produced, and persons possessed, by demons at the present time.

[1] The remark of Rosenkranz (Encykl., p. 33), that "theological anthropology has nothing to do with the physical and intellectual nature of man," is too strong. But it is true that "it must turn over the consideration of that nature to philosophical anthropology, and fix its attention on the relation in which man stands to God." Comp. Harless, in preface to his Ethik (4th ed.): "I believe that our divines would do well by not restraining their interest in the field of physical research too far; for it is only in the light of unjustifiable abstraction that the latter can seem to have nothing in common with the mind." Darwin's theory of the descent of man, tracing him back

true that this religious nature of man may be apprehended to some extent by psychological inquiry, but, by this method, man appears only as an isolated specimen of his race ; and a penetrating observation of his nature is afforded only by the history of mankind in connexion with the revelations made by God. We, therefore, urge that, as in dogmatics, theology is required to be anthropological, so, in like manner, must anthropology be theological.[1] The questions which relate to body and soul, or body, soul, and spirit, and to the origin of the latter (pre-existence, traducianism, creationism), are in place here only in so far as one theory or another becomes necessary for the understanding of man's religious nature.

The proper course of dogmatical procedure will be to apprehend in their real spirit the few grand indications of the Scriptures upon such matters as the image of God, and to so present them to our spirit through the medium of exegesis, history, and philosophy, as to enable us to grasp the more exalted idea of humanity beneath the figurative language by which it is expressed. Upon the correct apprehension of that idea depends the correct view of sin, whether it is to be considered a mere negation, or natural deficiency, or a privation, depravation, and perversion of human nature. These are the terms that distinguish between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic views.

The high idea of humanity.

The history of man's fall into sin is likewise involved in great difficulties when regarded as simple history. But the genesis of sin, as repeated daily, may, nevertheless, be demonstrated from the masterly and matchless narrative. It is impossible to deny that the consciousness of a common guilt, of which every individual partakes, is profoundly religious in its nature, and attested by both Scripture and experience. Nowhere do psychological inquiry and the study of God's word, considered as the judge of human thoughts, more fully complement, or rather explain, each other than in the doctrine of sin. Does not Paul speak on this point (Rom. vii) with reference to his own experience, and from out of the depths of human nature as a whole? The same holds true of Augustine and Luther. Abstract reason will, of course, always incline toward Pelagianism upon such doctrines, since it affords a necessary corrective in many particular respects.

The doctrine of sin.

to an ape, which has been so much discussed of late, will not at all disturb the scholar who knows how to distinguish between the domain of religion and that kind of natural science which must often take a backward step; but it will afford food for reflection and for profounder thought with respect to the limitations of our knowledge.

[1] Comp. Bunsen, Hippolytus i, p. 289 *sqq.*

But the mind derives no satisfaction from that course, inasmuch as it is continually reminded of a rupture that is more profound than reflection is able to perceive.[1]

SECTION X.

CHRISTOLOGY.

Comp. Kling, in Herzog's Encyklopaedie, s. v. ii, and article Christology, in M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, vol. ii.

Inasmuch as the religious relation subsisting between God and man finds its historical exemplification only, and in a peculiar manner, in the person of Jesus Christ, the God-man, Christology must constitute, not merely an essential part, but the very centre of a system of dogmatics. Its task will be to conceive Jesus as sinless man, as free from error, in so far as this stands connected with sin, and, for that reason, as being the only-begotten Son of God, and God manifest in the flesh. It will be required to harmonize the qualities which Jesus possesses in common with the race, or human nature, with those which stamp him as unique, and exalt him above the race, and, therefore, of the divine nature, without, on that account, being authorized to set aside his real and complete humanity, or to obscure the greatness of his specific deity.

Christology the centre of dogmatics.

The life of Jesus forms the historic basis of Christology. But the latter has to cultivate thoroughly a ground which the former, in its character as a purely historical science, could not include within its territory.[2] There has been no lack, however, of theologians who assert that Christology is superfluous, and who thereby stab Christian dogmatics, considered as specifically Christian, to the heart.[3] Their dogmatics is

Life of Jesus the basis of Christology.

[1] Comp. Hundeshagen, Der Weg zu Christo, i, p. 136.

[2] Rothe, among others, points out the necessity of apprehending the divine nature of Christ from the study of the picture of his human life: "To speak of recognizing and acknowledging the divine element in Christ without having observed it shine forth from what is human in him, or having caught its reflection in the mirror of his humanity, is merely to bandy idle words. Apart from the underlying basis of humanity, the whole of the sacred life and work of Jesus by which redemption was effected becomes a magnificent phantasmagoria, an empty pageant, upon which no one may depend for comfort and for hope either in life or death. The unavoidable consequence, in short, is unmitigated Docetism."—In Schenkel's Zeitschrift, pp. 380, 383.

[3] Thus by Henke, in the preface to his Linæmenta, p. 12: "Ut omnis haec in Christum religio ad religionem Christi magis revocetur, omni opera contendendum est." Comp. Röhr, Briefe über Rationalismus, p. 36: "What supernaturalists term Christology in their dogmatics does not appear in my system as an integral part at all; for, while it constitutes a religion which Jesus taught, it is not one whose object he

confined altogether to theology and anthropology, and in the progress of their works Christ appears simply as one theologian and anthropologist among others, to whom an occasional appeal is made, but not as the θεάνθρωπος, who is himself the central feature of dogmatics.

Objections to term "God-man."

But objection against this very θεάνθρωπος idea has been raised from many quarters. The term, it is true, is not biblical, and cannot be found in the Bible Dictionary. But can all the terms with which the attributes of God are designated, and others with which dogmatics has been enriched, be found in the Bible? The term "God-man" may, no doubt, be so understood as to involve a contradiction. If the idea proceeds on the assumption of an un-human God and an un-divine man, who are to be joined together in an outward form, the one will necessarily exclude the other; in other words, the ancient "finite is not capable of the infinite." But it has been correctly shown that the divinely human character of Christianity and the divine humanity of the Saviour condition each other.[1] It is only necessary to remember, in this matter, that language of this character is developed on the soil of religion, and not on that of abstract speculation. The entire doctrine of the person of Christ may be apprehended in a very irrational way, either as describing the mechanical contact of two dissimilar things, the two members of the Form of Concord, or as a mixture of divine and human elements, as we see in Apollinarism.[2] In this way the one is disturbed and obscured by the other rather than modified and complemented by it.

Doctrine of the Church improperly defined.

The doctrine of the Church itself has not always been free from abstruse and confusing definitions, though it has, with correct judgment, continued to insist on the ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, and ἀχωρίστως. The truth upon this subject cannot be intuitively understood, but may be apprehended in its character as a truth to be accepted by faith; and while the truly wise may arrive at an understanding with regard to it, a satisfactory agreement and a logical settlement upon its merits are utterly impossible to persons who are merely puffed up with their knowledge.

The history of doctrines affords the most striking evidences of

might be himself." The most recent rationalizing theology seems inclined to return to this Ebionitic view. Vide the "Schlussbetrachtung" in Strauss' Life of Jesus for the German People.

[1] Ebrard, *ubi supra.*

[2] Comp. the History of Doctrines. Guizot, however, still speaks of a "continual mixture of the divine and the human."

this fact. Whenever the attempt is made to bring Christology to a logical conclusion, and formulate it, the difficulty of avoiding Ebionitism or Docetism, Nestorianism or Monophysitism, which stand on either side like Scylla and Charybdis, will present itself, and the history of doctrines will require to defend itself against the attacks of various forms of heresy in the manner best suited to repel the antagonizing error. The reason for this fact does not, however, lie in the doctrine itself, with its infinite significance, but in the human limitations which affect the dogmatics of each particular age.[1]

SECTION XI.

SOTERIOLOGY.

Most intimately connected with the doctrine of the Redeemer's person is the doctrine of the salvation which depends on him, and of the appropriation of this salvation on our part by faith. This is soteriology. Its objective side is found in the work of Christ, in the redemption and atonement wrought by him. Its subjective side is found in the work of the Holy Spirit upon the human heart,

[1] The merely complementary relation sustained by the two leading confessions of Protestantism to each other is pointed out by Schneckenburger, Vom doppelten Stande Christi, Pforzheim, 1848. Jul. Müller beautifully observes that "at this point evangelical theology needs a new development out of the Holy Scriptures as the original source of doctrinal life, and accompanied with a rejection of the entire ballast of formulas, which, in the dogmatics of former times, was connected with the idea of the *communis naturarum.* In such development the leading object must be held to the preservation in doctrinal form of the evangelical picture of the life of Jesus Christ in its human truthfulness and comprehensibility, undeterred by monophysite, docetic, or Nestorian opinions, but accompanied by the declaration that this man Jesus Christ is the logos, in the flesh, God of God, born in eternity of the Father. The thought that he who, as the eternal logos, is with the Father, is at the same time a true Son of man, contains such an inexhaustible fulness of knowledge respecting the common salvation, that every division based on the effort to definitely formulate the relation between the divine and human natures in Christ becomes a sin committed against the God-man himself, to whom all profess a common allegiance.—Die evangel. Union, ihr Wesen und ihr Göttliches Recht, 1st ed., Berl., 1854, p. 316 *sqq.* Comp. also Rothe, *ubi supra,* p. 384: "When this shall have become clear, that moral unity with God is to be conceived as not ideal only, but as real, as the result of a more thorough acquaintance with the interior nature of moral being, then shall we also, for the first time, have grasped the key to Christology, and behold a living Christ, in sharp and vivid outlines, before the eye of the mind—a Christ who is bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, and at the same time the only begotten of the Father, in whose presence we are constrained to bow and exclaim with Thomas, 'My Lord and my God!' Then will the breathings of our faith be deep and joyous, when it has seen the dawning of this bright light in the midst of darkness—it is faith in Christ, instead of unbelief, which has penetrated through the dogma."

the different gradations of which are denominated the order of salvation. The principal points to settle are, the relation of justification to sanctification, of divine grace to human freedom, and of faith to works. The confessional opposition between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism is more sharply defined in this field than in any other.

Christ the Mediator.

The doctrine of Christ's person would, indeed, belong to the realm of idle speculation if its only purpose were to conceive of Jesus as an isolated marvel upon the page of history, or as a God man who appears and vanishes away like some meteor. But this is not its object. Christ, as being the Son of God and Son of man, becomes the Mediator between God and man. He atones and redeems. His death is made to appear as the crowning point of his redeeming work, and Christ himself is the basis of reconciliation, the *ἱλασμός*. In him the old dies, and the new attains to life. Death and resurrection are the pivots upon which his character turns for the history of his world. The dogma concerning the death of Jesus belongs, in one respect, to Christology, as having proceeded out from the person of Christ. But, in its results, that death forms the condition of salvation, and the doctrine, therefore, belongs to soteriology. To apprehend this death in its religious significance, not from the idea of mere abstract right, as a satisfaction, nor yet from the idea of mere moral influence, as an example, but rather as a free thought of love, executed under a divine necessity in harmony with God's eternal decree, and as therefore fraught with infinite consequences for the entire human race, constitutes one of the highest problems of Christian dogmatics. In the solution of it the religious spirit is required to participate, as well as the reason, with its combining and analytical processes.[1]

Subjective soteriology.

But it is as improper to isolate the work of Christ as to isolate his person. The death of Jesus is most intimately and organically connected with his life previous to his death, and with the development of the kingdom of God subsequent to his resurrection, and also with the regeneration of each individual. This is subjective soteriology, the order of salvation. The process which was regarded as dynamical by the Christianity of apostolic times, that is to say, the change wrought in man by the Spirit of God—repentance, regeneration, renewing of the spirit, and sanctification—was, in later days, classified under the heads of illumination, conversion, sanctification, and perseverance, and the whole made to tend toward the goal of a most intimate communion with God, a

[1] Comp. Hagenbach's articles on this subject in the Kirchenbl. für die Ref. Schweiz, 1854, Nos. 7 and 9.

unio mystica cum Deo. The two ideas which are chiefly important here, however, and which the Protestant doctrine, as distinct from the Roman Catholic, clearly distinguishes from each other, are justification and sanctification. The former term is made to denote the acquittal of the sinner on the part of God, considered simply as a declaratory act, while the latter designates the gracious process by which the personal life of an individual is developed into the divine. Although it is difficult to separate one from the other, their separation in the idea is required by the principle of evangelical Protestantism, that man is justified solely by the grace of God to the exclusion even of every consideration arising out of the good which God has wrought in man. This latter is simply a consequence resulting from the new relationship.

Justification and sanctification.

But the determining of the exact relation of the grace which makes man free to the will of man which thus attains to freedom—which must always enter into the account as a will, and, therefore, as relatively free—is among the most difficult of doctrinal problems, which so easily admit of a turning aside to either the right or left. Both the Scriptures and experience assert that, on the one hand, man is unable to perform any thing without the aid of God, and that, on the other, he possesses the power of choosing to obey the call of grace or to refuse its authority. The whole history of doctrines shows that, in some periods of the Church, the greater emphasis was laid on the freedom of the will, while in others its fettered state was made more prominent. This is the point at which it becomes necessary to develop the idea of freedom into clearness, and here, especially, the philosophy of religion and that of dogmatics flow into each other.[1] A profound study of the problem will always result in the inclination to set aside the contrast, and to distinguish between freedom and license, between necessity and compulsion, and between what is done by God in man and man in God, and what is done by man without God and by God without man.[2] The letter of the symbolical definitions in the doctrine of the Protestant Church is often too harsh and unmanageable, and cannot be fully maintained

[1] In our arrangement the doctrine of freedom will come under notice twice in the system: first in connexion with the doctrine of sin, and next in connexion with that of grace. Anthropology, in general, will also fall into these two halves.

[2] "The solution of the great problem is found by turning the attention away from an abstract consideration of man and his separation from God, and fixing it upon the constant divine influence by which man becomes a higher personality; thus the possibility of a free self-determination even toward the good is always preserved. The idea of a separation between divine causality and the free activity of man must be given up; both are with and in each other," etc.—Kling, *ubi supra*, p. 32.

in every feature of such definition. But the evangelical principle, which finds expression in that form, will eventually be recognized as the true and the only principle that can abide every test.

SECTION XII.

THE CHURCH AND THE SACRAMENTS.

The salvation which proceeds from Christ reaches the individual through the medium of the religious community. The individual, however, enters into a living relation with that community only through faith in Christ. Thus the doctrine of Christ and the doctrine of the Church condition each other. Dogmatics has to deal with the idea of the Church only on its interior or religious side, the external relation of the Church to the State and its political organization falling within the province of ecclesiastical law. Dogmatics, however, is obliged to furnish the governing ideas for the guidance of the latter. Its office with relation to the means of grace to be administered by the Church—the word of God and the sacraments—is, in like manner, to apprehend them in their religious significance, while the careful determination of the most appropriate mode of conducting the administration belongs to liturgics.

"The importance of the doctrine of the Church," says Köstlin, "for the science of Christian teaching, while it has been remarkably misapprehended during an extended period, has more recently been recognized the more clearly and emphatically."[1] But many an error has been committed in the process, and what is outward has been made prominent to a degree that suggests danger, and in a manner that can hardly be reconciled with the spirit of the reformers, or even with that of Luther, the authority of whose example is invoked.[2] Whether, as Schleiermacher states the contrast, the Ro-

[1] Luther's Lehre von der Kirche (Stuttg., 1853), p. 1. There is much conflict of opinion upon this doctrine at the present time; "but so much is settled that Protestantism is divided among itself not so much with reference to the idea of the Church as concerning the relation of the phenomenon to the idea."—Schenkel, *ubi supra*, p. 589. The point at issue is whether the Church should be regarded in the light of a remedial institution in which persons are to be trained for citizenship in the kingdom of God, or in the light of an organized community, in which the kingdom of God is, however imperfectly, already apparent and actually present.

[2] "It is undeniable that, despite its blessings, a disagreeable element of darkness has, in most periods, attached to the Church through which the most exclusive churchmen have, as a class, obtained the greatest prominence, namely, a passionate insisting on the correctness of received views, a mania for fastening the charge of heresy upon opponents, an exaggerated love for the form they represented. If this old ecclesiastical Adam should ever be restored, a certain distinguished theologian (R. Rothe, in

man Catholic view, that the individual must come to Christ through the Church, be maintained, or the Protestant, that he can come to the Church only through faith in Christ—the former is empirically true, the latter ideally so—it is yet undeniable, from any point of view, that the religious character of the doctrine of the Church can only be understood through the doctrine of Christ. The doctrine of the Church is, in the next place, connected with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, in conformity with the expression of Irenæus, "Ubi ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Sanctus; et ubi Spiritus Sanctus, ibi et ecclesia." Schleiermacher, therefore, brought the doctrines of the Holy Spirit and of the Church into the closest connexion, as the Apostles' Creed had also done at a much earlier period.

Doctrine of Christ necessary to understand doctrine of Church.

The Protestant distinction between the visible and the invisible Church would assign the latter only to the province of dogmatics, as essential to the faith, while the former would belong to the domain of politics; and questions relating to the constitution of the Church do, in point of fact, seem to be sadly out of place in a doctrinal work, particularly a Protestant one. But inasmuch as the invisible cannot be absolutely separated from the visible, and inasmuch as it does not manifest itself by the side of the visible, and as exterior to it, but rather in the visible, it will always be necessary for dogmatics to recognize the vessel in which the spirit of the religious community manifests itself. The task of settling the fundamental forms of ecclesiastical life, by which alone that life can maintain its ecclesiastical character, is thus devolved upon dogmatics. While pointing out the spiritual nature of the Church, dogmatics is required to guard the Church, as being holy, against degenerating into worldliness; against divisions and dismemberment by insisting upon her unity; and against separatistic schisms by asserting her universal character. The purely external administration of the Church, as variously modified by conditions of time and place, is turned over to another department, that of ecclesiastical politics and ecclesiastical law.

The same reasoning which applies to the constitution of the Church applies also to Church worship. The ordering of the latter devolves upon liturgics. But liturgics is based on dogmatics, and derives from it the instructions upon which it is to proceed. The fundamental, unchangeable, and

Liturgics based on dogmatics.

his Theol. Ethik.) would be obliged to gain new adherents to the opinion that Christianity can attain to itself and its real nature only by the process of completely stripping off its ecclesiastical envelopments."—A. Schweizer, Die Prot. Central Dogmen, vol. i, p. 19.

divinely ordered types of Christian worship, the word and the sacraments, are most intimately connected with the life of believers, and thus constitute an essential part of dogmatics. Considered as means of grace, an *adminicula gratiæ*, they will stand connected with the doctrines of salvation and grace in general, while in their character as institutions of the Church they will need to be placed under the doctrine of the Church.

The idea of a sacrament is not of scriptural origin,[1] but was gradually developed in the consciousness of the Church. The institution of the so-called sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, however, is of biblical origin.[2] The signification of these ordinances is still the ground of much controversy between denominations and schools. Much depends upon a profound penetration into the nature of a religious symbol, so as to prevent it from degenerating into a merely arbitrary ceremony, and from becoming involved in the magical notion of a purely objective efficiency, an *opus operatum*.[3] The connecting medium is faith. But in the proportion in which misapprehension prevails on the part of the principal confessions of Protestantism themselves, should dogmatics be intent upon discovering a term which will be satisfying to the religious feeling, without doing offence to a simple apprehension of the pure word of Scripture and its sound interpretation.

Faith the connecting link.

SECTION XIII.

ESCHATOLOGY.

Inasmuch as the kingdom of God, which manifests itself on earth under the form of a church community, is progressing toward an ultimate consummation, dogmatics groups the aggregate of the hopes dependent on Christianity into the prophetical doctrines

[1] Calixtus saw and insisted upon this; Epit., p. 128 (Henke, Calixt. i, p. 299). Even Melanchthon objected to the term "sacramentum" at first, as being un-biblical (Loci Comm. of 1521, in Bretschneider, Corp., p. 210). Comp. Hagenbach, Hist. Doctr., § 258, note 2 (Smith's ed.).

[2] The institution of baptism has, of course, been questioned by the sort of criticism which remands everything to the realm of vision which the Gospels record concerning the risen Jesus. Such house-cleaning labours by the radical method will not cause any considerable damage, however, while a community of believers exists to whom the form of the risen Lord is more than a phantom.

[3] Schenkel has emphasized the objective theological side of a sacrament on the Protestant view in opposition to the merely subjective anthropological conception. Comp. his Wesen des Protestantismus i, p. 395, and the preface, p. xi; but comp. also his Dogmatik, and other writings of later date, in which a different view is advocated.

of death, the resurrection, the judgment of the world, and eternal life. These are denominated the last things, and the teaching in which they are presented is termed eschatology.

Immortality not to be confounded with eschatology.

The question whether the soul be immortal may be raised in connexion with the doctrine of the creation of man, or anthropology. But the question concerning immortality, in the most general acceptation, must not be confounded with the inquiry respecting the last things, which has less to do with the natural constitution of the soul and the destiny of individuals after death than with the world's development as a whole and the ultimate consummation of the kingdom of God. For this reason the position, in connexion with the doctrines of man and before the Church has come under notice, to which Hase assigned eschatology, is inappropriate. The most proper place for the doctrine respecting death is not, indeed, among the four last things; it may, more appropriately, be connected with the doctrine of sin. Its only claim to a place under eschatology lies in the teaching that death also shall be swallowed up in victory (1 Cor. xv, 54). The doctrines of the resurrection and the last judgment are characterized wholly by the scriptural mode of representation; the figurative form is unmistakable; but the vision is required to look beyond the figure to the eternal truth reflected in its imagery,[1] even though it will not be possible to comprehend these several doctrines within a fully rounded circle of adequate conceptions.[2]

[1] See de Wette, Kirchliche Dogmatik, p. 213: "The difficulties can be obviated only by distinguishing the purely doctrinal elements from those which are symbolically historical. But the two must be re-combined into a living hope which is not ruled merely by an obstinate concern for the destiny of individuals, but which, likewise, has regard to the fate of the whole. The eternal and the temporal, which are always involved in and connected with each other, are thus conjoined."

[2] Comp. the prophetical doctrines in Schleiermacher's Glaubenslehre. The extra-scriptural chiliastic vagaries and fancies, together with the hypotheses of soul-sleeping, hades, etc., have, without exception, been able to maintain themselves only within the sphere of the most narrow formulations of doctrine. Such doctrines have, however, been discussed with greater confidence in recent than in the older theology. Rothe, in his Ethik, ii, pp. 154–169, 480 *sqq.*, has sought, in a very peculiar manner, to open the way toward a more elevated solution of the problems of eschatology. Comp. also the labours of Auberlen and others. We cannot refrain, however, from directing attention to a statement by Palmer, which deserves consideration at this particular juncture: "The Jewish scribes, before the manifestation of Christ, were unable to construct, from the prophecies of the Old Testament alone, a picture of the Messiah whose truthfulness might still be recognized after he had appeared, although every person who would use his eyes was, after his appearing, compelled to see that the Old Testament predictions were fulfilled in the person and work of Christ. So is it improbable that we should ever succeed in obtaining from the scriptural indications

If this might be accomplished, hope would cease to be hope and would become realization, and faith would be transformed into sight. In opposition to a sentimental, and often selfish, doctrine of immortality, it becomes necessary to insist upon the truth that Christianity knows no other hopes than such as shall be realized in and through Christ; and that, consequently, it can return to the numerous questions which arise no other answer than that which is already contained in its christological creed—namely, that Christ himself is the resurrection and the life, and that in him all his children shall live.[1]

Christian hope only to be realized in Christ.

SECTION XIV.

THE TRINITY AND PREDESTINATION.

The doctrine of God in his tri-unity comprehends all theology. But this aggregation can only be brought to pass after the practical and religious signification of Father, Son, and Spirit has been ascertained in its connexion with the historical development of the kingdom of God. The whole is comprehended by this one doctrine, as constituting the sacred mystery of Christianity, and the doctrine of election is most intimately connected with it. Both the eternal nature of God as related to himself, and his eternal decree, lie outside of the relation of God to finite being, and consequently outside of the sphere of practical religion. They are, therefore, in the strictest sense, of a speculative nature, and move wholly within the realm of the absolute.

Election connected with the Trinity.

The terms triad and trinity, together with the idea upon which they rest, are extra-biblical. But it does not follow that the idea is, on that account, unscriptural. The very contrary is true; for the whole of New Testament theology is erected upon a mono-

respecting the future and the consummation of the kingdom of God a harmonious and completely rounded whole which might deserve the name of a system, while we are equally certain and assured that the ultimate fulfilment will authenticate the prophecy as being entirely true and consistent with itself. In such matters, even a thirst for theological knowledge will do better to restrain itself to moderate bounds than to assume the air of knowing what, nevertheless, is not known, and to look contemptuously down from the height of such *γνῶσις* upon the *ψιλὴ πίστις* with which the Church has contented itself for well-digested reasons." It may also be well to recommend special care with regard to a phrase of Oetinger's that has recently been much used and much abused, namely, "that corporeity is the end of the ways of God," as it may lead into a religious materialism which may become as dangerous as the irreligious sort, because unconsciously promoting its designs.

[1] Comp. Hermann Schultz, Die Voraussetzungen der christlichen Lehre von der Unsterblichkeit, Göttingen, 1861.

theistic, but trinitarian, foundation, since God the Father chooses mankind in Christ. Christ, as the Son, has redeemed it, and the Spirit imparts the assurance of salvation to believers, and completes the work of sanctification. Neither work is conceivable apart from the others; and it is for this reason that believers are baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that the substance of the Christian doctrine of redemption is concentrated into a trinitarian formula in the apostolic benediction in 2 Cor. xiii, 14, and elsewhere.

Trinity less emphasized than God's relation to man.

But it is equally certain that the Bible does not emphasize the relation subsisting between the Persons[1] of the Trinity so much as the relation sustained by God to man. When John opens his prologue with "In the beginning was the Word," he yet turns at once to his principal theme, the theme upon which he makes all else to depend, *καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.* He regards the manifestation of God in Christ as the most essential feature, and therefore emphasizes it again in his first epistle, where he asserts that the Son of God came into the flesh. The scriptural Triad is, consequently, predominantly a triad for purposes of revelation, while the relations immanent to it are, at most, simply alluded to. Nor should it be forgotten, that the Logos idea itself is not a new or strictly Christian thought, but was already present, as we see in Philo, in the speculative culture of the time. But inasmuch as God has manifested nothing except his nature, it will not be improper to retain the names of Father, Son, and Spirit, not, with Sabellius, as mere names, but as "distinguishing hypostatical terms."[2]

Salvation not dependent on subtleties.

The salvation taught by dogmatics should not, however, be made to depend on such subtleties. We have every respect for the speculative doctrine of the Trinity; but it is a theological sanctuary which only anointed and approved minds, with pure intentions, may seek to penetrate. The doctrine, has, moreover, been loaded with many absurdities from time to time, and even pantheistic infidelity has concealed itself behind such intricacies in order to attack historical Christianity from behind such cover. The same is true of the mystery of predestination. Who has ascertained God's decree? A religious faith, as contrasted with the superficial creed of Pelagianism, is compelled to

[1] The word "Person" is likewise extra-biblical, and in many respects inappropriate. "The very terms 'Father' and 'Son' indicate that they have reference to the manifestation of God, and not to his immanent and extra-mundane being" (p. 296).

[2] Kling considers this expression to observe the correct medium between the Sabellian and the Athanasian theories (*ubi supra*, p. 38).

acknowledge that salvation is not the result of accident, and not wrought out primarily by ourselves, but that it is a salvation that is willed and decreed by God, based on a foreknowledge of character and works. The problem of God's foreknowledge, and rewards and punishments based on it, we may not solve. It is wiser and more edifying for us to recall continually to mind the narrow limits of the human understanding, and to stand reverently still, with the apostle, before the riches both of the knowledge and the grace of God.

SECTION XV

ORTHODOXY AND HETERODOXY.

Schleiermacher, § 203 *sqq.*, and the discussions on orthodoxy and orthodox views by Rückert, Krause, and Hase, in the Protest. Kirchenzeitung für das Evangl. Deutschland for 1854; Pelt, in Herzog's Encyklopaedie, x, s. v.

James F. Clarke, Orthodoxy: Its Truths and Errors. Boston, 1875. John W. Donaldson, Christian Orthodoxy Reconciled with the Conclusions of Modern Biblical Learning. Lond., 1857. Daniel Dorchester, Concessions of Liberalists to Orthodoxy. Boston, 1878.

A dogmatical system is said to be orthodox in so far as it is in harmony with the doctrine of the Church, as contained in its symbols, and with the conclusions deduced from such doctrine. It is heterodox in so far as it departs from the accepted belief of the Church. This distinction should not be identified with that made between supernaturalism and rationalism, which has already been discussed, although it has many points of contact with the latter.

The term orthodox is to be taken in its historical rather than its etymological meaning in this connexion, for it is to be presumed that every instructor will aim to teach the truth, and to be orthodox in this sense of the word. The conservative in ecclesiastical matters may, accordingly, be regarded as constituting the orthodox feature, while the mobile will characterize the heterodox. Orthodoxy, moreover, is not to be identified with supernaturalism. The two ideas, to say the least, are not coextensive. A great number of heterodox notions had their origin in a period when supernaturalism was generally accepted. Socinianism, for example, is, to the half at least, supernaturalistic, and yet heterodox; and even ultra-supernaturalist opinions may turn over into heterodoxy, as we see in patripassianism. The Church and its creed, rather than the Bible, though Bible-orthodoxy is sometimes spoken of, constitute the measure of orthodoxy, in the strictly technical meaning of the word. It follows, that even the strictest supernaturalist will be heterodox, in so far as his relation to his own Church is concerned, whenever he diverges from her doctrine—for instance, a Lutheran who should incline toward

Orthodoxy not to be confounded with supernaturalism.

Roman Catholicism, or a member of a Calvinistic Church who should incline toward Lutheranism. Rationalism is, no doubt, a heterodox phenomenon, in all its tendencies. But as contrasted with the supernaturalist, the rationalist himself might have the support of orthodoxy upon a given question. He might, for instance, take ground with the Reformed Church upon the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, or with the Lutheran Church upon the question of predestination. Nor is it difficult to show that pietism, with all its biblical supernaturalism, includes many heterodox elements. Where, indeed, can a thoroughly orthodox person be found in our day, whose views shall be so correct as that the defenders of the old-time Lutheran or Reformed orthodoxy will find no feature that is open to objections?

Rationalism a heterodox phenomenon.

The genuine dogmatic theologian should pursue no other purpose than to present the truths of the Christian faith in purity, and in harmony with the Bible and the results of historical development, recognizing the goal toward which such development tends, and the requirements of the present age. He will obey the apostolic canon, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." He will, accordingly, be both conservative and reformatory in his methods; for "the endeavour to retain, in the dogmatical development, matters which have become wholly antiquated in the public promulgations of the Church, and which exercise no definite influence upon other questions in the process of scientific discussion, is a false orthodoxy. To antagonize such formulas as have a well-established support in the formularies of the Church, and whose scientific expression is not confused by the relation sustained by them to other doctrines, is false heterodoxy."[1]

[1] Schenkel says: "No greater error and no more hurtful notion can be found than exist in the fancy that the work of the Reformation was accomplished, and even completed, three hundred years ago, and that every step beyond the original position of the reformers is apostasy from the Reformation itself; that to go back to the finished theological system of Protestantism, as contained in confessional writings, and to settle down in them for all time to come, constitutes the chief duty of a believing theology and of a Church which has attained to greater freedom and independence."—Wesen des Protestantismus, iii, 1, Pref., p. iv. Similar language is employed by a French writer: "The Reformation is not the last word of Christianity, and the God who has revealed himself to us in his Gospel has yet many revelations to make to us on the thoughts, the concealed riches, and the infinite applications of the word of life. Ignorance believes voluntarily in the absolute truth; but education and experience teach us to see shadows where we find contrasts, and simple differences where all seemed apparition."—Lettres à mon Curé, p. 47. Geneva, 1854. Hase remarks (Dogmatik, 5th ed., p. 9), with entire correctness: "Orthodoxy, as designating unanimity with regard to the teaching of the Church as sustained by the written law, is authorized in the evangelical Church. But so, likewise, are individual divergences

SECTION XVI.

THE HISTORY OF DOGMATICS.

Comp. Ch. G. Heinrich, Versuch einer Geschichte der verschiedenen Lehrarten der christlichen Wahrheiten, etc., Lpz., 1790; J. H. Schickedanz, Vers. einer Gesch. d. christl. Glaubenslehre, Braunschw., 1827; W. Herrmann, Geschichte der prot. Dogmatik, von Melanchthon bis Schleiermacher, Lpz., 1842; J. P. Lange, Christl. Dogmatik, i, p. 56 *sqq.*; W. Gass, Gesch. der prot. Dogmatik, etc. (vol. i, Construction of Basis and Dogmatism; vol. ii, Syncretism, the Formation of the Reformed School of Theology, Pietism; vol. iii, the Transition Period; vol. iv, Enlightenment and Rationalism. The Dogmatics of the Philosophical Schools. Schleiermacher and his Times), Berl., 1854-67; Heppe, Dogmatik des deutschen Protestantismus im 16. Jahrhundert (§ 76); * Dorner, Gesch. d. prot. Theologie, Munich, 1867 (Engl. translation by Robson and Taylor, 2 vols., Edinb., 1871); Mücke, Die Dogmatik des 19. Jahrhunderts, etc., Gotha, 1867. Hodge: Systematic Theology (3 vols.), N. Y. 1872. Introduction (in Vol. I), pp. 1-188.

The earliest systematic collections of the doctrines of belief are found in the symbols and the confessions of faith. Origen, among the Church teachers of the first period, furnished a sketch of what we denominate a system of dogmatics, in his work on Principles. Of Augustine's works the following belong to this class: Manual to Laurentius (on Faith, Hope, and Charity), on Christian Doctrine and the Kingdom of God (each of the latter but partially), on Faith and Symbol, and on the Doctrines of the Church. He was followed by Fulgentius of Ruspe, Gennadius, and Junilius. In the Greek Church were produced the Catecheses of Gregory of Nyssa (Larger Catechetical Treatise), and of Cyril of Jerusalem (Catechism for the Baptized and to be Baptized), though they were more particularly designed for practical uses. The first to construct a dogmatics, in the strict sense, that is, a system of doctrine, was John of Damascus (730), in the work, Precise Statement of the Orthodox Faith, though the compiler, Isidore of Seville (died 636) had led the way with his Statement (3 books).

Augustine's works.

The dogmatics of the Middle Ages found its chief expression in scholasticism, which latter obtained a necessary complement in mysticism. John Scotus Erigena (died about 880) was eminent as a philosophical thinker of the 9th century. But his principal work, on the Division of Nature, is not a dogmatics in the strict meaning of the term. From the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries downward, Anselm of Canterbury, Roscellin, and Abelard aroused the dogmatic spirit from

Scholasticism and mysticism.

and variations, provided only that they maintain a Christian and Protestant character. They both are placed under the law of a higher orthodoxy, namely, the perfect truth of Christianity, and it is incumbent upon Christian charity that it preserve the feeling of unity in the midst of such differences, and even of dispute. Whatever antagonizes Christianity, however, must be excluded as heretical, even though it lay claim to the Christian character." On the distinction between heterodoxy and heresy, comp. Schenkel, Dogmatik, i, p. 186, and Martensen.

various directions, and sought to bring about a reconciliation between knowledge and faith. But a properly systematic treatment in obedience to established rules dates back only to Peter Lombard, who died in 1164. The authors of such works, Robert Pulleyn, Peter of Poictiers, and others, were designated Sententiarii. The Victorines, on the other hand, sought to combine mysticism, which rises to the surface from out of the depths of religious feeling, with dialectics.

An increased knowledge of Aristotle, after the Crusades, led to a still further development of scholasticism. Alexander Hales (Doctor irrefragabilis, died 1245), Albert Magnus (died 1280), and Thomas Aquinas (died 1274), the head of an entire school which was represented by the order of Dominicans, composed so-called *Summæ*. These were loosely constructed works, in which every proposition was subdivided into a number of questions, distinctions, and the like—a gigantic labour of the mind. The scholastic spirit, however, soon degenerated into the invention of hollow subtleties, a tendency which was especially facilitated by the prevalence of nominalism. The school of Thomists soon came to be opposed by the mystical school of Bonaventura (Doctor seraphicus, died 1274), and also by the dialectic school of Duns Scotus (Doctor subtilis, died 1308), both of which originated with the order of Franciscan monks. The dispute between the schools became at the same time a quarrel of the orders. The Summæ were now superseded by so-called Quodlibets; the number of the various questions approached infinity, and dogmatics was ultimately left without substance and worth. The free-thinking but sceptical William Occam (died 1347) was succeeded by the last of the scholastics, Gabriel Biel (died 1495), while mysticism, which had made progress in the practical field in the persons of Master Eckart, Tauler, Ruysbroek, and Suso, received scientific form at the hands of Gerson (Doctor christianissimus, died 1429).

Summaries.

Degeneration of dogmatics.

The cultivation of humanistic studies gave to dogmatics a many-sided spirit, but left it, at the first, without fixed principles for its control. The regeneration of dogmatics does not begin earlier than the Reformation. Luther was a preacher rather than a dogmatic theologian. The foundation for evangelical dogmatics as a science was laid by Melanchthon, the Præceptor Germaniæ, in his Commonplaces (Loci Communes, Viteb., 1521; afterward Loci Praecipui Theologici). He was followed, in the Lutheran Church, by Martin Chemnitz (Theological Syllabus), Aegidius (died 1603), Nic. Hunnius (died 1643), and the rigidly zealous Leonh. Hutter (Lutherus Redivivus; died 1616),

Melanchthon founder of Protestant dogmatics.

whose work (Loci, 1619) was directed especially against the milder school of Melanchthon. Twesten published Hutter's Compendium in a second edition in 1863. A work of leading importance, Theological Commonplaces (Loci Theol., Jen., 1610–25, ix vols. 4to, edited by Cotta, Tub., 1772–81, xx vols. 4to, supplemented by G. H. Müller, vols. xxi and xxii, 1788–89; latest edition E. Preuss, 1863–70, vols. i–viii, unfinished), was published by J. Gerhard (died 1637); and the works by Quenstedt (died 1688), König, Calov, Hollaz, Baier, and others are also deserving of mention. A new scholasticism unfolded itself in these works, which was counterbalanced by a new mystical tendency in J. Boehme, Weigel, Arndt, and others.

Lutheran dogmatic writers.

In the Reformed Church exegetical studies were prosecuted with more energy than dogmatical, and the latter were more dependent on the former than in the Lutheran Church, because the letter of the symbol was less authoritative in its influence over them. Zwingli's dogmatical labours (Brief and Pious Introduction to Protestant Doctrine, 1523; Commentary on the True and False Religion, 1525; Brief and Clear Exposition of the Christian Faith, 1536, *et al.*) are deserving of attention.

Dogmatic literature in the Reformed Church.

But Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion (Basle, 1535) is a work of the first importance, and comparable with the Loci of Melanchthon. His successors were Bullinger, Musculus, Peter Martyr, Hyperius; and, in the seventeenth century, Keckermann, Polanus of Polansdorf, Alsted, Alting, Wolleb, Burmann, Heidanus, F Heidegger, and others. The synthetical method having been usefully followed in the Lutheran Church after Melanchthon, Cocceius (died 1669) and Leydecker now began to attempt different methods; for example, the Federal Theology and the Œconomical, in the order of the three persons of the Trinity. But a new method, the analytical, was introduced into the Lutheran Church by Calixtus. It begins with the end or final cause, the "final method," toward which the entire system of belief must tend. Many, including some of the writers already mentioned, followed in his track, the strictest of all being Dannhauer (died 1668) in his Christian Introduction, 1649.

Calvin and his successors.

A milder tendency, diverging from rigid orthodoxy, began to assert itself in Germany at the opening of the eighteenth century, toward whose introduction various phenomena in the spheres of both religion and philosophy contributed. This we see in Spener and Pietism, and in the Cartesian, Leibnitzian, and Wolfian philosophies. In the Reformed Church the Arminian tendency, represented by Limborch (died 1712; Christian Theology, 1686), gained

a continually increasing number of adherents to its milder views, as did also the related tendency which went out from the school of Saumur. In the Lutheran Church a method increasingly controlled by the influence of the new period was introduced by Pfaff, in his Institutes (1720); Buddæus, in his Institutes of Doctrinal Theology (1723, 1741); Reinbeck (1731–41, 4 vols.), continued by J. G. Conz, (1743–47, 5–9 vols.); Carpov, (1737–65); Rambach (1744), and, under the determinate influence of the Wolfian philosophy, by Jac. Siegm. Baumgarten, in his System of Doctrine, published by Semler (1759 and 1760, 3 vols.). This tendency was also commended, with more or less fulness, by Semler, in his Institutes (1774), and Attempt at a Free Theological Method of Teaching (1777); and by Michaelis (1760, 1784), Teller (1764, 1782), Toellner (1775), Doederlein, Morus, and others, who thereby brought about the transition into rationalistic modes of thought, though they guarded themselves with many qualifications.

Transition to rationalism.

After Gruner and Eckermann had prepared the way, Hencke compressed dogmatics, which had once extended over forests of folios, into a few "lineaments," in which process he threw overboard "Christolatry and Bibliolatry, as being mere remnants of an old-time superstition." Kant introduced a new era, and was joined, more or less fully, by Tieftrunk, Stäudlin, and Ammon. Storr and Reinhard held fast the orthodox system, but rather with respect to its formal supernaturalism than as a rigid conformity to ecclesiastical tradition. Augusti, on the other hand, sought to restore the ancient system of doctrine, whose consistency even Lessing had conceded, to its place of honour, but without laying a deep foundation for it in philosophy, or bringing logical discrimination to bear on the question. The latter was much more efficiently done by De Wette, the former by Daub and Marheineke.

Reactionary tendency of dogmatics.

In opposition to this reactionary movement of dogmatics, as understood by rationalism, the latter, with entire consistency, took separate ground, finding its most adequate expression in Wegscheider's work, which must be regarded as the Corpus Doctrinæ of the tendency. Bretschneider pursued an intermediate course, though starting out with the fundamental ideas of rationalism. He also furnished a serviceable historical apparatus. Dogmatics thus seemed likely to be resolved into speculation in the one direction, or to sink beneath the mass of historical matter with which it was loaded down, or, finally, to be evaporated in the crucible of rationalistic hypercriticism. At this point Schleiermacher appeared with his System of Doctrines, in which he

Schleiermacher's dogmatics.

did not base dogmatics upon either historical authority or philosophical speculation, but regarded it as representing the consciousness by which the Church is animated. From him dates a new period in the treatment of this science generally, though many continued even afterward to move in the ancient ruts. Knapp, Hahn, and Steudel, for instance, simply attached themselves to the older biblical and ecclesiastical system, while Hase, proceeding upon the basis of the doctrine of the Church as historically developed, strove to bring about its reconciliation with the advanced culture of the day, accomplishing the task with spirit and taste under the influence of modern philosophy, beginning with that of Schelling.

Twesten and Nitzsch.

The spirit of Schleiermacher made itself positively felt, however, pre-eminently through Twesten and Nitzsch, each of whom contributed, in his own way, to the securing of friends for the revealed faith of Christianity, which rationalism had given up as lost, even among the younger generation of theologians.[1] Other writers have sought to open newer paths, *e. g.*, Tob. Beck, who sought to comprehend the substance of Bible teaching in a corresponding system with a specially prepared terminology, while avoiding the road which had been trodden hard by the schools. In opposition to serious efforts of this character arose the system of Strauss, which assumed the form of a dialectical process for the annihilation of dogma, but which, after it had reached its culmination in Feuerbach, could only lead to a new and thorough investigation of the dogma, based on a recognition of the indestructible basis upon which the life of the Christian faith is established.

Progress of most recent dogmatics.

The more important works which have since been issued afford the happiest evidence of this fact, and prove that Christian dogmatics has not yet reached its final from, but that it is rather passing through a metamorphosis, from which it shall come forth with its youth renewed, and with a renewed disposition to clothe doctrine with fresh and appropriate forms, that shall prove to be more perfectly adapted to the deepest needs of our age. The dogmatics of the Reformed Church

[1] On Nitzsch comp. the Biography by Beyschlag, p. 179. Nitzsch's "crowded, Heraclitian style, which never presents more than the half-opened bud of the thought," does seem not only to present difficulties which "all feeble or ease-loving minds" will dread to surmount, but also to place frequent obstacles in the way of those who do not seek to avoid the labour needed to penetrate into such a depth of thought. The forceful elements in the works of Nitzsch are an exalted earnestness and a cool criticism, which enable him to be just toward a more independent mode of thought, while standing firmly upon the positive foundations of Christianity.

has found a well-informed and capable interpreter in Schweizer, who has been joined in the free exercise of thought by Schenkel. In the Reformed Church, Ebrard represents the confessional point of view, while Vilmar, Thomasius, Philippi, and Kahnis represent the Lutheran. The masterly work of A. Ritzschl aims at a positive remodelling of the orthodox system on a biblical basis. The dogmatic works of Biedermann and Lipsius represent the so-called liberal theology. One of the most important of the recent doctrinal systems is the System of Christian Doctrine (Glaubenslehre) of Sulzberger, published in Bremen in 1877. He is Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Frankfort-on-Main, and his work is a terse and skilful presentation of the doctrinal system of his communion. The Roman Catholic Church, whose older dogmatic theologians, Bellarmine, Canisius, Maldonat, Becanus, and others, had, to a great extent, conformed to the scholastic method, was likewise unable to avoid being influenced by the intellectual revolution of the times. A more simple and independent doctrinal method, from which the mass of scholastic and Jesuitical rubbish was eliminated, was introduced as early as the time of Noel (Natalis Alexander, died 1724).

Roman Catholic dogmatists.

Among German dogmatists the older method was followed by Klüpfel (died 1811), Stattler, Gmeiner, Schnappinger, Zimmer, Dobmaier, Buchner, Liebermann, and others. A new movement was begun by Georg Hermes (died 1831), in his Introduction to the Christian Catholic Theology (Munster, 1834). He, while fully regarding doubt as the necessary condition for the determining of truth, sought to press through it into orthodox Catholicism, as constituting the ultimate goal of a really profound speculation. But by that very effort he came into formal conflict with Roman Catholicism and its cardinal principle of ecclesiastical authority. A similar process was passed through by the system of Günther. Franz Baader, influenced by Schelling's Natural Philosophy, was more speculative than any of his compeers, But a similar tendency had been previously apparent in Schwarz (died 1794), and Cajetan Weiler (died 1826). Among later Roman Catholic theologians, Brenner, Thanner, Klee, Staudenmaier, and others, appear also to be similarly inclined.

In England, some of the leading doctrinal systems have been translations from the Continental writers. Among the Scotch, whose theological type has been Reformed, Calvin's Institutes has always been recognized as the standard. The Independents and Presbyterians of England have exhibited a similar attachment. In

the Church of England, Pearson on the Creed and Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles, old as they are, have largely supplied the dogmatic treatment. Among the Wesleyans, Wesley's Sermons, which are mostly of doctrinal character, have held the foremost place. The first Methodist writer of a full doctrinal system was Richard Watson, whose Institutes (Lond., 1823) have been the standard for the last half century. Pope, in his Compendium of Christian Theology (3 vols., New York, 1880), is the first British Wesleyan writer of a dogmatic system at all comparable with Watson.

In the United States, there has been large dependence on the German sources, the works of the German dogmatists being translated and freely read. Knapp's Theology has had a wide acceptance. This has been succeeded by Storr and Flatt's Elementary Course of Biblical Theology (1836), Nitzsch's System of Christian Doctrine (1849), the Christian Dogmatics of the Danish Martensen, the Christian Dogmatics of the Dutch Van Oosterzee, and Schmid's Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. But American theology has not been without its original writers in the dogmatic department. Even during the colonial period there were vigorous doctrinal authors, whose works have had an important bearing on the whole later course of theological belief. Each Church has had its own dogmatic system. Dwight's Theology, originally delivered as sermons, has had large endorsement among Congregationalists and still wider circles. Hodge, in his Systematic Theology, represents the doctrinal system of the Presbyterian Church. This work is the product of a lifetime of reverent study, of broad scholarship, terse and exact style, and of just recognition of the native and foreign literature of the department. Raymond's Systematic Theology embodies the Methodist theology, and is marked by careful thought, a rich and warm diction, and a most attractive perspicuity and vigour of style. Both these works, as well as A. A. Hodge's Outlines of Theology, and Ralston's Elements of Divinity, indicate a disposition of the American theological mind to lean no longer on Continental authorities for doctrinal statement.

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SECTION XVII.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

The theological ethics of Christianity, called by the elder writers Theologia Moralis and Ethica Christiana, describes the theory of the moral life as it should find expression in a Christian feeling, which is produced by a living faith, and approves itself in a Christian life. It occupies, in common with dogmatics, the ground of positive Christianity, and, therefore, derives its fundamental principles from Christianity. In another direction, however, it stands connected with the general or philosophical ethics of human origin; and while it differs from the latter with regard to its scientific form, and its starting points and motives, their substance can never be contradictory to each other.

Place of Christian Ethics.

This science has been erroneously called practical theology by some writers, who contrasted it with dogmatics, and regarded the latter as a theoretical department, dogmatics being held to deal with things to be believed, and practical theology with things to be done. For, although ethics has to do more particularly with man's powers of action and volition, while dogmatics is concerned with his powers of perception and cognition, it would yet be highly unscientific to regard ethics as a mere collection of practical rules. It is even true that, in certain respects, ethics may be called a theory with more propriety than dogmatics, since every theory requires a corresponding practice.[1] Ethics is certainly employed upon the

[1] This holds true of practical theology properly so called. A word here with regard to the designation of this science. Dorner, *ubi supra*, decides in favour of ethics, as compared with "morals." "Mos, mores (whence comes moral discipline), refers more especially to the outward appearance than to the interior source, and does not, by far, approach the meaning of the Greek ἦθος. *Mores* describes character, indeed, but not its unifying source. Ἦθος, originally the Ionic form of ἔθος, involves, on the other hand, what is customary, the moral as generally accepted; not only empirical manners (*mos*), which may be bad, but also what has been sanctioned, and is according to method and rule." Comp. Ersch and Gruber, Encykl. s. v. Ethos. Nor will it escape the notice of any who may study the usage of our time, that, while the word morality was formerly of universal application, it is now held to be more refined to lay stress upon "the ethical."

practical side of the dogmatical system, but it is requisite that the practical side itself be theoretically, and, therefore, scientifically, apprehended, and it was for this reason that the necessity for a separate treatment of ethics, apart from dogmatics, was acknowledged in a former connexion.[1] Such a separation does not by any means involve a division by which ethics becomes independent of dogmatics. For even as faith and works are most intimately connected in the practical sphere of Christianity, so that works become the fruitage of faith, so is Christian ethics everywhere based upon dogmatics. The absence from a system of Christian morals of indications which everywhere give evidence of the doctrinal views of its author, is always a bad sign.[2] As dogmatics, moreover, reaches back with its most general ideas into the philosophy of religion, so must Christian ethics join hands, in its scientific expression, with philosophical ethics;[3] and it will even resemble it more closely in outward appearance than dogmatics can resemble the philosophy of religion. This results from the fact that the features which are peculiar to a positive religion are more clearly apparent in its doctrinal statements than in its moral precepts.

Christian Ethics based on dogmatics.

Every historical religion, nevertheless, possesses definite moral convictions, through which it governs peoples and times—a fact which may be traced down through all the subdivisions of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism.[4] It will, therefore, be necessary for philosophical ethics to descend to the level occupied by the historical phenomena of the moral life which come under the influence of positive religions, in order that it may derive life for the general from particulars—unless it should prefer to move about in the midst of dead abstractions. But its work will consist in utilizing whatever is gained in this way in the determining of the character of universal morality, while Christian ethics is concerned to discover the concrete and historically defined, and especially the characteristically Christian features, for their own sake. Its task is, therefore, as de Wette has shown,[5] analytical in its nature, while that of philosophical ethics is synthetical. The differences which exist between the two may, accordingly, be stated as follows:

Christian Ethics analytical; philosophical, synthetical.

[1] Section 1, Part 1.

[2] Schleiermacher, § 229. Comp. also *ibid.*, Christliche Sitte, p. 3 *sqq.*

[3] It will, doubtless, be apparent that one philosophical system cannot possess authority in Philosophical and a different one in Christian ethics.—Schleiermacher, § 227.

[4] Comp. Schleiermacher, § 228, note; Marheineke, System des Katholicismus, iii, pp. 20–29.

[5] Lehrbuch der Sittenlehre, § 3.

1. Philosophical ethics has to do with the determining of man toward morality as a whole,[1] while Christian ethics represents the manifestation of the divinely human life in the person of Christ as constituting the ideal of morality, and, consequently, requires of each individual that he should become like Christ. This forms the Christian doctrine of the highest good.[2]

2. The startingpoint of philosophical ethics lies, necessarily, in the moral self-determination of man, which involves the evidence of its own truth, in opposition to any determination on the part of nature, while Christian ethics regards the Spirit of God as the determining power through the effectual working of his grace in the believer's heart. This is the Christian doctrine of virtue which results, without the slightest modification, from the teachings of Christian dogmatics.

3. Philosophical ethics regards man in the relations which he sustains toward the world, and determines his duties by that rule; Christian ethics has regard primarily to the relations sustained by him toward the kingdom of God. This is the Christian system of duties.

The above distinctions should not give rise to the misapprehension that a philosophical and a Christian morality, which could conflict with each other, may exist, or that a thing may be moral according to the principles of the one and not so according to the principles of the other. The truth is, that the one serves merely to confirm the other. Morality, which presents to view the human element, can no more be contradictory to that which involves the Christian element than the ideas man and Christ can contradict each other. Even Christian morality is

Harmony of philosophical and Christian ethics.

[1] The obligations of Christian ethics are binding only upon Christians; philosophical ethics puts forth a universal claim, for its object is to secure the control of every person who is able to comprehend the philosophical principles from which it is deduced." Schleiermacher, Christliche Sitte, p. 2; comp. p. 7 *sqq.;* de Wette, *ubi supra.* Rothe likewise agrees with this view at bottom (Theol. Ethik., p. 35), although he does not distinguish Christian so much as theological ethics from philosophical. "The latter begins with the moral consciousness considered simply in that character, while the theological proceeds from that consciousness as it exists in the individual, under the determinate religious form assumed through the influence of the particular Christian Church to which he may belong, and also from the historical ideal of morality as found in the Redeemer's person, of which the former is but a reflection." But Christian and philosophical ethics do not come into contrast with each other on his view, because philosophical ethics and philosophy in general are essentially Christian within the bounds of Christendom. Rothe concedes a relative contrast, however, in so far as mankind have not been altogether penetrated by the influence of Christianity.

[2] See Schleiermacher, *ubi supra,* p. 36.

required to adapt itself to the conditions of mankind generally,[1] and the philosophical must tend toward the Christian as its goal. The foremost principle of the one, in each instance, is the ultimate aim of the other. Religion, when regarded from the standpoint of philosophical ethics, constitutes the crown and beauty of the moral life, while from that of Christian ethics it forms its root. In the view of philosophical morality, the Christian community is but one society beside others, in the State, in behalf of which certain duties are doubtless to be performed; but the human society of the State, as being the most general form of a moral organism, is the underlying idea.

Christian ethics, on the other hand, starts out from the idea of the Christian community as a distinctively religious organism, and, spreading outward in constantly expanding circles, it comes to include at last the duties which men owe to the State. Brotherly love (*φιλαδελφία*), which has its origin in love to Christ, is by it extended into universal love. The supreme law in philosophical ethics, on the contrary, is respect for the dignity of human nature in other people, from which most general conception it afterward descends to the level of the several conditions of actual life, in which righteousness becomes spiritualized, and transformed into the principle of love. The latter result would, of course, be beyond its powers of attainment, did not Christianity itself afford it a clearly defined embodiment of the idea; for "it is able," in its character as philosophical ethics, "to do no more than set up pattern specimens of the moral life in general outline, while Christian ethics sets forth in detailed examples and precepts the problems which have actually been solved in the pages of Revelation."[2] Christian ethics,

[1] De Wette, § 9: "Christian ethics is required to be human, to adapt itself to human capabilities and needs, since it could not, on the contrary principle, bring an effective influence to bear on man." Bruch, p. 19: "The more thoroughly the ethics of Christianity is apprehended, and the spirit by which it is animated is understood in its purity, the more will the conviction grow that it is nothing else than the truest reflection of the legislation which is woven into the nature of the human mind, and which, asserting itself in living power in the mind, is designed to lead man toward the goal of his destination." Pelt, Encyklopaedie, p. 520: "True reason is always one, and finds its highest and purest mode of expression in Christianity; the task remains the same."

[2] De Wette, § 4; or, in other words, Pelt, Encykl., p. 520: "The process of the unification of nature and reason is only indicated in the philosophical realm, while it is accomplished in the Christian." But comp. Dorner, *ubi supra*, p. 190: "The separation of the two branches of philosophical and theological ethics, which must continue at least as long as philosophical ethics may desire, causes conflict. This, however, is beneficial, not only to the end that reason, outside the pale of Christianity, may recognise with increasing clearness that its truth and purity are attainable only

therefore, passes beyond the philosophical. To the former belong the recognition of moral conditions and an abundance of moral forces which are in thorough harmony with human nature, though imparted to it rather than originating in it. It may be said, accordingly, that to this extent philosophical ethics has to do simply with the moral nature of man, while Christian ethics is engaged upon the positive and Divine qualities which have been introduced into that nature, with grace and its salutary effects. It is, of course, necessary that a correct idea be obtained of this positive element, and of its relation to the natural man. It is the task of dogmatics to secure this idea.

Christian ethics transcend philosophical.

SECTION XVIII.

CHRIST'S WORK THE BASIS OF ETHICS.

The positive element of Christian ethics does not consist in any authoritative letter of either the Old or the New Testament, but in a course of life which was introduced into human conditions, and typically actualized, by Christ, and which, through the influence of his Spirit, is to be continued in the community of believers, and to approve itself as a moral force upon the outside world.

The positive element of Christian ethics.

It was long customary to so conceive the positive feature of Christian ethics, and the characteristics by which it is distinguished from philosophical ethics, as to warrant the statement that the latter acknowledges the authority of reason only, the former that of the Bible. Two entirely different authorities were thus opposed to each other in a form altogether outward, it being assumed that the Bible contains a collection of Divine commands, which were even characterized as "arbitrary," as contrasting with the autonomous requirements of reason.[1] The idea bears only against a false and merely formal supernaturalism, which assumes that the Bible is simply a code of faith and morals, and grounds the positively revealed ethics in the good pleasure of God. The Old Testament may

through the religion of the incarnated λόγος, but also on account of the non-Christian elements in Christian theology itself, which afford a partial endorsement of the ethics of the general human reason as against theological ethics, until the ethical self-consciousness of the Church, which coincides with the ideal process by which the first and the second nature interpenetrate each other, is complete." Comp. also Gelzer's Monatsbl., *ubi supra*.

[1] Ernesti, Vindiciae arbitrii divini in religione constituenda (Opusc. theol. i, p. 171 *sq.*). *Per contra*, Toellner, Disquisitio, utrum Deus ex mero arbitris potestatem suam legislatoriam exerceat, etc., Lugd. Bat., 1770; de Wette, *ubi supra*, p. 4. Comp. Dorner, *ubi supra*, p. 188, against this false positivism.

possibly correspond to such an idea, and the Decalogue, although it might with but little difficulty be traced back to the general foundations of morality, has, in point of fact, been long compelled to serve as a framework for Christian ethics.

Jesus not a mere moral and statutory teacher.

But it is also true that they who have correctly regarded the teaching of Jesus as the regulative feature, have too constantly considered it as merely statutory, without sufficiently remembering that the profound significance of that teaching can only be comprehended in connexion with the life of Jesus and with the entire work of salvation. Jesus did not aim to enunciate disconnected moral maxims, like Epictetus, nor is his example, to which appeal is made, mere superadded example; and it cannot, in many circumstances, be example even for us.[1] For a Christian disposition does not consist in the imitation of his example in special matters, but in the imitating or appropriating of his spirit (Phil. ii, 5). As dogmatics builds upon the foundation laid by apologetics, whose work is to prove that Christianity is a religion, and indeed the absolute religion, so is ethics required to begin with taking its stand upon the apologetical result that Christ is the sinless One, the actualized moral ideal for humanity, and that, therefore, Christianity is not simply a general sort of moral phenomenon, but the universal moral power which rules over the whole of modern history. Hence its positive feature is not a letter, but an act—the revelation of God through Christ incarnated in human nature. Its question, therefore, will not be merely, "What is written?" but rather, "What is in harmony with the spirit of Christ?" Likewise, as dogmatics already entertains ideas which are not expressly contained in the Bible—for example, the Trinity—so is Christian ethics, in the course of its development, imperatively required to pass beyond the letter of the Bible, and is, therefore, required to engage in the exact definition of moral ideas. The most blessed fruits of Christianity are fruits of which but the germ exists in the Bible—for example, the idea of a Christian State, of Christian marriage and all that it involves, of the abolition of slavery, of respect for

Christianity the universal moral power.

[1] The situation that one comes to occupy when he demands for every particular act a warrant from the moral deportment of Christ, may be learned from the example of Thomas à Kempis, who deduced the duty of writing books from John viii, 6. Vide Ullmann, Reformers before the Reformation, ii, p. 161. Schleiermacher's words relating to the individual bearings of Christian ethics (Die christliche Sitte, p. 48 *sqq.*) are very significant in this connexion. The setting up of a pattern in the field of morals is always a questionable procedure. An ideal, such as that to which we seek to attain, is more than a pattern which we strive to copy.

individual life, and of religious services on the Christian Sabbath. These have been freely developed in the course of human life, without any direct command or statute in the Scriptures imposing the duty. Hence, as dogmatics presupposes the history of doctrines, so does Christian ethics have regard to the entire development of the Christian life, in which connexion such malformations as Montanism, Pantheism, Gnosticism, Asceticism, Jesuitism, Quietism, also come under notice, as marks of warning, similar to the study of heresies in dogmatics.

SECTION XIX.

DIVISION OF ETHICS.

Christian ethics general and special.

Christian, like philosophical, ethics falls into general principles and particular or applied ethics. The former is concerned with the settling of the moral principle, or, better, of the objects and motives of moral action, and hence, with the investigation of man's moral nature and capacities, the correct bounding of the ideas of good and evil, of sin and imputation, and of grace and freedom. It also has to do with the work of setting forth the goal of all moral effort, with the doctrine of the highest good, all of which leads back again into the profoundest depths of the doctrines of the faith. Special ethics, on the other hand, has to do with the particular manifestations and expressions of the moral life in given circumstances, and is subdivided into the particular doctrines of virtue and of duty.

The division into general and special ethics is, of course, only relative. Rothe's observation, in opposition to this view, that it is "merely external and formal, in a thoroughly abstract way,"[1] is correct if the division be taken as an absolute one, and if it be carried out in an abstract and lifeless manner. But an examination of Rothe's work itself will show at once that the first two volumes contain general ethics, together with matter that is usually included under dogmatics, and that the third is devoted to special morals, although the author, at this point, in connexion with the doctrine of duties, again distinguishes between the general and the particular. He justly declares, that, with reference to general ethics, the discussion relating to a "supreme moral principle" is confusing and without result. He demands, instead, a threefold object, which he disposes into the doctrines of good, of virtue, and of duties. Other writers have preferred a different division. Harless sets forth the following three parts:

Views of Rothe, Harless, and others.

[1] Theol. Ethik, i, p. 199.

the good, the possession, and the preservation, of salvation. The last named of these has to do with "the concrete manifestation of Christian virtue in the fundamental relations of human life," and hence coincides, in this regard, with special ethics. Pelt likewise divides ethics into three parts:[1] (1) The actualizing of the highest good upon earth in the form of the kingdom of God; (2) Of the will of the individual, to be developed in conformity with the doctrine of duties; and (3) The realizing of the highest good in the habitual character of individual Christians, or the doctrine of virtue. Rosenkranz, following the antithetical method of the Hegelian school, divides the whole of ethics into the two diverging ideas of good and evil, and of human freedom.[2] By this method the first and second form the general, and the third the special, part.[3]

Schleiermacher's method.

Schleiermacher's division is in harmony with his fundamental views of Christianity.[4] The end of Christianity is held to be blessedness in God, which, however, has been disturbed by the consciousness of sin. This fact gives rise to a feeling of disinclination, out of which comes an impulse to act in the direction of restoring the idea, now violated, of the relation between the higher and the lower potencies of life, or, in other words, of restoring human nature to its normal condition. This is restorative action. Over against such disinclination, moreover, is an inclination, or voluntary desire, to yield to the authority of the higher requirement, and this gives rise to expansive or extensive action. But, in addition, there are elements of satisfaction, intermediate between the inclination and the disinclination, which do not, indeed, correspond to absolute blessedness, but yet are a relative blessedness; and these originate action, designed, not to introduce changes, but, while remaining without any proper efficiency, to serve as an expression of the individual's inward state. This is descriptive action, whose only object is to recommend the personal experience of the individual to the favour of others. Its general expression comprehends everything which we are accustomed to include under the name of Christian worship.

Whatever may be the method, however, by which it is intended to formally connect theological ethics with dogmatics, on the one hand, and, on the other, to combine or isolate philosophical ethics from dogmatics, and whatever may be the mode by which we seek to distribute the proper tasks of philosophical ethics over different departments, and to trace the various radii from the centre to the

[1] Encyklopaedie, p. 519. [2] Ibid., p. 57.
[3] Other methods of dividing are given in Pelt, p. 523.
[4] Christliche Sitte, p. 44 *sqq.*

circumference of life, everything will depend upon the discovery of the centre itself, in order to trace, in the spirit of the Gospel, "the main outlines toward a thorough regeneration of the moral life in both State and Church."[1]

Asceticism and pedagogics are sometimes regarded as special subdivisions of ethics, the former as teaching man how to train himself for morality, the latter as showing how he may train others. But since every exercise of moral power reacts upon the moral disposition, while the good cannot be secured without conflict, it follows that asceticism is already conditioned in morality. Many forms of exercise occur in the practice of godliness (*γυμνασία*, 1 Tim. iv, 7, 8), being at times largely negative, and aiming to avert the evil by reacting against the power of sensual allurements, as we see in the mediæval asceticism, fasting, mortifications, voluntary abstinence, and in other abnormal forms. Then, again, they are largely positive, stimulating the good by meditating upon the supreme good itself, and by absorbing the emotions in the divine ideals. All of this, however, finds a place in morality itself. According to Schleiermacher's division, the former would belong to the class of restorative actions, and the latter to that of descriptive actions.

Asceticism and pedagogics.

The moral principles involved in education must likewise be discussed in ethics, and more especially under the head of expansive actions.[2] The art of training, however, the technics of education, forms a distinct science, which is properly termed pedagogics, but which is not a theological, but a philosophical, science, in so far as it deals with man as a whole. It belongs to practical theology in so far as it is concerned with a training for ecclesiastical life.

Casuistry, too, has been treated as a distinct branch. It has to do with cases in which duties come into conflict with each other (*de casibus conscientiae*). Kant designated it as the "dialectics of conscience." It is, however, merely the outgrowth from a scholastic and Jesuitical morality, and, as such, is to be banished from a sound system of ethics, inasmuch as it does not present actual cases of conflict to view, and merely resolves apparent cases by a higher law.

Casuistry.

[1] Gelzer, Protest. Monatsbl. für innere Zeitgeschichte, 1854, Preface to vol. iv. The author includes among the most indispensable prerequisites for such a work, a profound understanding of modern history from the Reformation to our times, and incessant energetic investigation of original sources, and inquiry into the original meaning of Christianity, and also into the laws of its transformations in the field of secular and ecclesiastical history.

[2] See Schleiermacher, *ubi supra*, p. 53; Rothe, iii, p. 679 *sqq.*

SECTION XX.

THE HISTORY OF ETHICS.

E. Feuerlein, Die Sittenlehre des Christenthums in ihren geschichtlichen Hauptformen, Tüb., 1855; A. Neander, Vorlessungen über die Geschichte der christlichen Ethik, pub. by Erdmann, Berl., 1864; C. S. Wake, Evolution of Morality; being a History of the Development of Moral Culture, 2 vols., Lond., 1878; A. Thoma, Geschichte des christlichen Sittenlehre in der Zeit des N. Test., Haarlem (Lpz.), 1879; Wuttke, Christian Ethics, 2 vols., N. Y., 1873, treats the History in vol. I.

The Bible presents to our notice neither a system of morality nor one of doctrines; but it has a wealth of moral precepts, all of which are animated by, and borne upon, the spirit of the theocracy, and which are interwoven with the history of God's kingdom, like pearls in a diadem. Nor did the apostolic fathers refrain from moral admonitions. In the progress of the conflict with the heathen, or antique, conception of the world, the more rigid view of Montanism soon came to occupy a place beside the milder tendency. In another direction, mistaken views of Christian liberty, on the part of the Gnostics, led into the dangerous errors of the Carpocratians, and the later pantheistic sects of the Middle Ages. It thus became the task of Christian theology to more exactly determine and regulate Christian morality. Certain preliminary labours had already been performed by the apostolic fathers and the apologists. We see this especially in Clement of Rome and the Shepherd of Hermas. Clement of Alexandria followed, giving many moral precepts, carried down to particulars in the pedagogics, and treating in his Miscellaneous works the moral law and virtue as the chief good.

Ethical labours of the Fathers.

A considerable number of treatises of a moral nature are found in the works of Tertullian, which must be divided into classes, according as they were written before or after his conversion to Montanism, *e. g.*, On Theatricals, Idolatry, The Soldier's Crown, The Pallium, Patience, Veiled Virgins, Exhortation to Chastity, Monogamy, Modesty, and other works. In a similar spirit Cyprian wrote an Exhortation on Martyrdom, on Good, on Patience, and on Works and Alms. The preachers Macarius, Basil the Great, the two Gregories, Chrysostom, Ephraim Syrus, and Cyril of Jerusalem made extended use of moral references, and many of their sermons are purely moral. Ambrose, too, in his works on Virgins, and on the Duties of Ministers of the Church, and Augustine, in his works on the Morals of the Catholic Church and on Continence, furnished moral and ascetic treatises. Jerome rendered profitable service, especially to monastic asceticism, in his polemical conflict with Jovinian and Vigilantius, and his Morals of

Ethical works of early writers.

Gregory the Great (died 604), in his work on Job, indicate the nature of their contents by their title. In this department, as in dogmatics, the work of compilation preceded that of systematic arrangement, as we see in several of the works of John of Damascus.

The dogmatical works of scholasticism include ethics also, it being largely controlled by the "four cardinal and three theological virtues" of Aristotle. Casuistry, also, was developed under its influence, Raymond de Pennaforte (died 1275) obtaining special celebrity by his Summary on Penitence. The Victorines and the later Mystics penetrated more deeply into the foundations of the religiously moral life, but committed the error of not basing asceticism upon the spirit of Christian liberty. This applies also to the valuable Imitation of Christ of Thomas à Kempis. The continually increasing corruption in the Church after the removal of the papal chair to Avignon, and the separation of the churches, produced a mighty reaction.

Ethical reaction in the Church.

The forerunners of the Reformation, such as Wycliffe, Huss, and others, pointed out, among other things, moral infirmities, and the reawakened interest in classical studies, likewise, introduced a new feature into ethical teaching. Morality was exalted into a guide to the wisdom of Christianity for the practical government of life by Petrarch (died 1374), Marsilius Ficinus (died 1499), Louis Vives (died 1540), Erasmus (died 1563; Manual of the Christian Soldier) and others. Savonarola (died 1498) wrote his Simplicity of Christian Life in a spirit of larger sympathy with Christian faith. While the Reformation must be regarded as a moral renovation, not as a reform of abstract doctrine, it was yet, first of all, necessary that the new principle should be apprehended in the way of conquering the faith of men. The reformers, therefore, appear as moral heroes and inaugurators of a new period, but not as moralists in the strict sense. Zwingli, however, presents with special force in his sermons the morals of practical life. He performs that same office, also, in his writings, The Shepherd, Freedom of Foods, and other works. Luther, in his Letters, Meditations, Sermons, Appeal to the German Nobility, and similar writings, gives living witness of the moral spirit by which he was animated. Melanchthon, in his Elements, however, accorded a scientific treatment to ethics, though from an ancient standpoint. Calvin, who, as a reformer, was a Christian, Cato-like censor, included ethics in the doctrine of regeneration, as expounded in his Institutes, under the Life of the Christian Man, The Bearing of the Cross, and other chapters.[1] In

Humanism and ethics.

The reformers and ethics.

[1] Institutes, ii, 8; comp. lib. iii, c. 6–8.

the Reformed Church generally it was common, in view of the position occupied by the Old Testament, to attach great prominence to the legal element, and to combine it into a system, chiefly in connexion with the Decalogue.

First separate treatment of ethics.

The first to treat Christian ethics as a separate theological department belonged to this Church—namely, Lambert Danaeus (Danaen, died 1536), in his Christian Ethics (Geneva, 1577, 1601–40). The school of Saumur produced in the seventeenth century the Christian Morals (1652–69, 6 vols.), by Moses Amyraud (died 1664), in which the attempt was made to harmonize natural with revealed ethics. A new interest was imparted to the study of ethics by the Cartesian philosophy, particularly within the Reformed Church;[1] and Arminianism gave special prominence to the ethical side of Christianity as constituting an essential feature.

Protestant ethical writers.

After Calixtus[2] had, in the Lutheran Church, separated ethics from dogmatics, which he does in his Epitome of Moral Theology (1634–62), other affiliated works were published, such as those of Conr. Dürr, of Altorf (died 1677; Compendium of Moral Theology, 1698); G. Th. Meier, of Helmstedt (died 1693); J. Ch. Schomer, of Rostock (died 1693; Moral Theology Consistent with Itself, 1707), and similar works. The two movements of Pietism and Methodism reacted upon the ethical life with stimulating and purifying effect. The close of the old and the transition into the new period was marked, both in dogmatics and ethics, by Buddaeus in his Institutes of Moral Theology (1711, 1724), and J. L. Mosheim in his Ethics of the Holy Scriptures (Helmst. and Leips., 1735–53, 9 vols.). These were succeeded by Rambach (1738, 4to), S. J. Baumgarten (Halle, 1764), Crusius (Leips., 1772, 1773, 2 vols.), G. Less (1777, 4th ed., 1787), Endemann (1780, 2 vols.), Döderlein (Jena, 1789; 3d ed., 1794), Michaelis (Gott., 1792, 2 vols.), Morus (1794–99, 3 vols., published by Voight), and others.

Roman Catholic ethics.

In the Roman Catholic Church the Jesuits especially devoted themselves to ethics, dragging it further and further into the labyrinths of casuistry, and shaking it to its lowest foundations by their miserable theory of probabilism. The most notorious are Gabriel Vasquez (died 1604), Thomas Sanchez (died 1610), Francis Suarez (died 1617), Paul Laymann (died 1635),

[1] Comp. Pelt, p. 479.

[2] The Lutheran Church had not been without ethical writers even prior to Calixtus; the latter merely gave to ethics a more systematic form, and brought it into connexion with the body of Church teaching. Comp. Henke, *ubi supra*, p. 514.

Vinc. Filliucius (died 1622), Escobar (died 1669), and Busenbaum (died 1669), in his Marrow of Cases of Conscience. This work, which first appeared in 1645, has passed through 52 editions. It has been rewritten and enlarged by Lacroix (Cologne, 1757) and others. Jesuitism was confronted by the stricter and more Augustinian spirit of Jansenism and the school of Port Royal, to which Ant. Arnauld, Pierre Nicole (Essay on Morals, Par., 1671–1714, 6 vols.), and Pasquier Quesnel (Abridgment of the Morals of the Gospel, Par., 1693) belonged. They combined with a thoroughly sincere moral disposition a strict asceticism, amounting almost to enthusiasm, and not unfrequently an obscure mysticism.[1] Quietism was a distinct outgrowth from this tendency.

Kant's treatment of ethics.

A new period for ethics began with Kant and his doctrine of the Categorical Imperative, by which ethics was happily delivered from the fetters of an erroneous theory of blessedness, or Eudæmonism, but was at the same time robbed of its profound religious motives, and transformed into a species of moral arithmetic. Even Christian ethical writers, such as Ammon, followed this system for a time, while others, as Reinhard, proceeded by the eclectic and empirical route. Men of strong supranaturalistic faith, like Schwarz and Flatt, contented themselves with adhering only to what is scriptural, without starting out with any definite scientific principle. De Wette has pointed out the necessity for such a principle.[2] As Schleiermacher created an epoch in philosophical ethics by his Critique of Morals, so his treatment of Christian ethics is thoroughly peculiar, and everywhere based on the specifically Christian element. From this time a striving to attain to a more thoroughly scientific character is apparent in most of the Protestant works belonging to the department of ethics, however strongly their authors may be controlled by dissimilar fundamental views.

Richard Rothe has, according to Bunsen's judgment, penetrated more deeply than his predecessors "into the innermost marrow of ethical speculation, and has demonstrated that Christianity is the realization of the highest thoughts of God." In the Roman Catholic Church, Liguori (died 1787) and Bened. Stattler, (Ethics, 1782) endeavoured to restore probabilism. Others adopted the older scholastic method, for example, Liebermann in his Institutes (Mayence, 1840, 5 vols.). Among the Roman Catholic moralists who have shown themselves accessible to the scientific impulses of the century, to a greater or smaller extent, we may mention Schwarz-

[1] On this point compare especially Reuchlin's Gesch. von Port Royal.

[2] In Berlin wissensch. Zeitschrift, 1819, Nos. 1 and 2.

hüber (1785), Lauber (1784–88), Wanker (1794), Mutschelle (1802, 1803), Geisshüttner (1803), Schenkl (1802, 1803), Reykberger (1794), Reigler (2d ed., 1828), and Vogelsang (Bonn, 1834–39, 2 vols.). The latter is a disciple of George Hermes. The manuals and text-books of J. M. Sailer (Bishop of Ratisbon), Heinrich Schreiber, and Joh. Bapt. von Hirscher are especially noteworthy because of their practical aim.

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Oaths: Goeschel (1837), Riegler (1837, 1847).
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Life in the Christian Family: H. Thiersch (6th ed., 1872).
Asceticism and its History: Zöckler (see under Church History), etc.
A large number of works on the observance of the Sabbath day have been issued in recent times, *e. g.*, by Streuber, Oschwald, Liebetrut, Hengstenberg, Kraussold, Beck, and others.
The relation of the Christian to politics has also become a question of considerable importance in Ethics in our day. To this place we must also assign the prize essays of the Harzergesellschaft: On War, by Wickemann; and on Capital Punishment, by A. Bizius.
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SECTION XXI.

THE METHODOLOGY OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

The study of systematic theology can be pursued with profit only after the preparatory studies in exegetical and historical theology have been completed. Yet it is possible to so awaken an interest

for dogmatics and ethics, while pursuing such preparatory studies, that a proper and methodical study of the former science will only require for its complete treatment such elements from the mental and outward experiences of life as have developed into personal convictions. It is by no means possible to master dogmatics by study alone. It requires to become a possession of the mind as the result of earnest conflict. The same is true of ethics. It is first of all necessary that Christianity shall have been justified as a divine fact to the personal consciousness, and consequently that apologetics shall have subjectively performed its work in the mind of the dogmatic theologian. Otherwise it will be impossible to determine and practically complete the objective development of dogmatics into a science.

The study of encyclopædia is designed to awaken an interest in dogmatics. The theologian is invited to direct his attention, with the first step he takes into the science, upon that point at which all theology culminates in a scientific aspect. He is not to lose sight of the goal while examining into the great variety of matters which intervene, although this is likely to occur where a soulless and micrological exegesis is employed, or the ordinary road of trodden ecclesiastical history is followed. The dogmatic heights cannot be stormed, but must be gained. The intervals that lie between cannot be overleaped. The fruit must ripen under the vivifying influence, from within, of the religious disposition as it ascends into greater clearness, and, from without, of the streaming light of science. In its nature the study of dogmatics is partly historical and partly philosophical, and neither side should be cultivated to the neglect of the other. A mere dogmatic historian who is thoroughly "posted," as students say, in his department, but who has not been inwardly impressed by his subject, and brought into relations of sympathy with it, resembles, according to Hegel, a counting-house clerk, who keeps an account of the wealth which belongs to other people, without ever acquiring property of his own. But it is also true that the mere speculator who has failed to lay an historical foundation is not unlike the mercantile speculator, or swindler, without substantial capital, who is, consequently, doomed to inevitable bankruptcy. It is, therefore, needful that the historical and the philosophical elements be combined in this study, and upon a scriptural basis. But if the conversational and disputational method, in addition to that of direct address, is in keeping anywhere, it is here.

Dogmatics both historical and philosophical.

Disputation, however, will not accomplish every thing. The inward health, which holds together the marrow of the religious life,

and to which dogmatics must bear testimony, is of greater value than the gymnastics of the intellect. Mere science is inferior to wisdom, which, to use the expression of Gerson, requires a cognition of the affections. The practical task of ethics is, at least, as important within the dogmatico-ethical department as the scientific.

Religious experience necessary to understand dogmatics and ethics.

He only who has experienced the sanctifying, purifying, and elevating power of the Gospel in his own being, who is earnestly striving to attain to that Christian disposition in which the Christian virtues find a realization—he only will be able to speak of a fruitful and blessed experience derived from the study of dogmatics and ethics. He only who internally participates in the weal or woe of the Church is entitled to an opinion upon these matters. Without this, however great may be his outward learning and logical ability, he can only speak of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven as the blind may speak of colour.[1]

This practical way is pointed out by our Lord himself (John vii, 17) with reference to apologetics. The reading of writings for and against a principle, instructive as it is for the riper judgment,[2] serves, as a general thing, to confuse rather than to set forth the truth. Only he who has learned from his own experience to know upon what point the weight of Christian truth is really directed, will be able to comprehend the exact salient point of apologetics,

[1] "So long as moral and religious regeneration is regarded simply as a formula, to be recited from the catechism—and multitudes of nominal Christians have even now no other conception of its character—there will arise no loudly expressed opposition against it. Or, if it should arise, it will amount to noise only, and pass away in the antiquated squabbles of schools of theology. Far otherwise will be the case when the dead formula is transformed into a mighty law of life, and an effective regeneration is suggested such as will endeavour to permeate the State with moral influence, and lead the Church back to its eternal origin, that it may renew its youth; at this point the ways of the living and the dead, of hirelings and the children of the house, will diverge. At this point of separation stands the present time."—Gelzer, *ubi supra*. "All that occurs in the profounder life of the soul is intelligible to them only who have passed through analogous experiences; and in the same way the deepest experience of the human soul, its union with Christ by faith, must ever remain unintelligible to those who have not partaken of it."—Gess, Uber die biblische Versöhnungslehre, p. 33.

[2] Oberlin, for instance, prepared himself for his conflict with the freethinkers by reading the works of Voltaire. Comp. Oberlin's Leben, by Schubert, p. 29. In like manner the theologians of our day cannot be excused from learning to know the literature of nihilism, whose highest perfection of form has been attained in Strauss's Old and New Faith, and which has entered on a new stage of development, as idealistic pessimism, with Schopenhauer's philosophy. But to begin with such studies, in the expectation of thus being enabled to discover the truth, is like plunging into a whirlpool for the purpose of learning to swim.

and will be able, when encountering even unskilful argumentation, to separate the kernel from the shell. So, too, the true tactics for the polemic, with which he may resist the assaults of error, can only be acquired through the experience gained in conflict with the foe within his own being. Besides, it is only in connexion with such conflict that the courageous disposition is developed which forms the necessary correlative to genuine Christian endurance.

Need of experience.

It is evident, finally, that the study of ethics also will be attended with profit only when personal moral growth keeps pace with the progress of the study. Where conscience is lacking the mind will, despite all the definitions formulated by science, never learn what constitutes the power of conscience, and in the absence of love it can never know wherein consists the might of love. It is indefatigable labour expended on himself that opens the moral nature of man to the vision of even the scientific inquirer. Only where the chief good is recognised as such, as the result of personal experience, can the doctrine of what is good be scientifically developed with success—the doctrine of duties only where obligation is personally felt, the doctrine of virtues only where Christian virtues are practically cultivated. In the absence of moral effort any amount of ethical studies will fail to become more than dry theory or lifeless, abstract doctrine. A majority of the errors committed even in the field of scientific ethics—for example, in casuistry—were coincident with a neglect of practical morality. The times of decadence in morality have ever reacted unfavourably upon the treatment of ethical science. Similar facts may be shown in the field of art. But incongruities between theory and practice are nowhere so strikingly apparent as when they exist in the sphere of morals, as in Pharisaism or hypocrisy.

Moral growth needed for study of ethics.

CHAPTER IV.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

SECTION I.

PROVINCE OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

Definition of practical theology.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY embraces the theory of Church activities or functions, whether they be exercised by the Church as a whole or by individual members and representative persons acting for the Church. Its task is regulated by the nature of religion in general, and by that of the Christian Church in its determinate historical individuality. It, therefore, builds upon all such studies as give to religion and Christianity a scientific character and an outward form. Its immediate sphere of action, however, is that of art—that is, of action emanating from known laws.

In designating practical theology as a theory, we evidently depart from the usage by which the preceding departments are characterized as theoretical in contrast with the practical.[1] But usage may also prove our justification. It does not, at any rate, hold to the etymology of the word so far as to have us think, in connexion with it, simply of theorizing (θεωρεῖν)—the properly contemplative as distinguished from the practical. On the contrary, whenever theory is spoken of a reference to practical ends is always understood, so that it denotes a guide to practice.[2] This usage, less

[1] Marheineke likewise observes that "the theology which is not practical is theoretical. The latter is knowledge for its own sake, the former for the sake of practice." —Prakt. Theologie, § 6. But knowledge having reference to subsequent action is the very thing that is denominated theory!

[2] The definition by Pelt, by which practical theology is made "a scientific knowledge respecting the self-development of the Church," is likewise inadequate. The knowledge is not alone sufficient in this case, but needs to be transformed into action, as Pelt himself remarks, in the progress of his statement (p. 561), when he says that practical theology aims to show how "the further development of the Church may be assured by the action of the Church in the present moment." It is true of every science, and, therefore, of this, that a theory of this nature must not be a rhapsodical something, but is required to become an organic whole, "bearing the idea upon

scientific than customary, it is true, would, accordingly, convert practical theology most emphatically into a theoretical science. It transmutes into action what the inquiring mind has brought before us from the fields of the philosophy of religion, exegesis, Church history, dogmatics, and ethics, and transforms the ἐπιστήμη into τέχνη. It is not the application of an art, but the theory which qualifies for the practice of an art. It thus possesses a claim to scientific character. For, while all theology aims, in its character as a positive science, to affect the life of human beings, it is yet incomplete without that department which is most directly engaged in carrying that positive aim into effect. It is, accordingly, with entire justice that practical theology has been termed, by Schleiermacher, "the crown of the tree."

Scientific character of practical theology.

But, in like manner, as there is an internal unity of life in the crown of the tree which is outwardly repeated under a different form, so are all the different theological sciences repeated in practical theology, but with reference to the life of the Church and its needs, and hence in the form of application.[1] In its most general aspects practical theology reaches back into the philosophy of religion, for it is designed to reduce religion to practice in the life. Unless the nature of the

Practical theology related to philosophy of religion.

which it rests within itself as a recognised germ of life" (p. 562). Vinet, speaking of practical theology, observes well and to the point: "It is art which supposes science, or science resolving itself in art. It is the art of applying usefully, in the ministry, the knowledge acquired in the three other departments of theology, which are purely scientific."—Pastoral Theology (Skinner's ed.), p. 21. Also Ebrard: "Practical theology, when examined in the light, is not a knowledge, but an ability; not a science, but an art, in which the theological knowledge that has been acquired becomes practical, in which it undergoes a practical application." The contrary view is advocated by Palmer, *ubi supra*, p. 323: "Not the application to certain concrete conditions of office and life of a previously indwelling knowledge, but a knowledge itself which the other departments of theology have not furnished, forms the contents of practical theology." We concede this, provided this knowledge be a knowledge relating to what is to *be done*. On any other view practical theology becomes the most hollow and unfruitful of all studies, while it is undeniably the most fruitful of them all when its eye is fixed upon actual life.

[1] It is not easy to understand why Graf (Prakt. Theologie, pp. 135 and 176) should object to this expression, unless the view introduced by Schleiermacher with reference to theology in general be regarded as antiquated (p. 136). Our idea does not, however, involve a "popularized theology," but simply a scientific combination and elaboration of the practical elements. Comp. what Vinet says: "The speculative side should have its place. Action is the last end of speculation; but whatever may be the nature of the action, it is not sufficiently provided for if attention be confined to it in the practical point of view. It should be studied abstractly. He who regards the things of his profession only in the midst of action will act neither with freedom, nor with intelligence, nor with depth.—Pastoral Theology, p. 22.

religion be understood, all worship, sermons, religious training, and care of souls will be impossible. The conception entertained with regard to the nature of religion will determine what the worship, sermon, catechesis, and the care of souls are to accomplish.

But practical theology cannot be allowed to rest content with mere general definitions in religious matters. It has to do with well-defined Christian and ecclesiastical functions. It, therefore, presupposes, in its scientific work, the whole of the positive contents of Christianity—its facts and teachings, and, more than all else, a knowledge of the Bible. The sermon must be rooted in the Bible. The homilist needs to be also an exegete. It also requires familiarity with Church history. The entire constitution and government of the Church, and the organization of its worship, are grounded in historical conditions, and cannot be spun out from abstract theories. Liturgics, for instance, is based upon archæology, and Church government on the history of the constitution of the Church. The function of teaching, moreover, in all its departments, necessarily presupposes Christian doctrine, considered both in its establishment by apologetics and in its development by dogmatics and ethics. Finally, since Church functions are always exercised by a particular Church, having a determinate denominational character, and being exposed to the possibility of conflict with other confessions, practical theology is required to include also this symbolical and polemical side of theological science. It thus comes to pass that the symbol is reflected especially in catechisms and liturgies, and that the constitution of any particular Church corresponds to its peculiarities of confession. These considerations justify the placing of practical theology at the close of the theological course. Only that theologian who has passed through a preliminary scientific training, and has received into himself and assimilated the substance of theological knowledge, is qualified to dispose of and utilize the possession he has acquired. The latter, however, will not accomplish itself. Hence, it is the task of practical theology to present to view the combined practical features of all theology, and then to indicate the objects toward which the activities of the Church are to be directed, and also the laws under which its functions are to be exercised.

The historical basis.

Practical theology completes the theological course.

The office of practical theology is to show, not merely what may be admitted to the ecclesiastical field in the character of an established element of worship or Church constitution, but also how everything is to be administered. Only a crude empiricism would consent to leave this to the play of chance or considerations of

convenience. The scientific dignity of practical theology appears in the very fact that it will not rest satisfied with mere routine, but demands, and makes possible, a regulated action in behalf of the Church and in harmony with its spirit. Such action, in unison with law, we designate as being according to art, and therefore assign practical theology to the department of art as its legitimate field. It is important, however, that the word art be not understood in a perverted sense, so as to denote paltry arts and tricks, or the unnatural, since true art is altogether nature, taken out from its crude and accidental surroundings, intellectually illumined, and transmuted into consciousness.

True art the highest nature.

It is sometimes said by persons who are prejudiced against science, that the apostles were not learned men; that they did not treat preaching as an art, and that this work does not afford a field for the exhibition of art, because only what comes from the heart can effect an entrance into other hearts. Such objections, however, serve merely to show to what extent the real nature of art is yet misunderstood. The word is employed in this connexion both in a wider and a more limited sense. Practical theology is entitled to the name of a theory of art, even in the broader meaning, since every rational function which aims at a definite result must be guided and upheld by an authoritative principle. In this sense it is actually customary to speak of medical art, the corresponding feature to which in the theological field may, perhaps, be found in the art which has to do with the training and the care of souls. But a place in practical theology must be conceded to art also in the narrow or æsthetical meaning of the word, in which sense it comes under the category of "descriptive functions."[1] This will appear more particularly in connexion with the theory of worship, in the department of Liturgics.

SECTION II.

PRACTICAL SIDE OF CLERICAL LIFE.

The aggregate of ecclesiastical functions, which constitutes the object of practical theology, may be comprehended under the two categories of Church Government and Church Ministrations. The clergyman is required by the practical relation which he sustains toward the Church to devote himself, predominantly, if not exclusively, to service in each of these departments. For this reason, practical theology has hitherto been largely restricted to the task of furnishing a guide to clerical

Former restriction of practical theology.

[1] Comp. Schleiermacher's division of Ethics, *supra*.

duties, or to the character of a science of the clerical calling, with particular reference to the ministrations of the Church.

"The practical in theology," says Schweizer, "has in no wise been created by the spiritual order, but rather has itself produced this order, which is in a peculiar sense the servant of the Church. The theology, at times predominantly learned, and at other times more largely practical, has been developed by the Church itself, regarded as a community holding to a common faith."[1] His view requires that practical theology should begin with the institution of a spiritual order, a measure which belongs, according to Schleiermacher's arrangement, to the theory of Church government. Since, however, this branch has not as yet been largely developed, it would seem to be by no means advisable, in a methodological point of view, to place its scanty proportions in the foreground. It is, likewise, very difficult to divide the whole of practical theology between the two categories of Church government and Church ministration.[2] It is impossible to separate them wholly from each other. The liturgical elements, for instance, belong to Church government in so far as the organization of the worship is concerned,[3] and to Church ministrations when the administration of the worship is in question.

It seems to be hazardous, upon the whole, to depart too greatly in this matter from the concrete facts with which we have to deal. We do not misapprehend the faulty character of an empirical process which yields as its result the simple fact "that preaching is carried on, and then constructs a theory—homiletics—to correspond with that fact."[4] But it is also necessary that, on the other hand, the *a priori* construction of a science whose very name indicates that it is designed to meet practical wants, be avoided. These practical needs, moreover, have not arisen as the result of mere accident, but grow out of the historical development of the Church during her progress to this time. Hence they are consequently to be regarded as necessary rather than accidental facts, and as rooted in the history of the Church.

Practical needs proceed from historical development.

To these considerations we must add the practical nature of the calling of the theologian himself. The primary object in which he is concerned, when, having been qualified for the service of the Church, he leaves the school behind, is certainly that he be introduced into the spiritual office. To acquaint him with the duties of that office is the work of practical theology. Should he confine his efforts in that position also to speculative labours merely, when may

[1] *Ubi supra*, p. 20.
[2] See Marheineke, Prakt. Theologie, § 35.
[3] Comp. Schleiermacher, §§ 269 and 286.
[4] Schweizer, *ubi supra*, p. 24.

we suppose that he will develop a sense for the practical? It is just this theory that constitutes a most distressing feature, that, after having in many instances spent numerous years in study, our young ministers often fail to know how to conduct a mere Bible class, or to construct a sermon that shall be more than a compilation from the notes of seminary lectures. If it happen that, in addition, their heads become filled with notions upon Church government through the study of practical theology, instead of their being brought in person to the place where safe action is necessary, what is to be looked for in such a case? A morbid and total devotion to science, without due emphasis on its practical departments, would result in rendering the young preacher unpractical who is placed in the very heart of the activities of practical theology. It appears, then, that, in connexion with the study of practical theology, the young preacher should be first directed into the fields which have already been cultivated by other hands—homiletics, catechetics, and liturgics—and led to put forth his effort there. It is, nevertheless, requisite that the nature of such studies, their internal necessity, and their connexion with the organism of the Church, as a whole, be made scientifically clear to his mind.[1] After this he may extend the range of his vision beyond the cultivated fields of Church ministrations, and embrace the uncultivated lands of ecclesiastical polity and ecclesiastical law.[2]

Necessity of emphasis on the practical side of clerical duties.

It is certainly an observation of real value, that the functions of the Church are not identical with those of the clergy, and, therefore, may not be confounded with them. But the theologian must comprehend these functions, and the clergyman must execute them theoretically or in practice. A sudden attempt to establish a lay theology, in which the clergyman should take occasional part, but only with reference to his own person, would be wrong, and could just as well be applied to other departments. It may be said that the Bible is the common property of all Christians, and that therefore exegesis belongs to all; that the faith is the common property of the Church, and that dogmatics is consequently a science in which all may engage, and by no means theologians only. Since, however, theology as a science does not come within the reach of all men, but is empirically restricted to those who are occupied in a special calling and profession, we may say that exegesis, historical

[1] Comp. Marheineke, Prakt. Theologie, § 32.

[2] Schleiermacher consequently evinced sound judgment in placing Church ministrations before Church government. Rosenkranz, too, concludes his Encyklopaedie with this department. Pelt, on the other hand, begins with the theory of Church organization.

theology, and systematic theology have to do with what it is necessary that the minister should know. Practical theology, on the other hand, treats what he has to do, in the exercise of a clear consciousness and as a pastoral function; acting, as he must, in the name of the Church, maintaining a constant connexion and reciprocal relation of active influence with the Church. This practical point of view will govern our arrangement, which does not rest on *a priori* considerations, but upon a simple recognition and observation of the state of facts in the case.

Difference between the relation of the preacher to practical theology and the other departments.

SECTION III.

METHOD OF TREATMENT.

The duties for which practical theology is to qualify, admit of being divided according to various methods, which correspond to the different points of view that may be occupied. We class them under the three following categories:

1. The gathering of individuals, and their introduction into the fellowship of the Church. This we call Halieutics and Catechetics.

2. The guiding and promoting of the Christian life within the Church society: *a.* As expressed publicly in connexion with the worship, either in a prescribed or a more independent form; this is Liturgics and Homiletics. *b.* As manifested in the wider circles embraced within the Church, in the form of the care of souls; this is Pastoral Theology.

Categories of Practical Theology.

3. These functions are enclosed within the Organization of the Church, by which each clergyman is required to labour in his own place, and to whose proper management he must contribute; this is Ecclesiastical Polity and Law.

Every mode of division involves deficiencies, which are owing to the fact that the actual state of the Church, with the needs which have been made manifest by experience, does not in all respects correspond to the ideal of what the Church ought to be. A purely scientific arrangement, based on the idea of the Church, will not unfrequently come into conflict with things as they exist. On the other hand, one which starts out with a recognition of the actual condition of the Church is open to the charge of being controlled by accidental features, and, therefore, of being unscientific. This objection was brought to bear against most of the earlier methods of arrangement, which, however, in many instances, scarcely deserved this name, since they joined together homiletics, liturgics, and catechetics, at haphazard,

All modes of division imperfect.

without going back to the conditions lying deep in the organism of the Church, upon which their life depends.

The disposition to organize this department has been manifested in different directions since the time of Schleiermacher, and divisions of the most various kinds have been attempted. Those by Nitzsch, Schweizer, Marheineke, and Moll principally deserve attention. Nitzsch conceives practical theology as being a theory of Church functions, and divides the latter into fundamental and conservative. Among fundamentals he reckons homiletics, catechetics, and liturgics, the first two of which are included under the idea of the didactic. He divides the conservatives into education and sacred politics. This method is followed in the dissertation cited above. A somewhat different view prevails in the larger work,[1] which divides the functions, first, into those designed to edify, such as preaching, celebrations, the care of souls; and, second, into the regulative, such as internal and external Church law, objectively as legislation, subjectively as the formation of government and constitution. Schweizer has raised important objections against the arrangement of Nitzsch. Of these we notice especially that which censures the destroying of the natural connexion of homiletics with liturgics through the association of the former with catechetics, thus giving to it a character too exclusively didactic. Schweizer proceeds upon the distinction between Church government and Church ministrations, and endeavours to carry further into details, and to modify, the plans marked out by Schleiermacher, with whom he agrees in the main. He deals, first of all, with the instituting of the spiritual order, the developing of a positive clergy from the natural clergy.[2] He then lays down an ingeniously contrived division of Church ministrations, based upon Schleiermacher's distinction between the free and those restricted to set forms. Such restriction applies,[3] most of all, to the services of the public worship, though less rigidly to the sermon than to the liturgy. It is less operative in the care of souls, where it appears more largely in the department of pastoral

Systems of Nitzsch and others.

Schweizer's arrangement.

[1] Praktische Theologie, vol. i, p. 128, *sqq.*

[2] He obtains three forms: 1. The Roman Catholic, on which the sacerdotal character of the individual (*character indelebilis*) makes a clergyman of the clergyman. 2. The Illuministic and Quaker, where the distinction between those who impart and those who receive is but temporary, and determined by the particular service in hand. 3. The Protestant, which is intermediate between the preceding two.

[3] The clergyman is restricted in services which he performs in the name of the Church, and as directed by her, being, so to speak, merely the organ of the Church, while in free activity his individuality may assert itself. Coincident with the above is the distinction between the fixed and movable.

supervision than in that of unofficial service. It appears least of all in the work of winning souls to the Church,[1] though more prominently when that function is exercised in connexion with the regular work of a church than in connexion with missionary work.

Schweizer's division will, accordingly, result in the following scheme: I. The theory of Church government. II. Theory of Church functions; 1. Theory of worship; *a.* Liturgics, *b.* Homiletics; 2. Pastoral Theology, the Care of Souls; *a.* ministerial, *b.* free; 3. Halieutics, theory of the art of adding to the membership of the Church; *a.* Catechetics, *b.* Theory of missionary operations.

Schweizer's division.

Much may be said, however, in opposition to this division also. Not only is the entire distinction between free and restricted merely relative, as Pelt has shown,[2] but the relativity itself, his plus out of the minus, is not always properly graduated. Should catechetics — which, in its character as the service for immature minds, reaches back into worship, and therefore into the department which, more than others, is controlled by established forms — be less restricted to forms than the care of souls? The missionary function, halieutics, moreover, is erroneously placed by the side of catechetics, while it ought to precede, and prepare the way for, the latter function, as well as for all the remaining ones. It is, certainly, a function of acquisition, while catechetics is a preparatory function. Halieutics seeks its field, and finds it, beyond the limits of the organized ecclesiastical community; catechetics stands within those boundaries, though on the line. The two departments should, accordingly, lead and follow, instead of being placed side by side. The contrast between freedom and limitation cannot be the determining idea in this matter.

Defects of Schweizer's arrangement.

Marheineke distributes practical theology over the three concentric circles within which practical effort must be employed. He distinguishes: 1. The Christian Church; 2. The Protestant Church; 3. The particular, or local, Church. The ministrations of the Church have reference to the latter, and are divided into: *a.* The formation of the congregation, the instruction

Marheineke's method.

[1] From ἁλιεύω ἁλιεύς, Matt. iv, 19. The term was first employed by Sickel in his Grundriss der christl. Halieutik, Lpz., 1829. We employ it in its broad meaning, not excluding Halieutics from Homiletics, with which it was identified by Sickel, but still regarding it primarily as the science of missions, and, therefore, placing it before Liturgical Homiletics proper, and also before Catechetics.

[2] Encykl., p. 567. Comp. also the review in Rheinwald's Repert., 1837, vol. xix, p. 125, *sqq.*

of youth; catechetics. *b.* The assembling of the congregation; homiletics and liturgics. *c.* The influencing of individuals; care of souls. This method is also open to the objection of destroying the unity of the different functions. Liturgics concerns the life of the general, as well as that of the local, Church. Catechetics has to do both with future members of the Church, and, in part, with the congregation. Preaching is conducted in the name of the Church, and for the good of the congregation. Moll deduces the functions of practical theology from the nature of the Church, devoting Part I to the physiology of the Church, and reserving the theory of ecclesiastical functions for Part II. These are divided into regulative, training, and edifying functions. The first class includes the constitution, the legislation, and the administration of the Church. To the second belongs training by means of supervision, instruction, and discipline. The third has to do with liturgical performances. Harms constructed a witty scheme, without claiming for it any scientific character. It is according to the three P's—the preacher, the priest, and the pastor—the catechist losing his place, and being stowed away in the pastor's province. A fourth P ought to have been available for the pedagogue. The Roman Catholics, Drey, Staudenmaier, and Graf, have adopted still other divisions.[1]

Moll's method.

Harms' scheme.

We might attempt additional methods to those which we have enumerated.[2] For example, we might arrange an order according to the following plan: 1. The official and extra-official; or, based on the nature of religion, the directly religious and liturgical, designed to affect the feelings; 2. The homiletical, which operates more especially upon the understanding, and addresses its appeal to reason; 3. The practical, or pastoral, function, which directs its aim upon action—the practical life. In connexion with this scheme it would be necessary to regard catechetics, the common basis of the whole, as a preparation for the religious life in every direction, such as the public worship, the instruction, and the religious training

[1] See Pelt, *ubi supra.*

[2] This, as we observe, is substantially the same as that of Ebrard, in Liturgik, § 10, namely: *a.* Ministerium externum (catechetics and missions); *b.* Ministerium internum (worship and care of souls); *c.* The common bond of outward order (gubernatio). A different method is given by Ehrenfeuchter, Theorie des Cultus, p. 81, who gives the precedence to catechetics (the power of religion to produce doctrine and dogmas); the next place to the care of souls and ecclesiastical law (the power to penetrate through the individuality of nations in the course of historical development); and the last and highest place to liturgics, because the most diversified powers of the life of the Church flow together in the worship; but, being deprived of movement, present themselves as settled states.

of children. The entire discussion of this subject indicates that it would be prejudice to insist that any particular arrangement is the only correct one, and that every division which may be scientifically justified deserves notice in its place.[1]

SECTION IV.

HISTORY OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

Directions for the conduct of the spiritual office are already found in the Pastoral Epistles of the New Testament; in the Apostolic Fathers; in Tertullian, Cyprian, and Chrysostom, in his work on the Priesthood; Ambrose, in his treatise on the Duties of Ministers; in Augustine, in his work on Christian Doctrine; and in Ephraem Syrus, in his work on the Priesthood. To these must be added The Pastoral Care, which is ascribed to Leo the Great (died 461), the Book of Pastoral Care, to John, Bishop of Ravenna, by Gregory the Great (died 604), and the Epistle to Ludifredus on the Duties of Priests in the Church, by Isidore of Seville (died 636). During the Middle Ages the work on the Institution of the clergy, by Rhabanus Maurus, was a leading book for the training of the clergy, and many directions are found elsewhere for priests, bishops, monks, and Church officers in general, according to the different gradations of the hierarchy and the requirements of different places.[2]

Works of the Fathers.

The forerunners of the Reformation turned their attention preferably upon practical theology. Wycliffe, among others, for example, wrote a tractate on The Pastoral Office. But a special change was wrought in the character of practical theology by the Reformation itself, by which it became the theory of culture for preachers and pastors, instead of remaining a theory of training for priests. The isolated directions of Luther were collected by Conrad Porta, of Eisleben (died 1585), in his Pastoral of Luther, which has been often reprinted since 1582, the last edition being that issued in Nördlingen in 1842.[3] The term

Work of the Reformers.

[1] An absolute division is impracticable, because the several branches of practical theology are so interlaced as to admit of being represented separately only in a modified sense. See Vinet, Past. Theol., pp. 22, 23.

[2] Comp. Ratherius of Verona, Synodica ad Presbyteros et Ordines ceteros forinsecus, *i. e.*, per universam diœcesin constitutos, in d'Achery, Spicileg. T. I., p. 376 *sqq.;* the Tractatus de moribus et officiis episcoporum, by Bernard of Clairvaux (died 1153), addressed to the Archbishop Henry of Sens, and Neander, Der heil. Bernhard, p. 17, *sqq.*

[3] Comp. F. Gessert, Evangelisches Pfarramt nach Luther's Ansichten, Bremen, 1826.

pastoral theology, which had already been employed by Erasmus Sarcerius (1562), was now, with minor variations, transferred to other works also; for example, those of Quenstedt, in his Pastoral Ethics (1678, 1708), of J. L. Hartmann (died 1684), of Kortholt, in his Faithful Pastor (1698), of Mayer, in his Museum of the Minister of the Church (1690),[1] and of other writers who did not always work in harmony with the spirit of Luther.

Practical theology in the universities.

The universities provided chairs of practical theology only in exceptional instances; for example, in Helmstedt and Tübingen. Such features as were deemed important were generally treated in connexion with dogmatics under the head of The Ministry, or in the chapter On Cases of Conscience. Spener, in his Pious Desires, and A. H. Francke, in his Pastoral Admonitions (1712), his Observations on Hartmann's Pastorate (1739), and in his Pastoral College (1743), infused new life into this study. But, down to the close of the eighteenth century, the works most esteemed were those of Mieg (died 1708), Sacred Duties of the Protestant Pastor (1747), Deylingius (died 1755), Institutes of Pastoral Prudence (Lips., 1768), Pet. Roques (died 1748), The Protestant Pastor (1723, Germ., Halle, 1768), Mosheim (1754), and Töllner (1769), Outline, upon which followed Rosenmüller (1778), G. F Seiler (1786), J. J. Pfeiffer (1789), and others. All of these, however, were superseded by Niemeyer.

Rationalistic teaching of practical theology.

The rationalistic spirit of the age, which first found expression in Spalding's Utility of the Preacher's Office (1st ed., 1772), asserted itself during the final decades of the century in the secular mode of apprehending the task of practical theology. Those profounder relations of the spiritual office, as they had been described by Herder, in his Provincial Sheets, were crowded into the background more and more. Gräffe, with his dry formalism, allied himself with Kant, while Schlegel, on the other hand, emphasized the "promotion of Christian godliness," and F. H. Ch. Schwarz (died 1837) defined the Christian idea still more clearly. To this was now added the impulse for scientific arrangement which emanated from Schleiermacher, although works of even later date—for example, the very serviceable treatise by Hüffell—were but slightly influenced by it.[2] Harms is original throughout, everywhere proceeding upon practical considerations, in this respect contrasting with Marheineke, who is purely speculative. The two complement each other; but the bridge which leads

[1] Comp. Tholuck, Geist der Luther. Theologen Wittenbergs, p. 261.

[2] According to the judgment of some critics the work of Hüffell has even lost in value by reason of its strict regard for scientific principles.

over from the one to the other might be difficult to find by the student. In view of what has been done down to the present time, it may be asserted that, so far as Germany is concerned, Nitzsch has brought the science of practical theology to a conclusion for some time to come. Within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church Maria Theresa was the first to erect a chair of practical theology, its seat being in the national university of her realm, Austria. Sailer was efficient here, also, in a preparatory way, and was followed by Schenkel, Pawondra, Schwarzl, Gollowitz, Reichenberger, Hinterberger, Herzog, and others.[1] Among Roman Catholic works, that by Graf is preeminent.

Little has been done in England or America for the scientific organization of practical theology. The usage has obtained of treating the functions of the minister under the two heads of preaching and the pastoral care, leaving Halieutics, Catechetics, Liturgics, and Ecclesiastical Law to be treated, without any attempt to assign them fixed places, or to be omitted altogether. Shedd speaks of the minister as both an orator and a pastor: as an orator he addresses masses of men; as a pastor he deals with individual souls. All of practical theology, threefore, which this writer considers is the formation of clerical character and the discharge of strictly parish duties. Hoppin, following the same general method, divides the minister's activities into those of the study and pulpit, and those which find their place outside of the study and pulpit. Vinet, who is regarded as an authority in America, makes the same twofold division: "The preacher instructs, the pastor trains up: the one receives and nourishes those who come; the other seeks also those who do not come." Kidder, however, takes in the whole scope of practical theology, though without attempting to show the logical connexion of its parts. It is made by him to include "a knowledge of the various theories of Church polity; the theory and administration of discipline; the history and use of liturgies; the agencies and details of Church enterprises; catechetics, or the elements of Christian instruction; homiletics, the science and art of Christian address; and the duties and relations of the pastoral office."[2] Practical theology, in England and America, still waits for a broader treatment which shall unite all the parts into one consistent whole.

[1] See Pelt, p. 557. [2] Christian Pastorate, p. 196.

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SECTION V

CATECHETICS.

Catechetics has to do with the introduction of persons into the Christian community, and therefore with the imparting of instruction and the religious nurture connected therewith. Catechetical instruction in the Christian countries of our day is largely confined to children, who have been admitted into the Church by the rite of baptism and by the regeneration of the heart. But its range should also embrace the instruction of such adults as have not come under early religious training, or have neglected it.

The function of receiving new members into the Church is preceded by that of gaining new members for the Church, or rather for the kingdom of God in general. This function of acquisition has been termed Halieutics. It coincides with the missionary function, or Keryktics,[1] and by its nature takes the precedence of catechetics. In view of the continually increasing demands of science, it was impossible that the missionary function should, in its steadily progressing development, retain an empirical character alone. It was compelled to gradually construct a science of missionary operations, and a good beginning has already been made in this direction.[2]

Halieutics and Keryktics.

It is not proper, indeed, to embrace the methodology of missions within the circle of studies which are necessary to the future servant of the Church as such, because mission work, as historically developed down to the present time, is, with few exceptions, rather a matter for independent Christian effort than an enterprise of the Church in its official character. Another reason is, that the training of the missionary varies from the ordinary course of theological training in many respects, both as to form and matter. The methodology of missions will, nevertheless, possess interest for every theologian who is interested in the general work of missions; and even within the bounds of Christendom the

Methodology of missions.

[1] Comp. Schleiermacher, § 298; Danz, p. 362, and the works by Stier and Lindner, cited there.

[2] Such beginnings exist in the various instructions given to missionaries by the societies in whose service they are engaged, *e. g.*, the Unterricht für die Brüder und Schwestern, welche unter den Heiden am Evangelio dienen, Barby, 1784; the instructions in Annual Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, Lond., 1804–44; Melville Home, Letters on Missions, Lond., 1824; James Hough, The Missionary Vade-mecum, etc., Lond., 1832; William Swan, Letters on Missions, Lond., 1830. Also the special instructions relating to India, of Duff, Buyers, etc. Comp. also the Calwer Beleuchtungen der Missionssache, since 1842; and especially W. Hoffmann, Missionsfragen, i, 1, Heidelb., 1847.

ultimate object always is to *win* souls for Christ. Homiletics, too, must aim to win souls. The same must be said of catechetics and pastoral theology, although such effort differs considerably in character from that which is expended upon persons who have no acquaintance whatever with Christianity. Within the Church the theory for such effort may, at least with reference to cultured persons, be largely regarded as applied apologetics. But, beyond the borders of the Church, there is no element upon which it may lay hold aside from the religious spirit in human nature generally.[1]

Returning to catechetics, we observe that the name did not originate accidentally;[2] for *κατηχεῖν* (from *ἦχος*, a sound), whence *κατηχητής*, *κατηχούμενος* are derived, signifies, in both the New Testament and the earlier Church fathers, to announce or instruct in a general sense (comp. Luke i, 4; Acts xviii, 25; xxi, 21–24; Rom. ii, 18; 1 Cor. xiv, 19; Gal. vi, 6). On this basis catechetics would be synonymous with keryktics. But by the more definite usage, which was subsequently developed, the name of catechists was applied to persons who prepared the novitiates for Christianity, for which reason they were also called nautologists, since they, according to a figure prevalent at the time, brought on board new reinforcements for the crew. It will be necessary to hold fast this idea when attempting to determine the scope of catechetics. Every person whose Christianity is not yet sufficiently advanced to enable him to participate personally in the benefits of redemption, is yet a catechumen, a minor, whose susceptibility to the influence of both the edifying and the regulative function needs to be aroused.[3] Every person who aids to qualify him for that end is a catechist.

Scope of catechetics.

It is, of course, true that Christian youth—that is, that portion of the Church which has become incorporated with it through baptism and instruction in the Sunday-school, but which has not yet, by renewal of the baptismal covenant, been individually received into the fellowship of the Church—are with us the leading objects

[1] In dealing with Jews the Old Testament Scriptures furnish a point of contact; but the nature of the work becomes, for that very reason, different from that which must be employed with the heathen. It, as a rule, presupposes a knowledge of Christianity, though not a Christian understanding, and is therefore more particularly polemical and apologetic than halieutic.

[2] Schliermacher, § 291, thinks that the term is too limited for the ground to be occupied; but it is in some sense also too broad, inasmuch as in the ancient meaning of the word *κατηχεῖν* the homiletical function was also involved. A further discussion of the word *κατηχεῖν* may be found in Zezschwitz, p. 17, *sqq*.

[3] Schliermacher, §§ 293, 294; Zezschwitz, System der Katechetik, Einl.

of the catechetical function.[1] But circumstances may exist in which adults likewise need catechetical instruction, as in the case of Jews, Mohammedans, or heathen who become Christians, or of Roman Catholics who become Protestants. It is, as can be readily seen, the task of ethics and pastoral skill to determine the general method of estimating such changes of relation from the religious and moral point of view, while catechetics has to do with persons only who have already resolved to effect that change.[2] But adult persons are found, even in Christian countries, whose immaturity in a Christian aspect calls for catechetical instruction, either because they were not baptized in infancy or because their religious training has been wholly neglected. Nor is it by any means a settled question, with reference to a large portion of the Christian Church, especially in the rural districts, whether a form of instruction midway between the hermeneutical and the catechetical could not be introduced, which should carry forward and establish the instructions previously received by persons who have been admitted to fellowship among mature Christians.[3]

Difference between ethics and catechetics.

SECTION VI.

CATECHETICAL METHODS.

The Christian religion rests upon the facts of consciousness as well as upon those of a positive revelation and of actual history. It follows, therefore, that the task of the catechist will involve the developing of religious feeling and of the understanding of the catechumen with regard to the inward truths of religion, as well as the impressing on his soul of the great value of external truths. This reflection will indicate to what extent the interrogative method is adapted to catechetical instruction.

The work of the catechist.

[1] The instruction of candidates for Church membership is exclusively a clerical function, while the earlier religious training belongs, in part, to the school and the family. It follows that different classes of catechumens may be assumed, each of which will require a mode of treatment peculiar to itself.

[2] Palmer's exclusion of the instruction of proselytes from the scope of catechetics (Katechet., p. 5), and its being assigned to the field of missionary work, arise from the confounding of the function of winning and converting souls, by which the resolution to embrace the new faith is called forth, with the teaching function, which assumes the change of religious belief as an already existing fact, and is employed upon a more thorough exposition of particulars. The catechumen is no longer beyond the pale of Christianity, though he yet remains outside the Church. Comp. also what he has said in Section iii with reference to the relation of halieutics to catechetics.

[3] With reference to the catechization of adults, which Spener already introduced at Frankfort, and which others also successfully engaged in, see Burk, Pastoraltheologie in Beispielen, p. 536, *sqq*.

This instruction should be, not mere instruction, but the training and nurture of the soul.

Two methods are to be avoided at this point—the one going to the extreme of endeavouring to lead the young and inexperienced mind to discover every thing through the questions he is made to answer, while the other goes to the contrary extreme of seeking to furnish him with the needed information wholly from without. Catechetics goes back to the nature of religion and Christianity, and is required to gauge its task by that rule. Religion cannot be imparted from without like a material substance. The spark which God has placed in every human soul must be kindled into life. But this, in turn, must be accomplished through incitements and communications from without. Among these may be enumerated the presenting of religious examples, and of great religious occurrences and facts, the opening to view of the connexion running through the Bible history,[1] and especially by directing attention to the splendour of the life of Jesus. All this must constitute the introduction to a subsequent strictly systematic method of instruction in the form of catechism. The method should also be accommodated to the necessary gradations of the course of instruction, being at one time more interrogative, and at another more in the form of direct statement. This will serve to show how far the definition of Bertholdt[2] and others may be approved, which asserts that "catechetics is the particular science which lays down the rules which are to govern in religious instruction, imparted by the method of question and answer, in order that it may become appropriated and profitable."

Function of catechetics.

Many absurdities have been evolved, especially by Gräffe, in connexion with this play of question and answer. There has been talk of spiritual Socratism, in which the fact was overlooked that Socrates had to do with very different persons from those who, as a rule, come under the influence of the catechist.[3] Their questions, moreover, have a very different aim.

The Socratic method.

[1] "Catechetical instruction should begin with creating a clear conception of all these personages (Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Samuel, David, Paul, John), each of whom is representative of some particular feature of the religious life, but all of whom unite among themselves into a common whole."—Rosenkranz, p. 332. All that is merely mechanical, as well as all that is merely learned and critical, should be avoided.

[2] Theol. Wissenschaftskunde, ii, p. 297. Mosheim regarded catechization as being "a reasonable and orderly conversation between teacher and pupil."—Sittenlehre (3d ed.), i, p. 488.

[3] Hüffell, i, p. 447, *sqq.* (2d ed.). "The Socratic method begets the conceit in the mind of catechumens that they, in some way, produce religion, and almost compels them to indulge in arrogant criticisms upon the faith whose wisdom has, after all, not

The natural process is that he should put the question who desires to learn about some matter, and it would follow that the catechumen and not the catechist, should ask.

This is the arrangement in the catechism of Leo Judæus. But it is the catechist who inquires in order to ascertain how much the catechumen knows—a task which may consist simply in the mechanical conduct of a recitation, which certainly does not deserve the name of a Socratic method; or it may involve a process of interrogation which serves either to merely excite attention, to arouse independent thought, or, as being grounded in the conversational form, to logically advance the progress of the discussion. This last form is only available, however, when dealing with persons of somewhat mature years and an advanced stage of knowledge. In such a case the various forms of questioning, such as the problematical, assertory, demonstrative, categorical, hypothetical, and disjunctive, may all be employed; not, however, so as to admit of their being previously memorized, but in such a way as to develop them naturally through the active interchange of ideas. The exciting of such interchange in proper measure, together with the animating of its progress, constitutes the principal art of the catechist. This, however, cannot be accomplished by the mere eliciting of answers. The catechist will need to assert his right to speak at the proper point, to impart after having for a time demanded. It is, therefore, as important to observe the proper key while narrating, expounding, and exhorting, as to impart the proper turn to questioning.

The real art of the catechist.

The task of catechetics, however, is by no means fully exhausted when directions relating to form have been supplied. It is, first of all, essential that the religious nature of youth be studied in so far as it is the object of catechetics, and this not merely with reference to its powers of apprehension, but in every direction in which it is displayed. At this point catechetics has general pedagogics for its basis, and this, accordingly, would be the proper point for discussing the relation of religious instruction as imparted by the school to that dispensed by the Church. Much has been said upon this point from the pedagogical point of view. But it is further essential that the subject-matter of the instruction, which is distinctively Christian in its

Religious nature of youth should be studied.

yet dawned in any wise upon their understandings."—Rosenkranz, p. 335. Marheineke, Prakt. Theologie, § 315. Zezschwitz shows, however, that the abuse of the method of developing a subject by question and answer does not set it aside, but that its further development is a task of the art of catechetics, vol. i, p. 4; comp. p. 11 *sqq.*, vol. iii, p. 23, *sqq.*, and vol. iv entire.

character, be handled in accordance with clearly defined theological views, and also that the grading of the instruction, the object to be attained thereby, and the means to be employed, be clearly determined. The grading might be about as follows: 1. For the period of childhood, the exciting of religious feeling and reflection by means of repeating Scripture narratives and teaching simple texts, verses from hymns, and the like; 2. At the riper stage of youth for boys and girls the connected teaching of Bible history, accompanied with the teaching of the catechism. At this stage the didactic element will predominate; 3. At the stage of incipient manhood the instruction proper for all candidates for Church membership, their preparation for the sacrament, and their initiation into the deeper unity of the Bible, in both history and doctrine, as well as into the teaching of the Church. With the latter process may be connected a survey of Church history, introduction into the life of the Church as a community, and into the life of devotion generally. To what extent a stage of instruction beyond that for candidates for Church membership should be assumed is a question of practical importance, but upon the answer to which the catechetical function is no longer dependent, since, in the nature of the case, its task was ended at joining the Church. All that is subsequent to that act belongs to ecclesiastical didactics and to pedagogics in its broad acceptation; for instance, the religious instruction imparted in Bible classes, in Sunday-schools, Church lyceums, lectures, and similar ways. Here we see the value of catechisms, of sacred histories, of volumes of selected passages from the Bible, and many similar works. Every pastor should always have in mind the instruction, and use of proper methods thereto, apart from his pulpit ministrations.

Catechetics a part of pastoral work.

But the true catechist has not fulfilled his task when, in his official capacity, he has conducted a session for the instruction of the children. He will bear in his heart the youth entrusted to his care (John xxi, 15: *βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου*). With this feature catechetics reaches over into the field of pastoral care. It is also customary, in many places on the Continent, to connect the instruction of children with the public worship, and in this respect catechetics comes into contact with the homiletical and liturgical functions—the arranging of an appropriate worship for children. But where no such custom prevails the hour given to religion must not become one of instruction simply,[1] but must at the same time be made an hour of edification, of

[1] "The catechetical function must not be confined to instruction, but must consist pre-eminently in developing a children's worship, the soul of which is prayer, and it

training in the practice of godliness, and hence a branch of worship. The summit of the catechetical function, finally, consists in the reception into Church fellowship, the recognition of whose significance and relation to the whole belongs to liturgics.

SECTION VII.

MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL ENDOWMENT.

The study of catechetics must not be confined to oral instruction merely, but must also involve appropriate practice, an opportunity for which should be afforded the student. Occupation with the general instruction of children will furnish a useful introduction to such practice; and the student who has enjoyed the benefit of thorough instruction in religion and of a thorough preparation for joining the Church, and who has preserved the blessed influence of such a course in his own heart, will, in a special sense, possess a great advantage over others. Diligent attention given to sound catechetical methods, and a general interest in the religious and intellectual life of the young, are also of advantage.

The opinion is strongly entertained by many that catechetical knowledge will spontaneously develop itself. But precisely that which seems easy, even to children, is the most difficult of all. Let Luther be remembered, who owned that he was obliged to give his entire life to the study of the catechism, and yet never could exhaust the study. By way of contrast let a young minister, dried up with speculative and critical knowledge, be imagined as the centre of a circle of animated and joyous children. Does conceit lead one to despise these little ones, and is there in him nothing of the feeling which attracted Christ toward those of whom he said, "of such is the kingdom of heaven"? In that case it were better to acknowledge one's bankruptcy than to sin against the sanctuary of childhood. But if the love exists, and only practice be lacking, the needed remedy may yet be found. It is the task of the Church to provide that remedy. The end in view is not to be attained by hiring a few children through offering rewards, or forcing them into the auditorium as horses are driven in a riding-school, for the purpose of experimenting with them.

Necessity of love for, and sympathy with, childhood.

must involve a disciplinary element."—Pelt, Encykl., p. 676. "The children's worship must go hand in hand with catechetical instruction and with the several departments of catechetics. It must preserve, nourish, make, and keep alive what these have planted."—Hirscher, p. 563; Vinet, Past. Theol., pp. 229–235; Palmer, p. 536, *sqq.;* Kraussold, p. 179, *sq.;* Zezschwitz iii, p. 615. In the language of the early Protestants of Germany, recitations from the catechism were explicitly termed "prayings," a usage still in vogue in some sections of Switzerland.

The pastor should seek out the children in their sphere as he would look for plants in their natural soil. All young pastors, even those who are not constrained thereto by motives of economy, should endeavour to secure opportunity for the teaching of children. Even the scientific instruction of the young forms a valuable preparation for religious teaching, and the teaching of language and history especially will afford those gymnastic advantages which were elsewhere looked for from the Socratic method. The ability to tell a story or relate an incident well is a special art to be acquired only by practice. But the religious disposition and continued participation in the religious life are, here as elsewhere, a prime necessity. Every opportunity afforded the theological candidate to teach a Bible class, or conduct a Sunday-school, should be thankfully embraced all through his theological studies. To observe a thorough catechist while surrounded by the children, and with him to enter into the thought and feeling of the children, will quicken the mind and impart courage. Hirscher beautifully says: "Fortunate art thou if nature has provided thee with rich endowments; but, however this may be, let there be no lack of effort to secure what may depend upon thyself. A real enthusiasm will richly supply what nature might have bestowed in but inferior measure." [1]

SECTION VIII.

HISTORY OF CATECHETICS.

Comp. Langemack (died 1740), Historia Catechetica (Stralsund, parts 1-3, 1729-40); Köcher, Katechetische Geschichte der päpstlichen Kirche, Jena, 1753; Schuler, Gesch. d. katechet. Rel.-unterrichts unter d. Protestanten von der Reformation bis 1762 (1766), Halle, 1802; Gilbert, Christ. Catechet. hist., P. I., tres priores ætates complectens, Lips., 1835; Dithmar, Beitr. zur Gesch. d. katechet. Unterrichts, Marburg, 1848; Ehrenfeuchter, Gesch. d. Katechismus mit bes. Berücksichtigung d. Hannover. Landeskirche, Gött., 1857; Mayer, Gesh. des Katechumenats u. d. Katechese in d. ersten sechs Jahrhunderten, prize essay, Kempten, 1868; Weiss, Altkirchl. Pædagogik dargest. in Katechumenat u. Katechese der ersten sechs Jahrhunderte, prize essay, Freiburg, 1869; Vinet, Pastoral Theology (Skinner's Translation, 2d. ed.), New York, 1861; Kidder, The Christian Pastorate, Cincinnati, 1871; Elliott, Hermeneutical and Pastoral Lectures, New York, 1880; Phelps, Men and Books, New York, 1882.

Catechumens in the ancient Church.

The catechumens of the ancient Church were not children; but childhood is already designated in the New Testament (Mark x, 13–19; Eph. vi, 4; 2 Tim. iii, 15) as called to participate in the kingdom of God. With regard to the relation held by catechumens, and the different classes to which they belonged (*ἀκροώμενοι, γονυκλίνοντες, κατηχούμενοι, φωτιζόμενοι*), consult the best works on ecclesiastical history. Zezschwitz says:[2] "Ecclesiastical antiquity has no knowledge of a *τέχνη κατηχητική*, or catechetical art. The latter appears in that character at a time

[1] Page 724. [2] Page 15.

when the governing idea is no longer the catechumenate, but the function of teaching." The Apostles' Creed furnished the subject matter of instruction at an early period. But distinctively catechetical discourses were also in vogue, together with addresses delivered on the occasion of reception into membership. This we see in Cyril of Jerusalem, and in the Catechetical Discourse of Gregory of Nyssa. A guide for the instruction of adult catechumens was given by Augustine in the treatise on Catechetical Questions, addressed to the deacon Deogratias, at Carthage.

Early catechetical works.

The situation was changed when the baptism of children had become more general, and Christianity had been made the religion of the state. Then catechetics became, in consequence, more largely what it is in our day—a teaching of the young. Charlemagne rendered valuable service by providing for such teaching. The Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer were taught in addition to the Creed. These were termed Leading Articles, which extended also to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The monks Otfrid, of the Weissenburg monastery in Alsace, and Kero and Notker Labeo, of St. Gall, wrote the first catechisms. A clear view of the position of catechetics in the fifteenth century is given in the Picture Catechism, published by Geffcken, in Leipzig, in 1855. The Waldensian Catechism represented an evangelical tendency. The Wicliffites and Hussites (Bohemian Brethren) were also interested in the religious education of the young, which had been so terribly neglected by the Church in the lifeless and mechanical state in which it had become immersed.[1] Among Roman Catholics, upon the Reformation, the Chancellor Charlier Gerson constituted a notable exception, assuming the position of catechist in his own person, and also furnishing the priests with a guide for catechization, though in very general outlines merely, in his treatise on Drawing the Poor to Christ.

The first catechisms.

The first agency to perform thorough work, however, was the Reformation. Luther, while engaged in the visitation of the churches, in 1528, became convinced of the need for providing the people with a "good, simple, unvarnished catechism," a "lay Bible which should embrace the entire contents of Christian doctrine." This called forth his two catechisms, the smaller being intended for children and the larger for teachers.[2]

Luther's two catechisms.

[1] Comp. Herzog's Waldenser, 4, supplement, p. 458; and Zezschwitz, Katechismen d. Waldenser u. Böhmischen Brüder, Erlangen, 1863.

[2] Different editions by Stier, Parisius, Purgold, etc. See Winer, Handbuch d. Literatur, complementary vol., p. 199.

They constituted the basis of religious instruction during a long period, and engaged the attention of numerous commentators. Luther is still a model as respects the true catechetical style in point of hearty and naïve mode of expression.[1] The Reformed Church, too, did not remain behindhand. Œcolampadius, in his Report on Children,[2] and Leo Judæus,[3] and Calvin,[4] led the way. The Heidelberg Catechism, composed by Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus, became as famous as the catechisms of Luther, having been translated into nearly every language, and been made a symbolical book of the Reformed Church.[5]

The Heidelberg Catechism.

The older catechists did but little theorizing, the amount contributed in this direction being limited, upon the whole, to noteworthy hints in individual works. But a special emphasis was placed upon the matter in the state churches by the ordering of sermons on the catechism by the authorities of the Church.[6] But there was no absolute lack of theoretical instruction. The catechism of David Chyträus, at Rostock (1554–1604), assumed the form of popular dogmatics, but secured a wide acceptance by reason of its clear arrangement and precision.[7] We may mention the following additional works: Hyperius, on Catechetics (1570, republished by A. Schmidt, Helmstedt, 1704); Alsted, Catechetical Theology (Hanov., 1622); Dietrich (died 1669), Catechetical Institution (1613); Maukisch, the commentator of Dietrich (1653); Kortholt, Encouragement for Catechetical Instruction (1669), and Trotzendorf. These authors are the most widely known theorists between the time of Luther and that of Spener.

Leading authors between Luther and Spener.

[1] "The catechism of Luther," says Herder, "must be fervently committed to memory and retained forever." Comp. Harnack, Der kleine Katechismus Luthers in seiner Urgestalt, Stuttg., 1856. Comp. Vilmar (Pastoraltheol., p. 104) with reference to its advantages over the Heidelberg from a pedagogical point of view. Zezschwitz (Katechetik, ii, p. 265, *sqq.*) furnishes a "historico-critical estimate" of the material of catechetics.

[2] Reprinted in the Leben u. ausgewählte Schriften d. reform. Kirche, vol. ii, pp. 296 ff.

[3] Newly published by Grob, Winterthür, 1836.

[4] Henry, ii, pp. 150, *sqq.*

[5] Originally issued in 1563. An edition in the form of the original edition, published by Wolters, 1864. Bethune, Lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism, N. Y., 1868. See a judicious estimate of this work, as contrasted with the depreciatory treatment accorded to it in the days of rationalism, in G. Müller, Theophil., Zurich, 1801, p. 313. Comp. also the more recent works of Zyro, Sudhoff, Güder, Bender, Krummacher, and others.

[6] Comp. Rudelbach, Amtliches Gutachten üb. d. Wiedereinführung der Katechismus-examina, etc., Dresden, 1841.

[7] Krabbe, Chyträus, pp. 45, 46.

The last-named theologian, Trotzendorf, gave a new impulse in this field by the publication of his Catechetical Tables (1683), and also by his Thoughts on Catechetical Information, published by a friend in Halle, in 1815.[1] The principal query with Spener was, "How shall we connect the head with the heart?" Seidel, of Berlin (1717), and others, followed in his track. Œtinger, too, is important in this connexion because of his Historical and Moral Storehouse of Catechetical Directions, which appeared in 1762.[2]

Orthodox writers.

In the orthodox school, Fecht, of Rostock (died 1716), delivered lectures on catechetics, and combined catechetical practice therewith. Additional guides to catechization were furnished by Rambach in his Well-Instructed Catechist, which appeared in 1722; by Buddæus (died 1729), in his Catechetical Theology, which appeared in two volumes in Jena, in 1752, and by others. In the Reformed Church, Osterwald (died 1747) endeavoured to bring into vogue, through the medium of his widely circulated Catechism (Amsterdam, 1707), a more independent treatment, which should accord with the needs of the time. But his effort resulted in his substituting the subjectively abstract element of natural religion and morality for the earlier concrete and objective modes of expression sanctioned by the usage of the Church. The rationalistic revulsion in education, caused in the latter half of the eighteenth century by Basedow, Salzmann, and other philanthropical schoolmen, reacted also upon catechetical instruction.[3] The aim was to counteract, by the process of a free development of the faculties of the soul, a merely mechanical method and a dead orthodoxy.

Catechetics affected by sceptical pedagogics.

But the result was a lapse into the opposite extreme. The positive subject matter was frequently lost in the process of shallow argumentation, and in this way a false Socratism came into being, which could be confined within appropriate limits only after long-continued struggles. The so-called "philanthropic" method found adherents, though with modifications, in Miller, in his Directions in the Art of Catechising (1778, 1782, 1788); in Rosenmüller, Directions in Catechising (1763, 1793), and others. Schmid treated catechetics in an entirely formal way, as we see in his Catechetical Handbook (Jena, 1791, 1792–99, 1801, 3 vols.). Graeffe, finally, carried the rationalistic formalism of questions to

"Philanthropic" method.

[1] Comp. Thilo, Spener als Katechet., Berlin, 1840.

[2] Comp. the Süd-deutscher Schulbote, 1855, 1–4.

[3] Comp. Salzmann, Die wirksamste Mittel Kindern Religion beizubringen, 3d ed., Leips., 1809. In his Konrad Kiefer he raves against the catechism, and allows little Konrad "to pluck pigeons" instead of handing him the book!

its highest point. He may, therefore, be considered the representative of the older rationalistic catechetics, based on Kantian principles in religion and morals, while Dinter, on the other hand, succeeded in overcoming formalistic narrowness and dryness by a more vivid and original apprehension of the matter of religious teaching. Still, in his dogmatic opinions, he did not forsake the rationalistic point of view.

The religious element, and, more particularly, the peculiarly Christian features of that element, was regarded by Daub and Schwarz as being the essential thing, a view that was in the strongest contrast with the former method. A more profound apprehension of the whole subject, however, has been attained through the influence of the Schleiermacher school—as we see in Rütenik and Schweizer—though the process was not unaccompanied by the danger of making the dialectical element prominent at the expense of the emotional.

Services of Schleiermacher.

The Jesuits and related orders acquired entire control of the education of youth in the Roman Catholic Church, the Larger (1554) and Smaller (1566) Catechisms of the Jesuit, Peter Canisius (died 1595), being highly esteemed, in addition to the Roman Catechism, which received the sanction of the Council of Trent, in 1566. The theory of catechetics, likewise, was not neglected by the Jesuits.[1] But even Roman Catholic catechetics did not escape the influence of the age in later times.[2] Here, too, an animated and Christian mode of treatment obtained the victory over every sort of lifeless formalism.

Roman Catholic catechetics.

LITERATURE OF CATECHETICS.

Rütenik, Uebersicht der katechetischen Literatur, in Theol. Stud. u. krit., 1831, p. 188 ff. Tholuck, Literarischer Anzeiger, 1830, No. 18.

J. F. C. Gräffe, Vollst. Lehrbuch der allgem. Katechetik. Gött., 1795–98. 3 vols.

—— Grundriss der allgem. Katechetik, nach kantischen Grundsätzen. Gött., 1796.

G. F. Dinter, Regeln der Katechetik. Neustadt a. d. O., 1801.

C. Daub, Lehrbuch der Katechetik. Frankf. a. M., 1801.

F. H. Ch. Schwarz, Katechetik oder Anleitung zu Unterredungen mit der Jugend im Christenthume. Gies., 1818.

G. Thierbach, Handbuch der Katechetik. Frankenhausen, 1822, 1823. 2 vols.

—— Die Katechisirkunst. Nordhausen, 1826–31. 5 vols.

—— Lehrbuch der Katechetik. Hannov., 1830.

W. Stern, Erfahrungen, Grundsätze und Grundzüge für bibl.-christl. Religions-unterricht. Karlsr., 1833.

† J. B. Hirscher, Katechetik oder der Beruf des Seelsorgers. Tüb., 1841.

Lor. Kraussold, Katechetik. Erl., 1843.

[1] Comp. Possevin's (died 1611) Letter on the Necessity, Utility, and Reason for Teaching the Catholic Catechism (ed. W. Eder, Ingolstadt, 1583).

[2] See M. Vierthaler, Geist der Socratik, Salzburg, 1798.

* Ch. Palmer, Evang. Katechetik. Stuttg., 1844.
A. Keller, Anleitung zum katechet. Unterrichte. Aarau, 1851. 2 vols.
C. N. Kühler, Katechetische Baukunst. Kiel, 1851.
J. G. Hanschmann, Christl. Katechetik. Lpz., 1852.
G. G. K. L. Plato, Lehrbuch der Katechetik. Lpz., 1853.
H. Puchta, Handbuch der praktischen Katechese. Stuttg., 1854.
* C. A. G. v. Zezschwitz, System der christlich-kirchlichen Katechetik. Lpz., 1863.
G. A. F. Edelin, Leitfaden zur Ertheilung des Confirmandenunterrichts und zur Wiederholung dieses Unterrichts mit Erwachsenen. Basel, 1872.
K. A. Rütenik, Der christl. Glaube, nach dem luther. Katechismus in katechet. Vorträgen zusammenhängend dargestellt. Berl., 1829.
Al. Schweizer, Leitfaden zum Unterricht in der christl. Glaubenslehre für reifere Katechumenen. Zürich, 1840.

See Winer, Handbuch der Theol. Literatur, vol. ii, p. 213, *sqq.*; M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, articles Catechetics, Catechism, and Catechumens, vol. ii, pp. 148–154.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN CATECHETICS.

There have been many English works on the Catechism of the Church of England. Among these we may mention:

Barry, Notes on the Catechism. 2d ed. Lond., 1868.
Williams, A Brief Exposition of the Church Catechism, with Proofs from Scripture. A new ed. Lond., 1841.

The individual Churches have each produced their catechism, which, in many cases, have undergone important modifications. For the names of these, and works written on them, we refer to the denominational literature of each of the great communions. See Hurst, Bibliotheca Theologica, pp. 264, 267, 328. New York, 1883.

SECTION IX.

THE THEORY OF WORSHIP—LITURGICS.

The field of liturgics.

To comprehend the nature of Christian worship as a whole, and of the various elements by which it is modified in particular, is the scientific task of liturgics. Upon the manner in which it is performed will depend, in great measure, both the general organization of the public Christian worship and the administration of its several details. The former is included in the department of Church government, the latter in that of Church ministrations.

It is the task of the philosophy of religion and of ethics to point out the necessity of public worship. It is, first of all, important to arrive at the understanding of such worship as being a necessity of the common life of Christianity instead of a mere court-ceremonial; or, at most, a moral stimulus for the masses. The nature of worship, which Hegel terms "the highest deed of the human spirit,"[1]

[1] In harmony with that view, and carrying the idea further into its details, Rothe calls worship an *action*, and more particularly an action to be performed in common —an internal, ethical, spiritual action, the highest which the Christian may perform.

must be deduced from the nature of religion and of Christianity. It is, therefore, the first duty of liturgics to apprehend the idea of public worship as an ethically justified and obligatory act on the part of the congregation. The constituent elements of the worship are afterward to be recognised in harmony with their liturgical importance and their relation to each other, as they stand upon the basis of that fundamental principle. This is also the point at which the relation of worship to art, in the strict sense, is to be determined. The Church is not simply an educational institution, as those seem to suppose who centre the entire worship in the sermon, and regard everything else, such as singing, prayer, the sacraments, and the benediction, as mere additions.

Relation of worship to art.

Bähr says: "In no other religion does the religious community appear to be so necessary and essential as in Christianity. The idea of a church, whether local or embracing the whole of the Church, is eminently peculiar to Christianity, and attains to the full dignity of truth in it alone. Christianity assumed the form of an independent religion for the first time when it appeared in and with the form of a community, and it lives and continues on from age to age only in that form. The Church, united by the ties of a common Lord and a common faith, not only sustains a doctrinal relation to Christ, but also a vital connexion like that of the body to the head. But it appears as such, as a whole, only in the public worship."[1] Also Palmer, in his treatise on Practical Theology, says: "In the celebration the Church presents herself in bridal array; at such times we should, before all else, be filled with joy and exultation, excited by the reflection that it is a glorious privilege to belong to the Church, to be identified with and live in it."[2] Schenkel's idea, shared, however, by many others, that public worship is merely a means for the exciting of piety, and that it has no end in itself, grows out of his warped view of religion generally.

Worship must be conceived as the common act of the congregation in which the religious life of its members finds expression under the form of devotion. Such expression takes shape partly in the word and partly in the symbol.[3]

Worship defined.

[1] Page 351.

[2] Comp. *supra*, § 12. We concede fully that a mere participating in the worship is not necessarily religious, and that facility in the use of forms of worship cannot be a substitute for universal piety (p. 171); but this is pronouncing judgment upon mock-worship merely, which stands related to the true and sacred worship of God as artificiality does to art, or hypocrisy to religion. Here, too, the rule applies: abusus non tollit usum.—Dogmatik, p. 172.

[3] Ehrenfeuchter's conception (§ 33) of Christianity, as the end of all symbols, can hold good only in so far as the symbol is regarded as being veiled and obscure;

The nature of the religious, or, more exactly, the Christian, symbol, as distinguished from the legal types of Judaism and heathen nature-symbols, and the relation of the symbol to the Word, can only be understood from the peculiar nature of the religious or Christian life. Ehrenfeuchter says: "It would be as silly to apologize for religion because it has a system of worship as to excuse the soul for having a body. Some desire to attribute the worship to the sensuousness of man alone. But on this method no one would suspect the eternal law of life, by which everything that is real is also possessed of the power to express itself in figurative form, and to manifest itself in the fulness of life and energy."[1] The place of the sermon in the worship is likewise determined by liturgics, so that homiletics itself is, in a broad sense, a part of liturgics.[2] In a different point of view the sermon, nevertheless, extends beyond purely liturgical limits, and unfolds in its independent movement a conformity to law which is no longer included in the domain of liturgics. All worship is based upon action and reaction, upon mutual incitement according to settled laws, which modify its organism, and upon which its earnestness, dignity, solemnity, practical fruitfulness, and power to edify, depend.

This, accordingly, is the place for discussing the contrast between the formally restricted and the free, the established and the movable, the devotional and the festal, what has been historically transmitted, and what is demanded by the present time.

Province of a sound theory of worship.

A sound theory of worship will maintain a true medium between that settled uniformity of a lifeless mechanism which moves in the world of empty ceremonies, and a frivolity which is possessed of a mania for novelty and adherence to the fashion of the times, and which elevates its unsettled and superficial notions to the place of what has been tested and shown to be of worth.[3] It also distinguishes between a superabundance

mystification has an end. But Christianity has, on the contrary, developed a noble, free, consciously-spiritual symbolism, upon which the worship is necessarily based, and which Ehrenfeuchter himself has profoundly and fervently apprehended under the idea of an "ideal art." Pp. 253, 275, and elsewhere.

[1] Page 51.

[2] This is also the view of Palmer, p. 352. Comp. Hagenbach, Liturgik u. Homiletik.

[3] Even a better and really religious subjectivity has its limits. Ehrenfeuchter, *ubi supra*, p. 76, observes with justice that "when the attempt is made to enforce the universal acceptance of an individual poetic view, which may possibly be profoundly true for the individual, and afford him wondrous comfort, the only result will be a hardening of the poetic element and a petrifaction of the religious. For the poetic feeling of an individual is transitory, and even has its highest charm in the fact of its

of what may be perceived by the senses, and that rationalistic soberness which dreads all that is imaginative.[1] It will know how to discover those elements of art which are most nearly related to the religious life, and be obliged to carefully distinguish between the sacred and the profane, the necessary and the accidental, that which has been made from that which has developed. Fluctuating and unsettled states, in this regard, will increase in proportion as our stay upon the soil of practice without principles, on the one hand, and of impractical theories on the other, is protracted.

A general interest in the liturgical regulation of our Church affairs has, however, been aroused, and the theory of worship has been reconstructed from its foundations. It is only to be regretted that bridges leading over from the region of speculation to that of practice are so few, the result being that the learner, whose immediate object is to qualify himself for the service of the Church, is, with all the abundance of theory at command, left in ignorance with respect to the course he should adopt. The simple restoration of what is old, toward which the tendencies of the present age are directed from certain quarters, will by no means furnish a solution of the problem. What is needed is a living worship, which shall address both the intellect and the feelings. Upon this consummation science needs to fix its eye, pursuing its course

Need of a living worship.

evanescent character, in the isolation of each separate moment which blooms forth with enlivening influence from the prosaic conditions of the actual world. Such play of the imagination and the feelings gives rise to the arbitrary character of particular services (ἐϑελοϑρησκεία)." "A misunderstanding of the significant difference which exists between public and family worship works serious injury at this point."—Ibid., p. 79.

[1] "This is the pietistic view, which attaches no importance whatever to the outward features of the worship, and perhaps regards it as being in contradiction with itself, or with the idea upon which it rests. With this coincides the rationalistic view, in that it separates the interests of freedom from those of necessity, and maintains that the Christian religion is only designed for the needs of individuals, and requires that each one should be pious for himself; that no value is to be attached to outward union for the purposes of a common worship, because this will constitute a limitation of individual liberty."—Marheineke, Prakt. Theologie, § 75. Comp. Ehrenfeuchter, Liturgic, § 38. On the relation of Protestantism to art, comp. Meyer, Das Verhältniss der Kunst zum Cultus, Zurich, 1837; Grueneisen, De Protestantismo artibus haud infesto, Stuttg., 1839, 4to; Protestantismus u. Kunst, in Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift, 1839, 4, No. 8, pp. 287–322; Der Protestant. Gottesdienst u. d. Kunst in ihrem gezenseitigen Verhältnisse, St. Gall, 1840; Lange, In welchem Verhältniss steht die Reformirte Kirche nach ihrer Lehre u. nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung zur Kunst? An essay in the Verhandlungen d. Schweiz. Predigergesellschaft, St. Gall, 1844; Schnaase, Verhältniss d. Kunst zum Christenthum u. besonders der evangel. Kirche, Berl., 1852; Koopmann, Der evangel. Cultus u. d. Kunst, Darmst., 1854, and Kottmeier, Darstellung des Heiligen durch d. Kunst, etc., Bremen, 1857.

until the time shall arrive when the understanding, having been matured by thorough study, shall yield its fruitage as well in the practical life as in other domains.

SECTION X.

CONTRAST BETWEEN PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC LITURGICS.

In the Protestant minister's circle of studies that part of liturgics which relates to ministrations in the Church, or to direct administration, will require less space proportionately than that which has to do with the government of the Church, and consequently with the devising of methods. The contrary to this is the rule in the Roman Catholic Church.

The word liturgics points primarily to the already existing service for the Church, the Liturgy.[1] The more complicated such service is, the more time will be needed for acquiring the mechanical readiness which is necessary to its performance. It is apparent that theology will be in a very low state where the whole of the theological course is expended upon a mechanical training of this sort for the clerical office. Regions still exist within the Roman Catholic Church where nothing more than such a mechanism is required. But Roman Catholic theology is not at its best in such localities. Wherever it bears the character of a science, it seeks, rather, to penetrate by the way of speculation into the inner sanctuary of worship, and to justify its meaning and importance to the thinking mind.[2] But there is no

Mechanical liturgy in Roman Catholicism.

[1] Comp. the lexicons on *λειτουργός*, *λειτουργεῖν*, *λειτουργία* (Luke i, 23; Heb. viii, 2; ix, 21; x, 11), formed out of *λέιτος* (*λήϊτος*, from *λαός*, *λεώς*), the equivalent of *δημόσιος*, and *ἔργον* (*munus publicum*); hence *ἔργον τοῦ λεώ=τοῦ λάοῦ* is equivalent to *λεῖτον ἔργον*. See also the Apol. Conf. Aug., p. 270 (ed. Hase), where the ancient use of the word is well expounded. On the ecclesiastical and Levitical meaning of the word in the New Testament, comp. Bleek on the respective passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The derivation from *λιτή* (*λιταί*, *preces*, whence is derived the word *litany*) is erroneous. The Latin word *cultus* (Gr. *λατρεία*) answers to the German words "Gottesdienst" (divine service) and "Gottesverehrung" (worship of God), which have been frequently objected to, especially the former, though unjustly. See Pelt, p. 100. Marheineke, Prakt. Theologie, § 63, says, that "he only who has been made free by God, and been born again into the liberty of the children of God, can resolve to enter upon the service of God, in which alone man can be truly free."

[2] "In our days," observes a Roman Catholic writer, "praise will be given by all rational persons to him who has sufficiently sharpened his intellectual vision to enable him to find again in the worship of the Church the royal robe with which the incarnated Son of God was enveloped, and to interpret all its forms in the spirit to which its origin is due."—Most, Die liberalen Principien auf dem Gebiete des Cultus, in Tüb. theol. Quartalschrift, 1847, No. 1.

breaking through the bounds of what has been traditionally received and what already exists, and Roman Catholic liturgics is, therefore, compelled to struggle always with the same task in reference to worship, which oppresses the scholastic theology of Roman Catholicism with reference to dogma, namely, to secure an after understanding of matters which already exist. "The theory has more the character of a statute than of an internal and necessary law."[1]

This is not the case with Protestant liturgics. This is continually employed upon the task of constructing a system of worship which shall perfectly correspond to the Protestant principle, and to the needs of each particular time. It does not become contemplation merely with reference to the already finished edifice of the temple, but is essentially constructive, and we always find it engaged with line and compass in the study of the plan. It does not aim to secure a definite conclusion of its labours for all subsequent time, but to carry forward the development, within certain limits to be by itself appointed, of what is capable of being developed. There can, accordingly, be no idea of a mechanism in the performance of liturgical services, and the specifically technical features connected therewith can only consist in the personal appropriation of things that are prescribed, and in a personal entering into the spirit of the worship. The liturgical capability of the Protestant clergyman will, therefore, be manifested by a spiritual reproduction of what is prescribed by the Church, and is to be attained less in the way of practice than in that of inward consummation. For, it is certain that even the simplest of liturgical services, such as the offering of prayer in the presence of the congregation, the administering the sacraments, and the pronouncing the benediction, are more appropriately and fervently performed by him who has penetrated the mystery of religious feelings and their public representation, than by him who, having no sympathetic feeling, simply performs a duty which is officially assigned to him. Every *opus operatum* is a negation of the Protestant principle, the death of liberty, and a turning away from the internal to the external.

Protestant liturgics.

Necessity of religious feeling.

This leads to a further distinction between Roman Catholic and Protestant liturgists, namely, that the Protestant clergyman, in his liturgical functions, sustains a different relation toward the congregation from that sustained by the Roman Catholic. While the latter ministers in sacred things by virtue of his priestly character, even where no

Difference between Roman Catholic and Protestant liturgists.

[1] Ehrenfeuchter, *ubi supra*, p. 63; compare § 16, and Marheineke, Prakt. Theologie, § 198.

congregation is present, or, when it is present, still only before it, and never in and with the congregation,[1] the Protestant liturgist represents in person the priesthood of the whole congregation. He expresses in Church prayers only what all mentally repeat, and, if he sing, his voice is lost in the volume of praise by the whole congregation. The sacraments, even, are administered by him as the officer designated by the congregation, and set apart by the Church. He shares with the Roman Catholic liturgist, indeed, in being bound by the rule established by the Church, but not in the same degree, nor in the same manner. Many consider it, no doubt, a prerogative of Protestantism to afford absolute license, and such license has occasionally been carried to a high pitch, certainly not to the advantage of real Protestantism.[2]

Distinction between homiletical and liturgical elements.

To assume that the preacher offers prayer simply as a preacher, since "the prayer must be his own work as much as the sermon," is erroneous. A clear distinction must be made, at this point, between the homiletical and the liturgical elements.[3] No restraint is imposed upon him with respect to the former by homiletical rules, and he is certainly expected to come before the congregation with prayer as well as speech. The more the congregation recognises in the preacher's personal piety the acme of the religious life of the community,[4] the less will he refuse to perform a service which he must consider, in this precise form of service (λειτουργία), as being the necessary complement to the more independent sermon. The sermon is an inadequate and incomplete feature when not sustained by the whole economy of the worship.

Liturgics in relation to ethics and ecclesiastical law.

Liturgics touches upon the fields of ethics and ecclesiastical law. Here, too, arise the ethical questions concerning the extent to which the liturgist is required to represent the ritual in his own person, and whether he is simply to

[1] Ehrenfeuchter, p. 223.

[2] "The further development with which such a formal Protestantism violently breaks in upon, and interrupts, the course of liturgical tradition, is a progress into vacancy, and the setting to rights and clearing up are a transferring into the hands of the individual of what is designed for the Church as a whole."—Marheineke, Prakt. Theologie, § 227. Remarks on the license assumed by Protestant clergymen to the injury of the liturgical rights of the congregation occur in Bähr, *ubi supra.*

[3] Comp. Al. Schweizer, Wiefern liturgische Gebete bindend sein sollen? Zurich, 1836, p. 22, *sq.*, and the discussions of this subject by H. Lang, Bitzius, and Rüfli in the Swiss Reform, 1873, Nos. 10, 12, and 15.

[4] "The bond of union which embraces the entire body must also appear in the single individual, and the organism of the whole show forth in the particular member."—Ehrenfeuchter, *ubi supra*, p. 65; comp. p. 346.

make use of its forms of expression.[1] Upon this follows, in immediate sequence, the legal question respecting the authority in which the right to prescribe a ritual is vested, and the extent to which it is allowable for the individual administrator to depart from the established form. Pedantry in Church government may work as injuriously at this point as self-will and arbitrary measures may in connexion with the ministrations of the public worship. Such differences can only exist, however, where the life of the church is hampered in some direction, either because the liturgy has been imposed without the consent of the congregation, or the liturgist has intruded himself into his place. When the minister ceases to be the organ of his congregation and of the Church he is no longer in his proper place. But where he possesses the confidence of the congregation it will not be difficult for him to decide how far he may go in any given case. The being governed by forms, laid down by the legislative authority of his Church, will not be regarded as a burdensome constraint, but as a duty imposed on him by his own convictions as a servant of the spirit rather than the letter. He will thus be enabled to move with freedom and dignity even when guided by such authority.

Protestant recognition of liturgics.

After all that has been said, however, the question may yet be raised whether Protestantism can recognise a science of liturgics at all? and whether we are not to be guided in such matters, also, simply by the Holy Scriptures? The latter must certainly be the authoritative standard here as everywhere. Principles such as are contained in John iv, 24, and Matt. vi, 7, will ever continue to be governing principles, and the Lord's Prayer will remain a model for all other prayers. But this does not imply that the liturgical forms of the apostolic age, which are not even well understood by our age, should be retained as an inalienable heirloom for all subsequent time. A literal retention of this kind would even destroy the higher conception of worship. The idea of the Lord's Supper would be entirely lost if, for example, it were maintained that exactly twelve should be seated at one table whenever it is administered. What could be more erroneous than the assumption that, since the early Christians did not yet possess the New Testament Scriptures, it is requisite that only Old Testament Scriptures be made the subject of preaching and Old Testament psalms be sung? On this view it would be wrong to celebrate Christian festivals, and we should be obliged to observe

[1] The above follows a distinction made by Schleiermacher, and has been opposed by v. Cölln and Schulz (Leips., 1831). Comp. Schleiermacher in Stud. u. Krit., 1821, No. 1, and the replies of the above, Leips., 1831.

the ancient Sabbath with the Jews and the Sabbatarian sects. It is, therefore, with entire propriety that Ehrenfeuchter observes,[1] that it certainly is the aim of Protestantism to restore primitive Christianity, not, however, in the sense of actualizing its beginnings, but rather its principles. Hence "the sphere of worship includes more than that of the Holy Scriptures."[2] Hence, also, Protestant liturgics is presented with the great and far-reaching task of "ascertaining and representing the eternal forms of worship."[3]

SECTION XI.

FORMS OF WORSHIP AND THEIR RELATION TO ART.

Elements of worship.

The essential elements of Protestant worship are the sermon, which is based upon the word of God, the united prayer and singing of the congregation, and the benediction, which concludes the service. The highest point of Protestant worship is attained in the periodical celebration of the Lord's Supper, whose leading characteristic is that of a feast. The distribution of the various liturgical observances, the relation they are to sustain toward each other, and the more or less festal character they are to bear, will be determined by the ecclesiastical year, the periodically recurring festal seasons which it includes, and the wisdom and care of the pastor. All forms of art which have no immediate relation to the living Word are referred to the background at this point, and are designed at most to promote an auxiliary object, not directly aiming at an increase of devotion.

The eucharistic element.

It must be conceded that not all Protestant liturgists are agreed upon the above statements. Many have maintained that the eucharistical feature especially should not be wanting in any form of divine service, and that all else should, as in the Roman Catholic Church, tend to give prominence to it as the principal end in view, even the sermon being made to occupy

[1] Page 72.

[2] Ibid., p. 166: "The sphere of worship is always extended over an existence of actual joy in God, over a present filled with the consciousness of God, while the sacred writings always, by their form, refer back to what is past."

[3] Ibid., p. 75: The ancient Church in general deserves, next to the apostolic age, to be consulted, together with its forms of worship, whenever a reconstruction of the worship is in question, but it is not necessary that their example be anxiously imitated. It should be discriminately used with reference to the needs and conditions of the present time. Comp. Simon, Die apostol. Gemeinde-u. Kirchenverfassung, Poted., 1851; Abeken, Der Gottesdienst der alten Kirche, Berl., 1853; Harnack, Der christl. Gemeindegottesdienst im apostol. Zeitalter, Dorpat, 1853.

a secondary position in this regard.[1] It cannot be denied that the Lord's Supper constitutes the summit and crown of the common worship. But it is to be questioned whether its too frequent repetition would not lead to a loss of real solemnity and fervour of disposition, and to its being degraded into an *opus operatum.* This assertion of the eucharistical feature with which the demand for a purely liturgical service, without the sermon, is connected, has its excuse in the one-sided view which led Protestantism, particularly of the Reformed type, to lay stress for a time upon the sermon as being the only element of worship which is absolutely essential. That the sermon should constitute the central feature of the service, even though but in a formal way, is entirely proper, and in harmony with the position everywhere assigned to the word of God in the organism of Protestant worship. But it should be remembered that the word of God does not secure a proper recognition through the sermon only, and that the latter is not in any sense its only exponent.[2] The original representative of the word of God is the Bible itself. For this reason the reading of a section from the Scriptures is included among the elements of public worship.[3] But it is necessary that the congregation be afforded opportunity for self-edification, upon the basis of God's word, for giving expression to the

Plan of the sermon in worship.

[1] *E. g.*, by Kliefoth, Die ursprüngliche Gottesdienstordnung, Rostock, 1847, 2d ed., 2 parts, 1858–59, and since then by many others.

[2] Bähr, *ubi supra*, has directed attention upon this point with emphasis, and often with keen irony; but he goes too far in the direction of undervaluing the sermon. Ehrenfeuchter (§ 87) assigns to the latter its true position among the different elements of the worship by conceiving of it as their formal centre. Comp. also Vinet: It is being recognised with increasing clearness in the Reformed Church that the attention is not to be fixed alone upon the hearing of a sermon in connexion with the public worship, but that the direct participation of the congregation is absolutely requisite. Comp. Coquerel (fils): What is adoration and worship but an art by which he who adores puts himself in true and actual relation with Him whom he adores? Nothing which is passive alone constitutes the highest worship. The being present and listening is not an act, and consequently not worship. Le Culte tel que Dieu le demande (Paris, 1853). This is a rationalistic view, and should be qualified.

[3] These lessons are not simply needed for the purpose of acquainting the people with the Scriptures, although this was formerly the case, when the Bible was not so generally circulated as at the present. But the united listening in the Church is very different from the private reading at home. Comp. Palmer, Homiletik, p. 370. R. Rothe wrote from Rome, "The mere listening to the reading of the Scriptures in the Christian congregation has always been a rich blessing and enjoyment, to me at least, although I have not unfrequently been deprived of them by their discussion pro and con." In Nippold, p. 360: In the Reformed Church it is usual, in some localities, to read the Decalogue, but it is better to make independent selections suited to each separate occasion. The ancient Church had its lectors.

impressions received, and to elevate itself into immediate communion with God.

Prayer and singing are exponents of the word of God equally with the sermon, in so far as they are based upon, and originate in, that word. Even the sermon can only be a word of God to the congregation when it is not only based upon the Bible, but is supported by the common devotion, and, so to speak, grows from it as its appropriate soil. It is necessary, therefore, that prayer and singing on the part of the congregation should both precede the sermon, for the purpose of exciting devotion and collecting the minds of the people, and follow it, to reproduce and fix the impressions received.[1] They form a species of antiphony to the sermon, while the benediction which follows constitutes the symbolical conclusion of the whole.[2]

Prayer and singing.

It is for liturgics to decide what is the relation sustained by prayer and singing to each other and to the sermon, and in what order the several parts are to succeed and support each other. Probably a hymn of general character, not directly related to the sermon, will furnish the most appropriate introduction for divine service, to be followed by the prayer. The prayer should conclude with the Lord's Prayer. Its character involves that it should be introductory, and calculated to excite devotion, but at the same time adapted to call forth that contrite disposition whence springs a real desire for salvation. Then follow Scripture selections, and then singing, with special reference to the sermon, and afterward the sermon. The closing prayer may have direct bearing on the sermon, and be shaped by its thought. It is designed to fix the impression wrought by the sermon, but must lead over into the general worship again. At this point intercession is in place. The closing hymn and benediction form the end.

Order of service.

It is of advantage to the nature of devotion that the different services of the Church be not equal in the extent and fulness of their liturgical elements. The average medium is found in the Sunday services, which are more extended than the week-evening services. The more joyous a divine service is designed to be, the more largely may forms of art be drawn upon in its arrangement, though under the presumption that such forms will possess a strictly religious character. If we examine the available

[1] "The singing falls chiefly to the lot of the congregation, and the preaching is the service of the clergyman; while the functions of both are combined in the prayer, as in a common centre."—Marheineke, *ubi supra*, § 250.

[2] Rosenkranz, Encykl., p. 340.

forms of art we shall find them to consist in discourse, music, and action.

A large field is open to music. Should it be employed only when connected with words, under the form of singing? Should it be congregational only? Ought it to be interspersed with solo and choir singing, or accompanied with instrumental music, and to what extent?[1] How far may instrumental music be allowed without the accompaniment of song? The limit lies here. As action may, as a rule, be regarded only as an auxiliary to speech, so instrumental music may be regarded only as an aid to the singing.

Music in worship.

Religious architecture[2] also deserves a prominent place among the arts connected with Protestant worship, and beside that of discourse and that of song, not only for reasons of propriety, but also because of the religious and symbolical idea which the edifice is to embody and express.[3] But a church edifice, even when the embodiment of an idea, together with the symbolical features introduced into the structure, is not to be regarded as involving any essential element, but merely as an aid to the exciting of devotion, and as exercising an influence to stimulate and support, rather than to direct and govern, the worship. The architectural symbol, therefore, stands upon the border line, upon the same footing as the music of the organ and the ringing of church bells. For it is possible to conceive of a truly elevating Protestant worship from which all of these are wanting, while such worship could find no expression at all in the absence of the sermon, singing, and prayer, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The essential feature, in which Protestant worship differs from Roman Catholicism, is simply its inward nature, freedom, and life—qualities which must not be allowed to give way before any degree of æsthetical refinement. However, it would be equally improper to renounce

Sacred architecture.

[1] "It may be said of the Christian Church, that in the organ it has invented an instrument which combines within itself all the tones which existed singly in separate instruments before its discovery."—Rosenkranz, p. 337. Comp. Herder's poem, Die Orgel. Harms pronounced against the organ, as did also the ancient usage of the Reformed Church, which had no better name for it than the "pope's lyre" (!). Comp. Bähr, *ubi supra*, p. 112, *sq.*

[2] Vetter, *ubi supra.* "There is no grander cathedral than St. Peter's Church in Rome; but more beautiful than this, says the cherished Neander, is that Church which consists of two or three Christian souls assembled in the name of Christ."—Merle d'Aubignè in the Verhandlungen des sechsten evangel. Kirchentags zu Berlin (Berl., 1853), p. 48.

[3] Comp. Ehrenfeuchter, p. 290, *sqq.* This field embraces also the external surroundings of the church edifice, particularly burial grounds and their monuments.

all natural connexion between worship and art, in so far as the latter enters modestly into the service of the Church.[1]

Lange says: "Worship is the festal representation of the ideal in the real; while art is the festal representation of the real life in the ideal;" or, "art represents the manifestation of the new world in symbolic form, while longing that it shall come into being; and worship represents the hidden character and the growth of the new world with a yearning that it may appear." Ehrenfeuchter shows ingeniously how man becomes in worship both the material and the manager of it: "The art of comprehending himself in the inner-most relations of his life, and of entering into relations with God, is what we demand of every human being. This constitutes the profoundest and truest element of life." F. W Krummacher beautifully remarks, in one of his sermons, that "art is entitled to a place in the Church. This admits of no doubt; but it is the product, and not the creator, of the new life. The promise is restricted altogether to the word, and the word is accompanied by the generating, while art has only the preserving and refreshing, spirit. Art, moreover, belongs rather to a Solomonic period of the Church than to a Davidic. In the latter it is necessary that the sword of the word should first perform its work. Not until the victory was achieved did the harp and psaltery ring out their notes."[2]

It follows from this, that worship through the Word still constitutes the heart of Protestant liturgics. To deal with the Word in preaching is the office of homiletics; and liturgics, accordingly, is restricted: 1. To the word as connected with the singing (Church hymnology); 2. As emanating from the common feeling in the form of prayer (Church prayer); and 3. As it introduces and accompanies the performance of sacred actions, as in the benediction and the sacraments. The two latter form the ritual. Hence hymn books and the ritual constitute the liturgical apparatus which each Church government is required to provide for the use of the ministrations of the Church, and liturgics is required to furnish the fundamental principles by which the work of providing such apparatus is to be governed. With reference to hymn books, or the text of hymns, it is by no means a question how to provide the Church with hymns which should be modelled upon

Limitations of liturgics.

[1] "Art," remarks a Swiss pastor (Ritter of Schwanden), "is that St. Christopher who seeks out a lord, serves him faithfully, and does not admit into his mind the thought of being lord himself; and yet so feels his own worth as to be resolved to remain with him only who is the strongest."

[2] Die Sabbathglocke, Berl., 1853, pp. 178, 179.

any particular liturgical theory. On the contrary, liturgics boldly and gladly makes use of the existing treasures of hymnology in the Church.[1] Hengstenberg says: "The poetry of Protestantism evidently finds its culmination in the Church hymn. In opposition to 'the widespread notion which still controls many weak natures, that the worship of Romanism is more poetic than that of Protestantism,' it is asserted, and with truth, that this would be a correct opinion 'if poetry consisted in all manner of mechanical forms and outward ornaments.' But poetry is spirit which speaks to spirit, and the unadorned singing of one of Luther's or Paul Gerhard's hymns with the heart of a living congregation is more poetical than all the allurements which attract the eye and ear in the splendid worship of Roman Catholicism.[2]

Hengstenberg on religious poetry.

To sift our hymns, and discover the gold contained in them, is one of the highest arts of theology. Here, again, it is easy for a view that is based upon the taste of individuals to assert itself, whether it be the fanciful pedantry of affecting what has the flavour of antiquity or the rationalistic soberness which eliminates everything that breathes the aroma of poesy. Not everything that is old is also good. Even among the old there is much that is antiquated, either because it is involved in a dogmatical or ethical conception of the world which has passed away, or because it can no longer be comprehended and enjoyed.[3] The thing demanded is, accordingly, that hymns of a truly sterling character be sought out with accurate judgment, and that the heart of this class be discovered. But the claims of the new are also to receive due recognition beside the old, though the purity of tone and colour in the latter should be preserved. The Church hymns of the former days often become mongrel forms through an "improvement" which results to their damage, and through their being dressed up *a la mode*, by which means they assume a character which cannot be approved either by good taste or historical judgment. Changes are required in occasional instances, no doubt, but they should be executed with the utmost caution, and it is one of the principal problems

Old hymns not necessarily good.

[1] The Reformed Church has long been content to use psalms only. Here, too, it would be a misapprehension of the idea of scriptural worship were the text of spiritual songs to be confined to psalms only. Many of the most beautiful Church hymns are usually revised psalms.

[2] Evangel. Kirchenzeitung, vol. lxxiv, No. 4, p. 374.

[3] See Marheineke, *ubi supra*, p. 256, and Stier, Erneuerte Rechenschaft über das evangelische Gesangbuch, Brunswick, 1852.

in liturgics to determine the principles on which they are to be introduced.[1]

If the Church hymn belongs to the department of poetry, the prayer involves a form of language which expresses the "unity of poetry and prose"[2]—that is to say, of free and yet elevated speech. Every infusion of merely reflective, dogmatizing, moralizing, and logically connecting elements, is to be avoided. The older written forms of Church prayers, while containing much that is strong and robust, were yet often pervaded with a dogmatizing and polemical spirit which could not be edifying; and modern forms often include much sentimental verbiage, or are couched in the tone of merely moralizing preaching. It will be necessary that the appropriate manner and tone of the Church prayer, by which it secures an aspect of due veneration, be retained, and that all effeminacy and insipidity be excluded, while at the same time the structure of sentences is kept sufficiently flexible to avoid the impression of stiffness.[3]

Public prayer.

With reference to the administration of the Sacraments, we may say that they constitute the most fixed and immovable element of worship, especially with regard to the words of institution and consecration, which liturgics is not at liberty to change. The additions, such as preliminary and supplementary prayers, exhortations, and the like, are not so immovably fixed. Such other formulas as relate to specific occasions may receive a more independent and flexible treatment, though the true spirit of the Church may always be retained even in the framing of such formulas.

[1] The preface to Knapp's Liederschatz contains valuable directions for this work. Comp. also Herder's preface to the Weimar Gesangbuch. Numerous discussions of this question have been had in recent days at Church conferences and synods, and in periodicals, but without arriving at any agreement respecting the principles on which a hymn book for the common use of the evangelical Churches should be composed.

[2] Ehrenfeuchter, § 81.

[3] Kapp (in the work mentioned below) has set forth some excellent principles. Comp. also Hebel, Ideen zur Gebetstheorie (in Werke, vol. vii); we are not to pray "as the awkward members of a guild, and the foremen address each other in a sworn form of greeting, but as dear children approach their beloved father." There is danger, however, that the Church prayer express too great familiarity, as if addressing a mere "friend of the family."

SECTION XII

THE METHODOLOGY.

The nature of liturgics forbids that facility in its use should be acquired by practice, as may be done with catechetics and homiletics. But the liturgical sense may be variously cultivated, and especially by making of the divine service a vital element for the pastor, in which he feels himself at home. The understanding of liturgical matters is likewise aided in a special degree by familiarity with the older and more recent liturgics, though we may not use them, and particularly by familiarity with the treasures of hymnology which belong to the Church. To this may be added personal practice in singing,—if we have the gift,—an acquaintance with the theory of Church singing, and also an insight into the nature of Christian architecture.

Practice in the leading of the prayers of the congregation may be connected with practice in preaching, but the true anointing of the liturgist must be derived from a Higher Power. Fessler says: "The school and extensive reading, industry, and practice, may, when joined to distinguished ability, produce excellent orators, but the forming of a divinely inspired liturgist, who holds full communion with God, is exclusively a work of grace—*i. e.*, of the illuminating, inspiring, and anointing influence of the Holy Spirit."[1] Frœlich observes, with striking truth, that "to strike the proper tone with a certainty which shall excite the congregation to join heartily in prayer, and to fill it with devotional feeling, and to hold it fast, and harmonize it with the different turns of the prayer, demands not only all the fervour of which the leader is capable, but also all his skill." In the biography of Spleiss, superintendent at Schaffhausen, he is credited with having prepared himself for the conduct of his liturgical services with the same industry and care which he bestowed upon a sermon; and thus, while his sermons frequently burst forth with excessive vivacity, his liturgical delivery was quiet and restrained. But each word was emphasized with the proper degree of force, and made to express its full meaning, especially in the more important passages.

The necessity of divine help.

Every part of the service connected with the worship, and not the sermon alone, must be minutely studied. An expressive and unaffected presentation of these various parts is very rare. Even the ablest preacher may utterly destroy the good influence of the sermon by carelessness in the conduct of the other portions of the

[1] Rückblicke auf meine 70 jährige Pilgerschaft, Breslau, 1826, p. 416.

service, while the lack of personal eloquence may be readily overlooked in the case of a faithful administrator in holy things.

The proper reading of the Scripture lessons is highly essential. They should be selected with great care, their spirit studied, and then read with calm fervour.[1] With regard to singing, the minister is not required to accomplish more than any other member of the Church. But he is still expected to direct the singing to the extent of selecting the hymns which are to be sung. For this purpose, if for no other, a thoroughly intimate acquaintance with the hymn book, unfortunately so rare an acquirement, is of great advantage. Luther went too far when he said, "I will not look at a preacher who cannot sing." The pastor should do all he can, in his appropriate sphere, toward the improvement of the singing by seeing that the congregation are supplied with hymn books, and all possible helps. He cannot, therefore, permit himself to remain in ignorance of the poetical and musical treasures of the hymnology of his individual denomination, or of that of the Church as a whole.

The preacher's relation to the singing.

The opportunity of attending public worship while travelling should never be neglected, from religious as well as homiletical and liturgical considerations, the object being to enlarge one's spiritual and mental horizon, and the combatting of prejudices that were previously entertained. A visit, for example, to a congregation of the Moravian Brotherhood will yield to every mind a profitable picture of Christian propriety and liturgical simplicity. Besides, every opportunity for a better acquaintance with the better specimens of ecclesiastical art and architecture should be seized upon cheerfully. No preacher visiting the older countries should neglect any privilege, both in services in the churches and in observation, to enrich his mind for better ministrations after his return home.

With regard to every part of the service, and more especially the administration of the sacraments, everything depends upon a sense of propriety, which itself results from thorough moral culture. At the communion table and the baptismal font the most learned pedant, the keenest critic, and the profoundest speculator, may be put to shame sooner than a simple, properly trained, modest, and inwardly consecrated and anointed servant of God. Such a man as that the preacher—if not that already—should endeavour to become.

[1] Such reading should not be declamatory, but suited to the spirit of the passage, and recitative. Comp. Ehrenfeuchter, p. 352; Bähr, p. 72.

SECTION XIII.

THE HISTORY OF LITURGICS.

Christian worship has developed itself out of the Jewish worship. It was at first simple synagogue worship, then, to an increasing extent, levitical priesthood and temple service, and, finally, a return to the simpler form through the agency of the Reformation. From that point it is possible to distinguish three periods: "The stormy period of the Reformation; then the quiet and often stagnant intermediate period; and, finally, the active and struggling period in which we live."[1]

Christian worship developed from the Jewish.

Liturgics is conformed in its method to these successive stages: The apostles already furnished hints respecting the proper behaviour at the time of worship (1 Cor. xi, 22; Eph. vi, 19; Col. iii, 16; James ii, 2, 3). The apostolical constitutions and the liturgies which were promulgated under the names of the Apostle James and the Evangelist Mark, of Jerusalem and Alexandria, are, as is well known, rejected by criticism. With them were connected, in the East, the liturgies of Basil and of Chrysostom, and, in the West, those of Gelasius and Leo I. These last, however, were superseded by the Roman Missal of Gregory I. Milan alone preserved its special liturgy.[2] When the Romish worship, under the supervision of the papacy, had developed into the ritual of the Romish mass, and the functions of the priesthood had extended over a wider area, it became necessary to provide guides for their conduct, such as Durandus (died 1296), in his Reason for Divine Offices, and similar works.

Luther transformed the mass into a simple observance of the Protestant ceremony of the Lord's Supper, and the Reformed theologians rejected both the name and the thing.[3] The symbolical books contain the earliest liturgical principles, and they reappear occasionally in dogmatical works in connexion with the Church and the sacraments. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the flourishing period of German Church hymnology, did more in the way of furnishing a liturgical apparatus, such as hymn books and formularies, than in that of discussing the worship itself. It was not until a beginning was made, from the standpoint of modern rationalism, in the work of setting aside the ancient, or of conforming it

[1] Lange, *ubi supra*, p. 109.

[2] Comp. Assemani, Codex liturgicus, Rom., 1649–65; xiii, fol.; Renaudet, Collectio Liturgiarum orientalium, Paris, 1716; Daniel, Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ, Lips., 1847, *sqq.*

[3] Comp. J. C. Funk, Geist u. Form des von Luther angeordenten Cultus, Berlin, 1818.

to the so-called "demands of the spirit of the times," or the period of diluting the hymnology of the Church, that new theories were provided to accompany the new liturgical forms. This was done by Zollikoffer, Seiler, Diterich, Hufnagel, Wagnitz, and others, first in the journals of the period, and afterward in books. Specimens of these works may be seen in Bastholm's Improvement of the Outward Worship (Leips., 1786); Spazier's Frank Thoughts on the Protestant Worship of God (Gotha, 1788); Wolfrath, Questions on Liturgical Subjects (Hamburg, 1793–94); Burdorf's Hints for the Improvement of the Festivity of Public Worship (1795); Jenisch's Worship of God and Ecclesiastical Reform (Berlin, 1803), and Reinhold's Ideas on the Outward Worship (Neustrelitz, 1805). To these may be added Tzschirner, in his Cautious Improvement of Sacred Services (1815), who demands a natural worship of God, and Hebel, in his Liturgical Contributions, who admits the emotional element, but too strongly from a subjective point of view. The mystical and Romanizing tendencies, stimulated by the romantic school, likewise asserted themselves by the side of the rationalizing and sentimental tendencies in worship, in Horst's Mysteriosophy, and in the works of Fessler, and others.

Rationalistic works.

Gass (died 1831), stimulated especially by Schleiermacher, was the first to provide a really scientific basis for evangelical liturgics, of which the writers mentioned in the literature below availed themselves in the further development of this branch, though generally governed by speculative rather than practical motives. Kapp was more largely practical than any other author. The latest movements within the ecclesiastical territory have given rise to a great diversity of views. This we see in the union of the two Protestant Churches of Germany, and the connected dispute, extending into ecclesiastical law, respecting the ritual, in which Schleiermacher took part. We observe it also in the reaction against the Prussian service book, which emanated from the Old Lutheran party. To these must be added Puseyism, which originated in the Oxford School, and whose fundamental views in relation to ecclesiastical law and liturgics found acceptance in Germany as well. We see it also in Irvingism, which sought to restore a levitical worship.

Recent diversity of views.

In the Reformed Church it was felt to be necessary that at least a justification of the peculiar form of worship be furnished. Greater sobriety and caution were manifested from that point, in opposition to an æstheticising, mystifying, and speculative transcendentalism, which does not exclude the recognition of whatever may be more valuable among the possessions of other churches. It is in

place here to recall the unfortunate dispute concerning the ritual in the Grand Duchy of Baden, and the hymn book controversy in the Palatinate, in connexion with which such a quiet discussion of principles as was to be desired, and as would have yielded fruit to the Church and to science, was not, in all probability, secured—a proof that not all times are equally prepared to admit of liturgical reforms, and that some will warn against retrogression in matters wherē others see only progress. Nor has the Roman Catholic Church been free from attempts to reconstruct the worship anew since the close of the last century. Not to dwell upon the Theophilanthropists of France (1796), who endeavoured to introduce a sentimental deism, and the church of the Abbé Chatel at Paris (from 1830), it may be sufficient to mention, in the theoretical department, the Principles of Liturgical Theology, of the Benedictine, Köhler (1788), and Winter's What the Liturgy should Be (Munich, 1809), together with the works of Schmidt, Hnogek, Lüft, and others. Ignatius of Wessenberg rendered especially meritorious service in the ennobling of the worship and the introducing of a German hymnology. His ideal, at all events, was to build up a German Catholic Church, though not of the kind produced in the fourth decade of this century, to which that name was applied. It remains to be seen how far the Old Catholicism of Döllinger and others will succeed in constructing a liturgy.

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SECTION XIV.

HOMILETICS.

Liturgics determines the nature and form of worship. But homiletics has to determine the nature and form of the Christian sermon alone, and to furnish instruction respecting the mode of expounding the word of God in the congregation, and of presenting it in discourse. Liturgics directs attention to the entire contents of Christian revelation, whence the sermon is to derive its material; and the latter operates partly in the field of hermeneutics and partly in that of rhetoric, though with constant reference to the peculiar nature of sacred discourse, as distinguished from other forms of oratory.

Relation of liturgics to homiletics.

The word homiletics is derived from *ὁμιλία*. It is usual to understand homilies as denoting only a single class of sermons, namely, those whose unity does not inhere in a theme which is propounded, but in the text, and which approximate to popular forms of speech in their language more than do those of other classes.[1] The ancient usage covered a broader ground with this term, however, and in conformity therewith we use the term homiletics to designate not only the theory of this single form of discourse, but that of the sermon in general. At this point, however, we must fix the limit. Homiletics must not be expanded into a theory of sacred, or even Christian or religious, eloquence, in general. It is possible to conceive of Christian addresses which are not included in the department of homiletics proper; for example, the missionary address (*κήρυγμα*). The latter may be denominated a sermon, in the peculiar biblical meaning of the word; but it, as well as the preaching of the apostles, is nevertheless unlike what our sermons can be, since they are not the product of the impulse of the moment, but bear the character of a regularly repeated and integral part of public worship. Herder remarks,[2] that "as soon as the sermon ceased to be what it really was in the mouth

Homiletics not a theory of sacred eloquence.

[1] Opinions differ greatly with regard to the propriety of homilies. While Herder has advocated their use, Harms has decided adversely to it, and says: "they fill, but do not satisfy." Schleiermacher was likewise not inclined to regard them with special favour. He considered homilies to be a mere aggregation of separate sermons.

[2] In Briefe über das Studium der Theologie, No. 40, the whole of which should be read in this connexion.

of the apostles, a message, it became an exposition of the word of God, its writings and teachings, and an application of what had been read in the midst of a quiet Christian assembly. This was termed a homily, and was not properly an oration."

If it be desired to set forth a theory for the awakening preaching of an apostolic herald, or for the proclamation of the Word among the heathen, it will be found convenient to appropriate to it the name keryktics—a term first formed by Stier from the Greek word, *κηρύσσω*, to proclaim.[1] Such preaching precedes, in point of time, even catechetics, while the sermon, as ordinarily understood, is addressed to persons who already belong to the Christian community, so that homiletics carries forward the work of catechetics.

Necessity of continual preaching of repentance.

We would not assert that the usual sermon should involve no element of keryktics, for many nominal Christians exist to whom the call to repentance needs to be continually addressed, and Schleiermacher pivoted the question upon too fine a point when he excluded all hortatory sermons of this kind. Vinet urges the reality, which is stronger than any theory. It is equally certain, however, that many of our most zealous hortatory preachers miss the mark by incessantly driving the plough, instead of pausing to sow the seed and water it, and cherish the growing blade. By preaching only repentance we always tarry in the court of the Gentiles, and never enter into the most holy place. The needs of advanced Christians and growth in grace should not be disregarded. The treatment accorded to cold and formal Christians within the Church, moreover, is specifically different from that which the actual heathen, who "are without," can receive. An appeal may be addressed to their nominal Christianity, or, better, to the Christian name they bear. They may be reminded of their baptism, and everything may be presumed of them in an ideal sense, though it does not exist in a real form. Their conscience differs from that of the heathen, and discourse addressed to that conscience must differ from that which aims to reach the heathen mind.

Still other forms of discourse might be mentioned which belong

[1] Comp. Nitzsch in Stud. u. Krit., 1832, No. 3, p. 725: "Since it must be admitted that the word homily—whether so used in the New Testament or not, is immaterial in this connexion—does yet, when historically considered, and taken in the meaning assigned to it in the early usage of the Church, denote the function which embraces the whole of the service of the *λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*, it follows that homiletics is always to be regarded as a leading branch of practical theology by the side of catechetics. The combination of the two is, only in the case of the missionary, however, to be denominated keryktics, provided it is still necessary to retain the Greek designations for the sake of brevity, and of associating the conditions of the present with those of antiquity and history."

to the keryktical, and not the homiletical, department; for example, the preaching of the crusades in the Middle Ages, and such free discourses in the open air as the mediæval friars were wont to deliver, or the bazar and street preaching of the most recent period. There is also a class of discourses which belongs within the circle of parliamentary speech, such as conference and occasional addresses. Occasional discourses stand at the very boundary line, and are included more especially under the pastoral or the liturgical function, as they are directed to the peculiar condition and religious needs of the respective persons concerned, or relate entirely to the particular occasion to be utilized. The ordination sermon, for example, grows out of the position held by the ordaining minister under the economy of Church government.

We, therefore, confine our attention to the sermon within the limits of the regular services of the Church, in which it assumes various characters in accordance with the solemnity, be it more or less, of the particular service, being either a Sunday morning or evening sermon, or a more popular discourse in familiar language, as the homily, or a practical exposition of some Scripture. The feature which makes a sermon of the sermon, and distinguishes it from other forms of religious or Christian discourse, is the text[1] or passage of Scripture which does not serve merely as a motto, but is the root from which the sermon must grow. This determines not only the contents of the sermon, which must be scriptural in any case, but also its form. The preacher is not simply a speaker, but also an expounder, with the single qualification that at one time the former function will be more prominent, and at another time the latter. The art of preaching has its

The text.

[1] Textus (from texo), a texture. Applied to the texture of discourse in Quinct., 8, 6; Ammian. Marcellin., 15, 7. Comp. Stephani Thesaur. In the Middle Ages the term textus was applied to the Bible itself; comp. du Frêne. It is here given to a particular section taken from the Scriptures, which Campe not inappropriately renders by "Grundspruch" (fundamental theme). Examples are not wanting, in the history of homiletics, of sermons which have no other texts than verses from hymns or sections from the Catechism. But such discourses do not belong within the range of the sermon as fixed by the requirements of a fully developed Protestant worship, They may be serviceable for the work of edification in other directions, but they cannot replace the sermon. Addresses not founded upon a text are, as a rule, better adapted for occasional discourses, but they are termed occasional discourses for that very reason. Texts taken from secular books are even worse than no texts at all. In the Middle Ages sermons were based on Aristotle, later, in the fifteenth century, on Brandt's Ship of Fools, and the Rationalist Unitarians of England still draw their texts from Schiller and Byron. An instructive discussion as to whether a text is needed or may be dispensed with, and concerning the special difficulties involved in the being restricted to a text, is contained in Vinet, Homiletics, chap. 3.

field of exercise both in the department of hermeneutics and in that of rhetoric. With regard to the former branch we refer to the department of exegesis, treated in this work. With reference to the oratorical branch it is important to assure to pulpit discourse its special field. As religion itself is neither a formal knowing nor a doing, religious discourse likewise differs from those forms of discourse which direct their aim chiefly upon knowing or upon doing. The former class, of course, are not discourses, in a strict sense of the word, but approximate in character to treatises, such as academical addresses or lectures.

The sermon not a lecture.

The sermon should not be a lecture or treatise. It aims to enlarge and correct the religious apprehension, but only in order that the religious state of the soul may be more clearly understood and be more unimpeded in its expression. The preacher may not rest satisfied with having wrought conviction in the mind unless it make itself felt upon the heart. It should also pass over into action. The pulpit discourse differs, however, from all such addresses as aim directly to produce action, and in connexion with which the speaker is content with having the object realized which he has in view, without regard to the motive from which it is performed. This is the case with parliamentary and juridical addresses. The older homiletical writers of France distinguished between "eloquence of the bar" and "eloquence of the pulpit." It will be apparent, from this consideration, to what extent Demosthenes and Cicero may be regarded as our models. "The person," says Herder, "who, without qualification, regards the forensic orations of Demosthenes and Cicero as models to which our sermons are to be conformed, has no proper idea of the nature of either the sermon or the forensic address; he has not apprehended the design of either."[1] He elsewhere says: "Preachers cannot, like Demosthenes and Cicero, call forth sudden decisions and resolves to action; they cannot, because they should not; and they should not, because they cannot. There are no Philips before our walls that we should at once rush in wild enthusiasm to guard our gates—this is true, and who has ever wrought to secure that end? There are no felons to be instantly condemned or acquitted—who has ever spoken as if this were the case? But let it be supposed that something of this kind were yet to be devolved upon the speaker, then, teacher, you are compelled to perform the work, and will need to display ability in its accomplishment, or you speak but poorly. If a Christian duty, of whatever kind, ought to be instantly performed, and it were devolved upon you to make

[1] Briefe, No. 40, Werke x, p. 18.

it clear and urge to action, it were weak not to do this despite whatever theory might be employed to furnish an excuse."[1]

Should the sermon then aim simply to influence the religious feeling? By no means. A mere gush of feeling is not at all a discourse. The sermon should not be a monologue, an expanded prayer, a meditation in which the preacher appears only in his relation to God and Christ (after the manner of the ancient "speaking with tongues," 1 Cor. xiv, 2), and not in that sustained toward the congregation. This is a fault in which many emotional persons become involved, whose discourses soar upon the air, instead of being directed upon the heart like arrows from the quiver. A discourse is distinguished from the poem by the very fact that it is not a mere outburst of the feelings, but rather a homily, in the etymological meaning of the word—that is, a conversation with the hearer, who is to be regarded as not merely a recipient, but as joining with thought and feeling in the discussion, and possibly as replying to it and raising doubts. Vinet says: "Oratorial discourse thus appears as a contest, a combat; this idea is essential to it. At one time the orator combats an error by a truth, at another he opposes one sentiment to another sentiment. In its just use oratory is a combat waged against errors of the mind and heart with the warfare of speech!"[2] "The oratorial discourse is a drama, each word of the preacher is a question to which the auditor replies in himself, and his reply becomes a new question to which the orator replies. There is an interior in every oratorical art." Cicero, when asked to point out the result of rhetoric, replied: "Actio, actio, actio."

Relation of the sermon to the congregation.

Oratory a conversation.

We must, accordingly, include the dialectical element also, although this, again, must rest upon a profounder basis, namely, the common feeling of Christianity But we must not resolve everything into dialectics. The sermon must necessarily be of a parenetic or hortatory character, and aim to excite to resolve and action. But such resolution must likewise grow out of the feeling which has been excited, and out of definite convictions. The sermon is a testimony of Christ and of life in him, and at the same time a proclamation of that life.[3] It is discourse to an extent, perhaps, not equalled by any other form of address, inasmuch as it addresses the entire man, takes hold upon the inmost depths of his being, discloses that being to his thought, and raises him above himself.[4]

The sermon a testimony to Christ.

[1] Provinzialblätter, p. 374.

[2] Homiletics, Skinner's edition, p. 26.

[3] Ehrenfeuchter, p. 358, assigns the latter only to the sermon, the former to prayer.

[4] Comp. Herder, Der Redner Gottes (Werke zur Relig. und Theol., x, p. 475, *sqq.*).

The individuality of the speaker is, doubtless, more fully displayed in the sermon than in the liturgy. But this must not be understood as implying that his individuality, in the form of personal views, should assert itself in this work, or that the preacher should preach simply himself, or merely human doctrine. Christ attains to a distinct form in each separate individual, and it follows that the individual life can only be properly manifested in the higher peculiarities which it involves, and for the benefit of the common life of the Christian community. We will not, therefore, say that the preacher is required to renounce his individuality. This view presumes a conflict, which, unfortunately, arises in many cases between the convictions of the preacher and those of the Church. It should, rather, be the aim of the preacher to make the asserting of his individuality subserve the spiritual elevation of the congregation, and his human teaching reflect the word of God. For the preacher's individuality is not, in point of fact, to be considered a channel through which water flows, or a glass for the passage of the rays of light. On the other hand, we hold that the preacher is not to annihilate, but to perfect and idealize, his individuality. The speaker, carried along by the peculiarity of his Christian life, pours out upon the congregation what has been developed into life in his own personal experience, and thereby awakens new life in his hearers.[1]

But he does this in an artistic form by first stripping off the evil features attaching to his individuality, including everything that is merely subjective and accidental, by permitting the product of his mind to become clear to himself through the process of meditating upon it, and to become, in a true sense, a part of his inner life, and by assuring himself, with an inward certainty that extends down to the individual expression, that he is justified in appearing in this precise manner, and not otherwise, before the congregation, as its speaker, and that he is called to labour precisely in that form. We do not question whether the preacher, by virtue of his official position, is alone competent to perform this function, and not other members of the Church as well. Laymen officiated as speakers in the early Church. We consider it proper

Lay preaching.

[1] Beyer, *ubi supra*, p. 25, separates the idea of the sermon into three parts: (1) The creative; (2) The receptive; and (3) the mediating principle. He finds these three in (1) The word of God; (2) The congregation; and (3) The person of the preacher. "The word of God furnishes the sermon with its life-giving and saving contents, the life derived from God; the adaptation to the congregation gives to it historical and local form; and the mind of the preacher, in which the preceding elements are combined into unity, bestows upon it the power and colouring of personal life."

that our worship be so expanded as to admit of other than settled and stationed ordained preachers. Lay preaching, however, should have clearly defined limits. To judge of the sermon altogether from the pastoral, instead of from the liturgical and lay, point of view, and to consider the pulpit simply as an elevation upon which the one shepherd stands to feed his flock, appears to us an entire misunderstanding of the nature of the sermon. We do not disregard the benefits arising from the bond which joins pastor and people together, but all the gifts and graces for preaching are not confined to him who may be pastor.

SECTION XV.

HOMILETICAL ARRANGEMENT AND MATERIAL.

Homiletics is divided into two parts, the General and the Special. The latter embraces, 1. Invention; 2 Disposition; 3. The elaboration and delivery of the discourse. Care is required, however, to avoid the danger of regarding such division in thought as having brought about a real separation in the concrete, and to guard in general against losing sight of the essential character and meaning of pulpit discourse, because of the influence of the arbitrary rules of the schools which have intruded themselves into the different divisions of homiletics.

Division of homiletics.

The theory may be divided in conformity with the two questions, What shall be preached? and How shall it be preached? This was the plan pursued by Augustine in his Christian Doctrine. The matter may be considered in its general and its particular aspects, the general inquiry being, How far does the limit of sacred eloquence extend? That limit is determined by the Christian character. Nothing but what is connected with the Christian life as such,[1] and aims to establish, purify, and perfect that life, may properly be made the subject of homiletical discourse. But nothing that belongs within that circle can be excluded from the range of such discourse. This is, consequently, the place for determining the character of Christian preaching. The sermon should be pervaded by both doctrinal and ethical preaching. The two should interpenetrate each other, though the doctrinal element may at times predominate, and at other times the ethical. To what extent may political matters be discussed? How far may the course of nature, as the changes of the seasons, be regarded? In all these

The limit of sacred eloquence.

[1] We assume as self-evident the fact that the standard to which such Christian life is to be conformed is given in the word of God, and particularly in the teaching of Christ and the apostles.

matters good taste and sound wisdom must be observed. There is a time for everything.

Invention.

The first division of homiletics is the theory of invention. No direct invention, in the ordinary meaning of the word, must be understood. The matter for our preaching was invented long ago. But the duty is devolved upon us of deciding what portion of the existing treasure shall now be presented to the congregation. With what subject should the preacher deal on this day, at this hour, in this particular instance? At this point we again meet the opposing elements of the prescribed and the free. There are certain great general topics, such as Christmas, the new year, Easter, important national days, and public events of paramount interest, which require special treatment, but the device of the text and mode of treatment are the province of the preacher in his individual capacity. To what degree may a preacher be guided by his personal mood? How far may outward circumstances govern his choice? Should he, in his regular ministrations, undertake a doctrinal or an exegetical series? Which parts and books of the Scriptures deserve to be separately treated? Should he select his texts chiefly from the Old or the New Testament? Should he prefer historical to doctrinal passages? Should he choose parables; larger or smaller sections; texts from the gospels, or the epistles, or the apostolic history? Guiding principles are needed in all these matters. There should be no accident or personal whim. Even eminent preachers have allowed themselves to be misled into the effort of exciting curiosity either by selecting peculiar texts or discussing piquant themes. Reinhard and Dräseke in Germany, and many preachers in both England and America, have erred in different directions upon this point; the one being misled by his ingenuity, the other by his wit. Reinhard, however, was tempted to go astray because of the restriction imposed by the topics prescribed by the ecclesiastical calendar. The custom of selecting abbreviated texts, mere starting points of texts, so to speak, prevails especially in the Reformed Church of France. This is very prominent in the sermons of Adolph Monod and Alexander Vinet.

Conditions necessary for proper texts.

A frequent and living intercourse with the Scriptures, the observation of its practical features, an acquaintance with the human heart, a correct estimate of the preacher's personal disposition, and especially a candid observation of the time and its needs, and of the Church at large as well as the local church, comprehend the secret of homiletical invention, and protect against the intellectual bankruptcy of being preached out, while they also cut off, at the beginning, all temptation to

make use of unworthy artifices, such as an attempt to surprise by novelty and originality. A text that has been judiciously selected is worth half a sermon, and brief and striking texts are certainly very effective. Palmer remarks: "It is a beautiful and grand thing for the preacher to have succeeded in striking the proper chord in the very enunciation of his text, and an electrical effect is often produced when the congregation is made to realize at the outset that this is to be the subject which ought to be discussed to-day."[1]

When the theme and text have been selected the work of arrangeing is in order. It is, first of all, necessary to determine the exact relation sustained by the text to the theme, and this decision will govern the further progress of the sermon, the theme being either at once evoked from the text, and then developed more extensively, or, being gradually developed before the hearer's mind, the discourse is strung upon the thread of the text. The former method is synthetic preaching; the latter, analytical. The two methods may frequently be combined and interpenetrate each other, especially when but little attention is bestowed upon unnatural and inflexible divisions, and more regard is had for a natural and attractive grouping of ideas. Arrangement is certainly needed, but not arrangement only. Connexion is also requisite. By this we mean a just distribution of effective points, not only in harmony with the laws of logic, but also with those of rhetoric and art.

Synthetic and analytical methods.

Herder strikingly observes of a true disposition of the sermon: "There must be no figure, no clause, no comma, which does not grow, as it were, necessarily out of the theme as a branch and its limbs, or a flower and a leaf of the tree grow out of the root or the trunk. If it be not in this place it is nowhere, and the discourse is incomplete; it has a gap, a vacant place, as we say of paintings. A totally different question is that which asks whether the disposition should be set forth like a naked skeleton. Nature does not follow that plan, and the sermon should be the last to adopt it. Natural arrangement, and a continued analysis of the word of God, form the best disposition for its use."[2] The best mode of division, however, will always be that in which the connexion of the text determines the structure of the sermon, and where the latter grows out of the text. This, likewise, settles the question concerning the relative value of synthetical or analytical sermons.

The sermon should not be a mere unorganized agglomeration and aggregation of saws and sentences any more than it should resemble a skeleton. A fine human figure is resolved into its component

[1] Page 384.

[2] Briefe über das Studium der Theologie, No. 45.

members before the observer, but the members have an elastic connexion, and are not articulated with wires. The bones may no more stand out than they may be buried in obesity from sight. So with the sermon. This involves the entire secret of so-called sermonic division. Much pedantry has taken root in this field, but it is once more dying out. The aim was to divide off with the aid of line and compass, and an external symmetry, as in the closely clipped French gardens, came to be considered the law of beauty. A Procrustean bed was made ready, and everything was stretched or cut off until the parts, and secondary parts, were all of equal length. The utmost conscientiousness was employed in measuring and weighing whether a sermon should be divided into two or three parts, or whether more than three could be allowed, and how much space should be allotted to the introduction and every other member. Many preachers even made use of an arrangement obtained from others, as if theft were not a crime, and as if the arrangement and the execution did not mutually determine each other. A master must be competent to fit his own goods; only a bungler will construct a patchwork article.

Artistic division.

Much has been said upon the delivery of the sermon. It cannot be denied that the pulpit has its own peculiar style, any more than it can be denied that there is a special style of praying or singing, or of architecture, in the Church. The preacher should not talk, but speak, and speaking is an art. His tone should not be simply argumentative, nor merely hortatory, nor yet merely pathetic. The beauty of the discourse is dependent on its truthfulness. Beyer well says: "If the idea of the beautiful requires that thought should find its adequate expression in the concrete form, a sacred beauty must always be ascribed to the sermon. Its divine substance is to be presented to view under the form of human speech, and, therefore, must penetrate with glorifying power through the whole discourse, and appear in its structure, and even in the separate words. But the beauty of the sermon is for this very reason not such as may be intentionally sought out and artificially manufactured. It is no tinsel ornamentation."[1]

The delivery.

The more fully justice is done to the sermon the richer will it be in fulness of expression, resembling the word of God, in which it has its origin. In its moments of elevation it may approximate to the poetical character, but without becoming poetry.[2] Everything

[1] *Ubi supra*, p. 348, and also p. 567.

[2] Comp. Palmer, Ueber das Malen in den Predigten, p. 85, *sqq*. We would not agree with him in designating Krummacher absolutely as a model, since his colours are at times altogether too glaring.

that is unworthy, all that resembles the Capuchinade, all meretricious ornamentation, both that which recalls to mind the grosser affairs of ordinary life and that which involves the terminology of the schools and books; in a word, all that is purely technical, should be carefully excluded from the sermon. All foreign terms which are not contained in the Bible are, therefore, to be avoided whenever possible. Dignity and simplicity should combine in it into the higher unity of Christian earnestness. Popularity of style should not be carried to the extreme of triviality. The language should be select, but not strained. A true popularity, an adaptation to the level of common minds,[1] may most readily be secured by the study of the Scriptures and of the good, robust preachers of the earlier days. Such older forms of thought need to be recast into modern phraseology, however, in order that an adventurous pulpit jargon, having no affinity with actual life, may be avoided.

Useless ornament to be avoided.

Whether the sermon should be written and memorized, or merely elaborated in the mind, will depend upon personal considerations, and theory has but little concern with the question. Palmer says: "The congregation does not ask, and has no right to ask, how you prepare to speak readily, whether by writing your sermon or otherwise. Your mode of occupation while in the study is your business alone. You may, if you choose, compose your sermons in Latin or in French; if you employ your language, the tongue of the congregation, readily while in the pulpit, the other processes involved in the sermon concern yourself alone." Schleiermacher has expressed the opinion that persons of placid disposition may venture upon extemporaneous speech, while emotional natures would do better to fix both thought and its expression by previous writing. The old Zalansky says a blunt word: "A young preacher should sit out and sweat out his sermons; first write them, and when they have been thoroughly finished present them to the people. Shame upon them who even make it their boast that they have not in many years devoted a sheet of paper to the writing of their sermons." It does not follow from this that sermons should smell of the lamp. Artis est artem celare.

The internal process of preparing the sermon must never be allowed to appear in the delivery. The sermon, even though a written one, must always be mentally constructed with a view to its being spoken, and not as if

The sermon to be mentally constructed.

[1] The popularizing of preaching was never more strongly urged than at a time when the true Christian life of the people had been wholly lost sight of. The best discussion of unction, is given by Vinet, in his Pastoral Theology, pp. 214, 215.

it were an article to be read.[1] It must lie in the mind as a speech, and be continually upon our tongues; the imagination must always picture us, as was always Guthrie's method, as standing in the pulpit with the open Bible before us, and the congregation assembled in our presence. Only thus shall we be able to retain sufficient freshness of mind to prevent the sermon from becoming stale in the process of protracted preparation, and to cause it to be constantly new and fresh while we meditate upon it, so that the time of delivery may become the real natal hour of the sermon, and the hearer may be impressed that it comes freely and directly from the heart at that moment. It is self-evident that a sermon which must be read, as a whole, can produce no such effect. Rosenkranz says: "The unfortunate habit, begun in early life, of relying upon reading and writing, and the fact that people have not been sufficiently accustomed to think, form the reason why free speech, which can only arise from an assured state of the mind, is kept down, especially in the case of persons of liberal culture." But a school-boy-like and poorly memorized sermon, and also one that is so completely extemporized that the pangs of labour under which the speaker brings forth his thoughts may be observed, will produce a painful, and, even if joined with much facility of speech, a repulsive impression.

As a final direction, it must be observed that the various operations of invention, arrangement, and elaboration are not to be separately employed in a mechanical way, but each must be made to exert a determining, supplementing, and correcting influence over the others, if the sermon is to retain its vital colouring. The entire sermon must already be present in the moment of mental composition, as the plant exists in the germ. It is simply to be resolved before the mind into its elements, and be precipitated and clarified, as in some chemical process. The arrangement often leads to a more exact fixing of the theme, and the elaboration reacts upon the disposition, while the written word cannot be corrected until the spoken word has been heard. A sermon may be excellent in point of style, and yet read by the preacher to himself to better advantage than it can be heard by a congregation. It is, therefore, necessary that the preacher should not only think himself into the sermon, but also take a wise estimate of the effect it will produce upon the ear. Often the repeating of the sermon aloud, or at any rate its imaginary delivery in thought, instead of merely

Possible effect of a sermon to be studied by the preacher.

[1] Gossner remarks that the Holy Ghost at Pentecost distributed tongues of fire, but not pens for writing. Bengel's motto was, "Think much, and write little;" and yet he conscientiously wrote down at least the plan.

thinking it over, will be very beneficial. Bishop Burnet was accustomed, when riding or walking, to speak upon a given text in a loud tone of voice, and without any preparation, by which practice he attained to such readiness that he became able to speak appropriately upon any subject without much previous thought. The sermon should be transfigured and spiritualized to its very centre down to the moment of delivery, in which it is thrown off as a ripened fruit from the mind of the preacher. If a sermon be delivered a second time, or many times, it should be improved for every new delivery. Thus only can there come the joy of creating with each repetition. To ride an old sermon to death is a sad business. "Dissatisfaction with old sermons," says Palmer, "should continue while life remains." Augustine was always dissatisfied with his sermons after they had been delivered. When shall the immorality of presenting in numberless churches a fossil sermon that has once, like a part in a play, been committed to memory, come to an end?

The rules with reference to delivery are generally of a negative character. Harms fancifully comprehends the whole under the three L's, "langsam, laut, lieblich"—slow, loud, pleasant. Canon Kingsley said: "Keep sacredly to the habit of breathing at every stop. Read and speak SLOW; and take care of the consonants, and the vowels will take care of themselves."[1] Upon the subject of gestures especially, in which much depends upon the speaker's individuality, it is possible only to indicate precautions of the most general kind. Much depends upon the theme. The gesture should be the outgrowth of the thought and feeling. It is only effective when unconscious, like the breathing of a child. Be sure the gesticulation is imperfect, unnatural, if the speaker can remember afterward what it was. Herder had no gesticulation, and Schleiermacher next to none. The elder Edwards had almost none, even in his most overpowering discourses. The young preacher should guard against imitating some favourite gesticulator. Some use the mirror as a help in preparation. But a faithful friend, who directs attention upon our mistakes of emphasis and our faulty gestures, is the best kind of mirror within reach. Goethe's words, in Faust, will cover all our remaining ground:

Gesticulation.

> If feeling does not prompt, in vain you strive;
> If from the soul the language does not come,
> By its own impulse, to impel the hearts
> Of hearers, with communicated power,
> In vain you strive—in vain you study earnestly.

[1] Letters and Memoirs of the Life of Charles Kingsley, p. 384. The entire letter addressed to Miss —— is on Stammering, but will apply well to pulpit elocution.

Toil on forever; piece together fragments;
Cook up your broken scraps of sentences,
And blow, with puffing breath, a struggling light,
Glimmering confusedly now, now cold in ashes;
Startle the schoolboys with your metaphors;
And if such food may suit your appetite,
Win the vain wonder of applauding children!
But never look to win the hearts of men,
And mould the souls of many into one,
By words which come seductive from the heart!

Be honest, if you would be eloquent;
Be not a chiming fool with cap and bells;
Reason and genuine feeling want no arts
Of utterance—ask no toil of elocution;
And when you are in earnest, do you need
A search for words? O, these fine holiday phrases,
In which you robe your worn-out commonplaces,
These scraps of paper which you crimp and curl,
And twist into a thousand idle shapes,
These filigree ornaments, are good for nothing,
Cost time and pains, please few, impose on no one;
Are unrefreshing, as the wind that whistles,
In autumn, 'mong the dry and wrinkled leaves.

SECTION XVI.

THE METHOD OF HOMILETICS.

Preparations for the pulpit.

Exercises which afford a preparation for preaching are: (1) The cultivation and quickening of the practical faculty in the general study of the Bible; (2) The preserving of particular thoughts in writing, which contain the germs of future themes; (3) Practice in delivery. Constant and devotional listening to sermons in the services of the Church, and also the reading of homiletical productions, whether old or new, aid greatly in the forming of the future pulpit speaker.

Exegesis should not be studied alone with a view to the pulpit. But practical exegesis should, nevertheless, always be enjoined with critical. The person who studies the Scriptures as a preacher should must often be struck by their flashes of light even when engaged upon the driest subjects. Such flashes indicate fruitful seasons. Every preacher should keep a notebook, upon which to enter the seedthoughts gained from the Scriptures, together with brief hints with regard to disposition and elaboration. In all his walks and most leisurely moments his eye should be on his pulpit.

The most useful scrapbooks for preachers are those which each man compiles for himself. Exegesis in preaching cannot be conducted on the same plan as surgical practice upon a skeleton. It is a skeleton, indeed, when a student is required to preach in the presence of his fellow students and a faculty of theologians, who are to personate the absent congregation. We suppose there is necessity for this in theological seminaries, but no student is expected to do full justice to himself under such circumstances. Young Rothe, in his student days, wrote this to his father: "Frankly stated, it appears to me that an experiment of this kind is a questionable matter. It is surely a repulsive thought that a Christian congregation should sit like a sort of wig-block upon which a young bungler is to try his sermon; and yet in another direction such an experiment can, in view of the entire nature of the sermon, be undertaken nowhere but in the congregation, and it must, therefore, be carried through in that way." A sermon may be read, or recited, or gone through somehow, before an audience of critics, but it cannot be delivered in the highest sense. Might it be proper in like manner to pray by way of test? or to exhort, or to censure or comfort, all by way of practice?

The pulpit always before the mind.

But there ought to be practice in delivery? Yes, and the more the better, provided it is rightly done. The school should aim to promote this end, and do this work. Student associations for practice in speaking will also render valuable aid. But when it is required that a sermon should be preached by way of practice—and this should come to pass in the last year of the course—let it be undertaken with the help of God, and with full allowances for all the disadvantages of the hour.

Many preachers attempt to display the whole of their theology in their first sermon; many others endeavour to concentrate in it all the feeling of their hearts. A wise restraint is highly needed at this point. Persons who have not yet passed beyond the period of theological conflict should beware of troubling the congregation with their doubts, or with the questions of the schools in general. Let them select themes which they are able to discuss, which have become transparent and concrete to their minds, and which they are competent to manage. Herder's paternal counsel has a general application here: "O friend, friend, do not hasten into the pulpit while too young or too thoughtless. You are not without other exercises which, though conducted in private, will forward you further on your way. If you insist on preaching, at least clothe yourself in modesty from head to foot.

Defects of first sermons.

Nothing is more attractive in a youthful speaker, and especially a pulpit speaker, than this."

Many, however, are restrained from entering the pulpit by excessive timidity, and by the fear of breaking down. Such difficulties, which have their origin as frequently in selfish pride as in a really sacred awe respecting the character of the office, can only be overcome in a moral way. The true *παῤῥησία* is a gift of grace. The best young preachers, however, have always been most alarmed. Pliny says: "Quod M. Cicero de stilo, ego de metu sentio. Timor est emendator acerrimus. Hoc ipsum, quod nos recitaturos cogitamus, emendat; quod auditorium ingredimus, emendat; quod pollemus, horrescimus, circumspicimus, emendat." Luther preached his first sermon in the convent of the Augustine monks before venturing to present himself before the public. Spener says that when he entered the pulpit for the first time he felt as though he were being led to the place of execution. Moeves testifies that he trembled far more while preaching his first sermon than when listening to the thunder of his first battle.

Timidity no ground for discouragement.

Criticism may follow the sermon of the young preacher, but it should not be allowed to intimidate him beforehand. It is, moreover, a fact that he only is able to feel and hear himself into the real spirit of a sermon who gladly and frequently listens to the sermons of other men. One of the faults of our surfeited age consists in its unwillingness to hear other than distinguished orators. Something may be learned from every sermon, even though it be a poor one. But there is no objection to our becoming acquainted with what is best and most perfect whenever opportunity is afforded. In this direction the rich sermon literature of our English theology is of great assistance. The reading of a sermon is not, of course, equivalent to hearing it, but it possesses advantages of its own. Criticism may be applied with much less restraint in this case than when listening during the hour of worship in the church. The reading of sermons should be elevated into a study to a much greater extent than is actually the case. Artists are directed to examine works of art, and poets are obliged to read the works of other poets. Why should not a similar rule apply to sermons? To construct anew a sermon that has been read by a master in the pulpit, and to search out its effective points, penetrate into the mystery of its profound connexion with the Christian life, and compare its method with that of another, constitutes a valuable exercise for young ministers of the Gospel, and one upon which teachers of homiletics should lay greater stress. Such critical readings, moreover, afford the surest defence against the danger of

Every sermon a lesson.

slavishly imitating so-called "sermon skeletons," in which undertaking it generally happens that the imitators copy precisely their faults and excesses. Better study a great sermon than any skeleton. But do not steal either, or from either.

SECTION XVII.

THE HISTORY OF HOMILETICS.

I. History of the Christian Sermon.

Schuler, Gesch. der Veränderungen des Geschmacks im Predigen, Halle, 1792-94, 3 vols.; and *ibid.*, Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Veränd. des Geschmacks im Predigen, Halle, 1799; Ammon, Gesch. d. Homiletik, etc., Göttingen, 1804, Part I. (the first period from Huss to Luther, with historical introduction to the history of homiletics, from the rise of Christianity down to the beginning of the fifteenth century); Schmidt, Kurzer Abriss d. Gesch. d. geistl. Beredsamkeit u. Homiletik, Jena, 1790; Schuderoff, Vers. einer Kritik d. Homiletik, Gotha, 1797; Lentz, Gesch. d. christl. Homiletik, Brunsw., 1839; Paniel, Pragm. Gesch. d. christl. Beredsamkeit u. d. Homiletik, Leips., 1839; Schenck, Gesch. d. deutsch-Protest. Kanzelberedsamkeit von Luther bis auf d. neuesten Zeiten, Berl., 1841; Doering, Die deutschen Kanzelredner des 18ten u. 19ten Jahrhunderts, Neustadt a. d. Oder, 1830; Leopold, Predigtamt im Urchristenthum, etc., Lüneburg, 1846; Marbach, Gesch. d. deutschen Predigt vor Luther, Berl., 1873; Beste, Die bedeutendsten Kanzelredner d. ältern Lutherischen Kirche, von Luther bis Spener (2 vols.), Leips., 1856-58; Al. Vinet, Histoire de la prédication parmi les Réformés de France au dix septième siècle, Paris, 1860, Sack, Gesch. d. Predigt in d. deutschen evangel. Kirche, Heidelberg, 1866; Schmidt, Gesch. d. Predigt i. d. evangel. Kirche Deutschlands von Luther bis Spener, etc., Gotha, 1872. For English and American bibliography, see below.

The early homilies.

The earliest preaching was a *κήρυγμα*, a declaration, a heralding, and the formal homily was not developed until a system of Christian worship had been constructed, although it did not entirely supersede free discourse even then. Either homilies or free discourses were handed down by Origen, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Emisa, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ephraem Syrus, Macarius, Amphilochius, and John Chrysostom. These were not always free from the influence of the ancient rhetoric learned from heathen schools. In the Latin Church the discourses of Zeno of Verona, Ambrose, Gaudentius, Augustine, Leo I., and others, are worthy of note.

Mediæval preaching.

Preaching declined in the Middle Ages. In the Greek Church John of Damascus and Photius delivered addresses in honour of the Virgin Mary and of images; but the Trullan Council (692) had already directed the clergy to make use of old and approved homilies. In the Western Church recourse was likewise had at first to collections, postils, i. e., post illa scil. verba Domini sive Scripturae Sacrae, the earliest of which were undertaken by Paul Warnefried and Alcuin, and followed by the similar collections of Raban Maur, Haymo of Halberstadt, and others. These collections were designed to serve as models for

imitation in the vernacular. But this design was gradually laid aside as the growth of the hierarchy and of externality in the worship became more pronounced. The power of Christian oratory was henceforth less apparent in the church than in the open air, frequently in the public streets. The preaching in convents was conducted in the Latin language. St. Bernard (Doctor mellifluus), and also the great scholastic Thomas Aquinas, attained to special eminence in this regard. The Begging Friars, from the thirteenth century, gave a new impetus to preaching. According to the historians, Bertholdt of Regensburg (died 1272), a Franciscan monk, preached to sixty thousand people.

The Mystic preachers.

Among the Mystics special importance attaches to Master Eckart, Heinrich Suso, and particularly to John Tauler. John Melicz, the forerunner of Huss, and the latter reformer himself, likewise brought a beneficial influence to bear upon the work of preaching. Chancellor Gerson preached in both Latin and French, and the great Florentine, Girolamo Savonarola, was especially powerful of speech. The fifteenth century brought with it some strange contrasts, the comical being closely connected with the serious. This reflection will serve to explain the burlesque mode of preaching followed by Gabriel Barletta, Olivier Maillard, Michael Menot, and, to some extent, by the excellent Geiler of Kaisersberg. The Brothers of the Common Life, on the other hand, contributed toward the promotion of Protestant preaching.

Preaching by the Reformers.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century, however, was preeminently a regeneration of the Christian sermon as based on the word of God, Luther himself being distinguished above all others, although Zwingli does not need, upon the whole, to take a much lower place. The personal traits and situation of these men were very different. Calvin was also peculiar, and most of the remaining reformers, as Œcolampadius, Bullinger, and Haller, were good preachers. The time, however, when men attained to eminence in such labours soon came to an end. Luther's "postils" were followed by others, of which still others availed themselves with more or less benefit. Of writers of postils we may mention Anton Corvinus, Brentz, Avenarius (Habermann), Chemnitz, Osiander (Peasant Postils), Matthesius (Mountain Postils), and Dietrich (Children's and Home Postils).

Much insipidity prevailed at the close of the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth, and it was especially common to introduce disputes into the pulpit, and to chastise heretics. But worthy and edifying preachers were not wanting, of whom we name especially Arndt (died 1627), the author of the treatise on True Chris-

tianity, Herberger (died 1627), Andreä, and others. The structure of the sermon was now subjected to critical treatment, and all manner of artificial divisions were introduced; for example, the five different *usus:* (1) didascalicus; (2) elenchticus; (3) paracleticus; (4) epanorthoticus; (5) paedenticus. In the end there were, literally, a hundred different methods, and all imaginable fancies with regard to theme, exordium, and division. The want of taste reached its culmination—not, however, in a pedantic form so much as in a mere disposition to drift—in the Roman Catholic Church of Germany, in the person of the eccentric preacher, Ulric Megerle (Abraham de St. Clara, court preacher at Vienna, died 1709), who displayed many excellent qualities, but carried the effort to popularize his sermons to the extreme of triviality, and indulged his scurrilous method until his name became proverbial.

Fanciful divisions.

A very different state of things existed in France, where both the Reformed and the Catholic Churches were served by the most celebrated of their pulpit orators at this time. We may mention, of those belonging to the former Church, Mestrezal (died 1657), du Bosc (died 1692), Claude (died 1687), and especially Saurin, who preached at the Hague, and died 1730. Of Roman Catholic preachers we may name: Mascaron (died 1703), and pre-eminently, Flêchier (died 1710), Bossuet (died 1704), Bourdaloue (died 1710), and Massillon. The fame of these preachers is based upon their classic style, Chrysostom being their model, more than upon the depth and consistency of their Christian sentiments. Fénelon (died 1715), on the other hand, was distinguished for his fervour. After the Huguenots, expelled under Louis XIV., had settled in Germany, the French style, as represented in Ancillon, Abadie, Jacquelot, Lenfant, and especially in Saurin, came to be regarded as a model also in that country. To this must be added the English model, found in the perspicuous and moderate Tillotson, who died 1694.

The French pulpit.

The preaching now became more mild in its doctrinal character, and gave greater attention to moral questions, besides making use of greater elegancies of style, its leading representatives being found in the Swiss preachers, Osterwald and Werenfels. The pietism of Spener and Francke led, in Germany, to a renewed recognition of the profound conditions upon which the life of the Christian sermon depends. But it was impossible that its influence should conduce to give it an artistic form. Spener's style was heavy. Wolfianism, too, was not favourable to the easy movement of discourse. The mania for definition and demonstration became highly ridiculous, in many instances of even

Sermons of the Pietists.

this kind of labour. Rambach (died 1735) represents, in Germany, the transition from the pietistic to the philosophical method followed by Reinbeck, who died in 1741. Modern pulpit oratory, in that country, had its origin with Mosheim (died 1755), who was termed the German Bourdaloue, and whose model was Tillotson. He was followed by Cramer (died 1788), the elder and the younger Sack, Jerusalem, Spalding, Zollikofer, Resewitz, Teller, Bartels, and others. The reflective and moralizing elements constituted the predominant quality in most works emanating from these, in some instances, very celebrated preachers. They also gave increasing expression to the utilitarian theory. Under such influence sermons came to be degraded not only into dry disquisitions upon morality, but even into popular lectures on agriculture, hygiene, and similarly inferior topics. The more strictly evangelical method was not left without representatives, however, who continually asserted its claims in the face of such aberrations. In Würtemberg, Rieger (died 1743) was considered a model, and in Prussia the "divine orator" Willamovius became an ideal for the imitation of Herder.

Herder and Lavater.

Herder and Lavater apprehended the task of sacred oratory anew, and came into decided contrast, not only with the more strictly evangelical, but also with the rationalistic, method of preaching, which had its origin in Kantianism, and whose representatives appear in the persons of Löffler (died 1816) and others. Both Herder and Lavater were rather guided by their own genius than by the methods of any school. Reinhard (died 1812) became the founder of such a school, and the representative of a strictly logical method. His sermons, collected in thirty-five volumes (1793–1813), were long regarded as models. They were characterized by richness of thought, especially upon moral questions, clearness and definiteness of expression, force and dignity of style. Their deficiencies are, a farfetched and indirect treatment of the text, and, coupled with a degree of religious warmth, a certain dryness and prosaic rationalism. The method of Zollikofer and Reinhard found supporters among both rationalists and supranaturalists, and, in fact, occupies a theological position in which the contrast between their different principles has not yet been thoroughly overcome.

The more eminent preachers who, while retaining more or less of personal freedom and individuality, followed in the track of these earlier models, were Marezoll, Ribbeck, Hanstein, Ehrenberg, Eylert, Klefeker, Ammon, Bretschneider, Tzschirner, Schuderoff, Röhr, Zimmermann, Schmalz, Böckel, Alt, the Strasburgers Haffner and Blessig, the Swiss Müslin, Stolz, Häfele, Heer, Fäsi, and others.

The oratory of many of these men attained to a higher elevation than that of their models.

Schleiermacher (died 1834) introduced a new life into the method of preaching,[1] as, indeed, he did into theology generally. The prevalent moralizing method predominates in his earlier sermons, the First Collection. But the specifically Christian element comes into greater prominence in his later efforts, though in the manner which was peculiar to himself. His dialectic method has been frequently imitated to the injury of his followers. His sermons deserve rather to be studied than imitated. The sermons of Claus Harms, of Kiel—Sermons and United Postils—are constructed with a larger recognition of the condition and needs of the people, and are genuine models of Christian addresses in popular form, although it is necessary to distinguish between the earlier (1808–11) and the later (1824–27). Harms concedes that "much rationalistic sin still attaches" to the former. But this cannot be said of the latter class, or of his "Christological Sermons" (1821), since the controversy that called forth his Theses gave to Harms a place among the most advanced defenders of Lutheran orthodoxy. It is also necessary to separate between an earlier and a later period in the case of Dräseke, whose affectation of originality often destroys the profound impression otherwise produced, although a noble enthusiasm, akin to that of Herder, exhales from his sermons.

Schleiermacher.

Claus Harms.

Originality, carried to the verge of extravagance, and sometimes of insipidity, attains its highest point in the sermons of F. A. Krummacher. Theremin's sermons are characterized by great rhetorical talent and perfection of style. It may be stated, as a general fact, that the renewed infusion of life into theology restored life and individuality to preaching as well. A long list of names might be furnished of persons who are distinguished by logical keenness, or depth of thought, by intensity or elevation of feeling, or by the power of evangelical conviction and the fire of a newly awakened zeal, which, in some instances, assumes forms of every variety and with every degree of colour. It will be sufficient to recall the names of the more or less venerated persons without dwelling upon the different tendencies they represent—for example, Menken,

[1] Schweizer, Schleiermacher's Wirksamkeit als Prediger, Halle, 1834; Rhenius, Magdeb., 1837; Rienäcker, in Stud. u. Krit., 1831, No. 2, pp. 240–54; Sack, *ibid.*, pp. 350–85; Lücke, Erinnerungen an Schleiermacher, *ibid.*, 1834, No. 3, p. 745, *sqq.*; concerning Schleiermacher's political sermons, see Wehrenpfening in the Prot. Kirchen-Zeitung for September, 1859; Baur, Schleiermacher als Prediger in d. Zeit von Deutschland's Erniedrigung und Erhebung, Leips., 1871.

Emmerich, Hossbach, Jonas, Sydow, de Wette, Al. Schweizer, Grüneisen, Tholuck, Nitzsch, Strauss, Harless, Jul. Müller, Tob. Beck, Arndt, the two Hofackers, Krummacher, Ahlfeld, Schenkel, Rust, Palmer, Ehrenfeuchter, Ebrard, Steinmeyer, Conrad, Gerock, Hoffmann, Kohlbrügge, Sander, Mallet, Bernet, Büchsel, Kögel, Harms (of Hermannsburg), Langbein, Petri, Müllensiefen, Kapff, Beyschlag, Rothe, Brückner, Kahnis, W Baur, and others.

Modern rationalism is represented, though with various modifications, by Schwarz of Gotha, H. Lang of Zurich, and Hausrath of Carlsruhe.

The sermons of the French pulpit orators, Adolph Monod, Alexander Vinet, Grandpierre, Bersier, and Pressensé, and, as representing freethinking tendencies, Colani, Coquerel, father and son, deserve to be studied.

Among Roman Catholics, in addition to those already mentioned, the names of Sailer, Mutschelle, Boos, Brand, Förster, and Kälin deserve to be noted. Werner, of Vienna; Lacordaire; Father Hyacinthe, now practically separated in all but name from the Romish Church, and bearing the name of Loyson; Ventura, of Rome, Gavazzi, and the preachers of Protestant doctrines in Italy, have each, in his day, arrested attention.

For the American and the Englishman their models must be the successful preachers in the English language. In modern times none have equalled the masters in English theology as the makers of sermons. In the earlier English period may be mentioned Farindon, Atterbury, South, Tillotson, Charnock, Baxter, Hall, Taylor, Beveridge, and Howe, while in the more recent we may mention the Wesleys, Whitefield, Heber, Simeon, Robert Hall, Robertson, Spurgeon, Punshon, Kingsley, Dean Stanley, Farrar, and Liddon.

II. History of the Theory of Preaching.

Christ preached with authority, and not as the scribes. The apostles proclaimed in Christ's stead, "Be ye reconciled to God." No human instruction was needed for their guidance; the Spirit taught them what they ought to say. "It is, therefore," as Beyer says, "a leading duty of theological science to thoroughly determine the nature of apostolic preaching in order to provide a standard for Christian preaching in general." After the Church had been founded, however, and conditions of human arrangement had been introduced, the art of preaching was developed by the side of theological science. Origen laid down the proposition, and secured its recognition, that the didactic sermon is a work of art. The teachers of Christianity,

Art of preaching a part of theological science.

moreover, were generally the pupils of heathen rhetoricians, such as Libanius and Themistius, and the theory was accordingly developed on the ground of the old time rhetoric, much in the same way as the ancient Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies were at first applied to the science of Christian theology. Augustine, starting with the recognition of the authority of rhetoric, gave instructions respecting the proper mode of presenting the doctrines contained in the Scriptures. In his Christian Doctrine he called attention to invention and expression in the sermon, and followed Cicero in many respects, though with an intelligent apprehension of the real task of Christian oratory. He was succeeded by Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, and Raban Maur, in the latter's Clerical Institutes. Alanus, of the Island (died 1203), wrote a Summary of the Preacher's Art, and Humbert the Roman, a Dominican (died 1277), wrote on the Learning of Speakers. The homiletical views of Thomas Aquinas were collected from the writings of himself and others under the title of Treatise for Preachers, upon which followed Leonard of Udine's (died 1470) Tractate on the Fundamentals for Preachers (Ulm, 1478), and Nicholas Barianus of Milan's Sixty-Seven Questions on the Matter of Preaching, which appeared in Boulogne in 1511.

Augustine.

Reuchlin published a work upon the same subject, bearing the title of Book of Treasures in the Preacher's Art (Pforzheim, 1504). The Curate's Manual of the pastor Surgant of Basle, which immediately preceded the Reformation, and discussed the method of preaching in its details, is especially deserving of mention.

Luther was more practical than theoretical in everything, and we obtain only scattered hints from his works, the most valuable of which, in this respect, is Table Talk. This was collected for the first time by Porta, pastor at Eisleben, toward the close of the sixteenth century, and subsequently by Walch. Luther made the discriminating demand that the preacher should be both a dialectician and a rhetorician, but he also recommended that such a mode of preaching be adopted as would edify even servants. In 1519 Melanchthon published his Rhetoric, and in 1535 he wrote his Office of Speakers. The Ecclesiastes of Erasmus was also extensively used. Directions for the art of preaching were given, among Protestants, by Hyperius, on the Function of Sacred Assemblies, or the Popular Interpretation of the Scriptures (1553); by Weller, a pupil of Luther, on the Mode and Reason of Address (Norimb., 1562); by Hemming, a pupil of Melanchthon, on Pastoral Instruction, and How the Flock of Christ should be Fed with Sound Doctrine; by Osiander, on the Reason of Address (Tub., 1582); by

Luther and Melanchthon.

Andreä, on the Method of Address (Tub., 1595); and by Paneratius (1571). We find similar directions in The Speaker, by Rebhan (1623), and the works of Hunnius, Hülsemann, Schleupner, Förster, the elder Carpzov, and Zalansky, the Lutheran pastor at Prague; Müller, in his Ecclesiastical Orator (Rostock, 1670, 4to), Baier, a pupil of Arndt, in his Compendium of Homiletical Theology (1677), and Leyser, in his Course of Homiletics (Viteb., 1701).

Among Reformed theologians we may mention Gaussen, on the Reason of Address (1678), and the Hollanders van Til (died 1713), Vitringa (died 1722), and Hollenbeck, in the latter's Best Kind of Address (1668; 2d ed., 1770). We may also recall Fordyce, an Englishman, who wrote on the Art of Preaching (1745).

Reformed writers.

After Spener had, in Pious Desires, directed attention toward a truly awakening and edifying mode of preaching, his exposition speedily led to the publishing of textbooks written in harmony with his views, which, in their turn, called forth the opposition of the old-school writers. Thus Löscher wrote his Homiletical Breviary (Viteb., 1720) in reply to Lange's Sacred Oratory (Francof., 1707). There was also a supply of insipid guides to flowery preaching, an example of which is furnished in the Elegancies or Flowers of Orations, written by Christian Weiss, rector at Zittau, whom others followed in a similar direction. Hallbauer, of Jena, on the other hand, became noteworthy at the beginning of the eighteenth century by the writing of his Necessary Instruction in Wisdom in Edifying Preaching. The Wolfian school produced Rambach, who wrote the Elucidation on Homiletic Precepts (Giessen, 1736), Reinbeck, the author of the Outline of a Method of Edifying Preaching, and Baumgarten, the author of Directions on Edifying Preaching (Frankf., 1752). This school carried the mania for definitions in the pulpit to an extreme, and was opposed by G. F. Meier of Halle, himself a Wolfian, in his Thoughts by a Philosophical Preacher (1762). Teller (1741), Kortholdt (1748), Simonetti (1754), Förtsch (1757), and others, issued additional works in this department about the middle of the century. The theories of Mosheim, in his Advice on Edifying Preaching (1771); of Teller, in his Outlines of Homiletical Lectures (Helmstedt, 1763); of Gruner (Halle, 1763); Bahrdt (1773); Steinbart (2d ed., Züllichau, 1784); Marezoll, On the Destination of the Preacher (Leips., 1793); Schmidt, Guide for Popular Pulpit Oratory (3 vols., Jena, 1795–1800); Thym (Halle, 1800), and Thiess (1801), all bear the stamp, in various degrees, of this same tendency with regard to preaching.

The Wolfian school.

This, too, was the period to produce the largest number of journals, magazines, archives, sketches of sermons, and the like. "For," as Palmer observes, "no mercantile house has sent out into the world a larger number of commercial travelers, intended to traffic with the article 'sketches of sermons,' than has the firm 'Rationalism & Co.'"[1] The conclusion of the old, and more especially rhetorical, theory, is formed by the work of Schott, the scientific complement to Reinhard, which, in its own way, is not without value.

Theremin directed attention more especially to the inward source whence oratory has its rise, and a majority of the works, mentioned below, of recent times, have likewise treated homiletics in connexion with the ideas respecting the nature of religion, Christianity, the Church and its worship, as they have been brought out by philosophy and recent theology, and also in relation with the religious conceptions of art. The first among Roman Catholics, subsequent to the Reformation, to construct an Ecclesiastical Rhetoric, was Valerius of Verona (1574). He was followed by Alexander (1701); Gisbert, in his Idea and Practice of Christian Eloquence (1728); Fénelon, in his Dialogues on Eloquence in General, and that of the Pulpit in Particular (1788); and Maury, in his Principles of Pulpit and Fòrensic Eloquence (1789). Of German Roman Catholics, those deserving of mention are Ignatius Wurz (1769, 2 vols.), Rudolf Graser (died 1787), Brand, and Zarbl.

Roman Catholic writers.

THE LITERATURE OF HOMILETICS.

GERMAN AND FRENCH.

*A. H. Schott, Entwurf einer Theorie der Beredsamkeit. Lpz., 1807.

—— Theorie der Beredsamkeit, mit besonderer Anwendung auf die geistl. Beredsamkeit. Lpz., 1815–28.

C F. Ammon, Handbuch der Anleitung zur Kanzelberedsamkeit. Gött., 1799.

J. A. H. Tittmann, Lehrbuch der Homiletik. 2d ed. Lpz., 1824.

Ph. Marheineke, Grundlegung der Homiletik. Hamb., 1811.

J. Ch. W. Dahl, Lehrbuch der Homiletik. Lpz. and Rostock, 1811.

F. Theremin, Die Beredsamkeit eine Tugend, oder Grundlinien einer systematischen Rhetorik. 2d ed., 1837. Amer. ed. by Shedd. N. Y., 1850.

G. Ph. Ch. Kaiser, Entwurf eines Systems der geistlichen Rhetorik. Erl., 1817.

J. G. Grotesend, Ansichten, Gedanken und Erfahrungen über die geistl. Beredsamkeit. Hannov., 1824.

J. J. Chénevière, Observations sur l'éloquence de la chaire. Genève, 1834.

A. G. Schmidt, Die Homilie, eine besondere geistliche Redegattung, in ihrem ganzen Umfange dargestellt. Halle, 1827.

W H. van Hengel, Institutio oratoris sacri. Lugd. Batav., 1829.

G. A. F. Sickel, Grundriss der christl. Halieutik. Lpz., 1829.

R. Stier, Kurzer Grundriss einer bibl. Keryktik, oder Anweisung durch das Wort Gottes sich zur Predigtkunst zu bilden. Halle, 1830.

[1] Homiletik, p. 38.

† J. Brand, Handbuch der geistl. Beredsamkeit. New ed. Const., 1850. 2 vols.
† J. B. Zarbl, Handbuch der Katholischen Homiletik. Landshut, 1838.
J. K. W Alt, Kurze Anleitung zur kirchl. Beredsamkeit. Lpz., 1840.
* Ch. Palmer, Evangel. Homiletik. Stuttg., 1842. 5th ed., ibid., 1867.
* Al. Schweizer, Homiletik der evang.-protest. Kirche, systematisch dargestellt. Lpz., 1848.
Gust. Baur, Grundzüge der Homiletik. Giessen, 1848.
† J. Lutz, Handbuch der Kathol. Kanzelberedsamkeit. Tüb., 1851.
A. Vinet, Homilétique ou théorie de la prédication. Par., 1853. Amer. ed. by Skinner. N. Y., 2d ed., 1855.
* J. H. F. Beyer, Das Wesen der christlichen Predigt nach Norm und Urbild der apostolischen Predigt. Gotha, 1861.

English and American Literature.

Lyman Abbott, A Layman's Story. N. Y., 1873.
J. W Alexander, Thoughts on Preaching. N. Y., 1867.
John A. Broadus, A Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons. Phila., 1870.
R. L. Dabney, Sacred Rhetoric. Richmond, 1866.
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Austin Phelps, The Theory of Preaching. N. Y., 1881.
—— Ministerial Culture. Andover, 1868.
Henry J. Ripley, Sacred Rhetoric. Boston, 1849.
W. G. T. Shedd, Homiletics and Pastoral Theology. N. Y., 1867.
Abel Stevens, Essays on the Preaching Required by the Times. N. Y., 1856.
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J. B. Sumner, On Apostolic Preaching and Ministerial Duty. N. Y., 1846.
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SECTION XVIII.

PASTORAL THEOLOGY (IN THE LIMITED MEANING OF THE TERM).

American Presbyterian Review, Vol. III, 333.

Objects of Pastoral Theology. While Liturgics and Homiletics are concerned with the functions of the clergyman in the sphere of public worship, Pastoral Theology in its limited meaning has to do with the direction of the life of the Christian society and of individuals, or, in other words, with pastoral care and the cure of souls. Here, again, it is possible to distinguish between functions whose exercise is largely governed by official restrictions, and others which admit of a greater personal freedom. The former serve to display the faithfulness of the pastor, and the latter his love and devotion. The rules which apply to the former may be grounded in Church government, but those which control the latter must be derived from Christian Ethics. In the case of either it is requisite

that experience and practice should complete what the science is able to present only in its most general outlines.

The term Pastoral Theology indefinite.

The term is not definitely fixed.[1] Many embrace the whole of Practical Theology within its scope, but incorrectly. Catechetics is most nearly allied to it of all the branches hitherto considered, being the common basis of the entire body of ecclesiastical functions; while Homiletics and Liturgics are not to be regarded as Pastoral sciences. Harms correctly distinguished the preacher from the pastor. Only what has respect to the latter is Pastoral Theology. But to what extent is Pastoral Theology included in the domain of science? When Rosenkranz asserts[2] that there can be no Pastoral Theology in the evangelical Church because there are no special Ethics for the clergyman, and because the care of souls cannot be comprehended under a system of rules, and when he even terms it "a beginning of priestcraft," and charges it with amounting simply to "a guide to hypocrisy," and to "a system of belittling tricks which destroy the life of a true devotion," or "a low desire for the display of priestly greatness," his mind is evidently fixed upon the abuse of Pastoral Theology. There is certainly no special system of Ethics for the clergy; but a circle of special duties belonging to his calling exists for the minister as for any other man—duties devolved on him by reason of his office, or by a proper estimate of the position to which God has assigned him.

Is Pastoral Theology a science.

The function of Pastoral Theology is to determine what may be justly required of the minister, and what he must accept, as belonging within the sphere of his calling. This reaches over into Ecclesiastical Law. But matters which the clergyman in the exercise of his independent choice imposes on himself also need to be more specially and thoroughly discussed than is possible in the field of Ethics, where only the general principles which bear upon such matters are set forth. The chapter on *good judgment*, or, if it be preferred, on *wisdom*, *i. e.*, genuine moral skill in conducting matters with reference to known ends, or in laying hold upon the appropriate means, covers a very broad field, which admits of being described in conformity with ethical principles, even though it cannot be comprehended within abstract rules. Mere book-learning will not, of course, be sufficient for that end; the individual judgment is required to

Pastoral duties best learned from experience.

[1] On the word *pastor*, see Vinet, Pastoral Theol., Int., p. 1.

[2] Preface to the first edition of the Encyklopädie, p. xxxi, and second edition, p. 352. On the other hand, compare Schleiermacher, § § 299–308; Harms, III, p. 26–27, and especially Vinet, Theol. Past., p. 236, *sqq.*

perform most of the work. But the judgment may be directed and quickened, and in this the experience of other ministers becomes a valuable aid, though it cannot by any means be regarded as absolutely regulative.

A collection of clerical anecdotes is, however, not yet a Pastoral Theology. Cases are never exactly parallel to each other, and a method which was adapted to the circumstances of a particular time and place will not be appropriate to a different time and place. But it is meritorious to point out *how* experience may be utilized, even to the student. If the name of science be denied to this loving apostolical service, which the gray-haired veteran in the office renders to inexperienced youth, we shall not delay to argue the question. We personally believe that at this point the wisdom of the professional chair reaches its limit, and that Pastoral Theology may be learned to better advantage at the hands of a guide who has been tested in the spiritual office than in the lecture-room. It will perhaps be necessary, after all, to admit, with Palmer, that Pastoral Theology, as such, is not a science, and that its substantial difference from Practical Theology consists in that fact. It contains *consilia* rather than *pœrcepta*, and "its partially casuistical nature prevents its incorporation with any well-constructed organism." Theological science is required, nevertheless, to mark out in their broad outlines the paths over which the Pastoral life must move.[1] This becomes so much the more necessary at the close of the course of theological study, because so many students fail to find the bridge which leads over from the school into actual life. Pastoral Theology is required to build that bridge, and to furnish the future shepherd with staff and ring or confer upon him his spiritual investiture.

Pastoral functions distributed into three departments.

If it be now required that the field of pastoral duty belonging to the minister be outlined in so far as it may be theoretically determined in advance, it will be necessary to distribute his functions over three distinct departments, in each of which a further distinction may be made between the predominantly official and the free individual action, although the one reaches over into the other, as in the following scheme:

[1] "A better Pastoral Theology will be produced only when the Christian and the systematic interests shall mutually recognize and support each other."—Schweizer.

1. THE RELATION OF THE PASTOR TO THE CONGREGATION AS A WHOLE.

a. The pastor as the ordained head of the congregation.

As presbyter, κατ' ἐξοχήν, the pastor is placed at the head of the congregation, and to him, therefore, belongs the guidance (κυβέρνησις) of the Church, and the administration of Church order and discipline, in which work he must have the co-operation of the Church, subject to the provisions of the laws in force in his particular communion. Here we enter upon the department of Ecclesiastical Law. But where the laws do not come to his assistance, the free impulses of love will lead him to let his light shine as he walks before his people and to approve himself as a faithful shepherd of the flock. Especially will he rejoice in every thing that is good which springs up among his people, even though it be not prescribed by superior authority; and, while he will take his stand in opposition to the unhealthful manifestations of a misled piety he will gladly co-operate in every work which gives shape to religious life, and will assist in preparing the way for such work.

The pastor as the head of the congregation.

b. The pastor in his personal relation to his people.

The Christian minister in charge of a congregation has duties to perform as important as preaching. He is the shepherd of his flock, and should know his people in their wants, cares, burdens, and griefs. It is his duty to show a reasonable personal interest in them; he, of all men, should rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep. Hoppin lays down the principle that the "minister should become personally acquainted with every one of his people." This is not in every case practicable, especially in large cities, but at least he "should strive to know something of their varieties of character, their peculiarities of disposition, their mental maladies and speculative opinions, as well as their external history and circumstances."[1] Such thorough acquaintance with the people is secured by means of pastoral visitation, which can never be neglected without injury to the minister's usefulness. Shedd reminds us that the minister is apt to be deficient on the one or the other side of this double character of preacher and pastor, but advises him to make it his aim to "perfect himself in both respects."[2]

c. The minister as related to the administration of charities within the territory of his congregation.

How far should ministering to the necessities of the poor (δια-

[1] Office and Work of the Christian Ministry. By Jas. M. Hoppin. Pp. 533, 534.

[2] Pastoral Theology, p. 390.

κονία τῆς τραπέζης) be placed in the hands of him who is charged with the ministry of the word? (Compare Acts vi.) The mechanical duties may more readily be performed by other persons which was the original work of the diaconate; but he will not be able to withdraw from the work of general supervision. In cases, moreover, in which he is relieved from the keeping of accounts, he will show himself so much the more efficiently a father to the poor from choice.

2. THE RELATION OF THE PASTOR TO THE FAMILY.

This, too, is partly official, and determined by his position in the Church, and partly independent. The relations of the minister to the family assume an official form most frequently in connection with special events, which belong properly to this section, and only in part to the departments of Liturgics and Homiletics. The solemnizing of marriage, for instance, is a public ecclesiastical ceremony. Baptism, more than other services connected with the family, passes beyond the limits of the home circle, and becomes a public service of the Church. If baptism be administered at the house, the ceremony should not degenerate into a mere sentimental family festival, but should confer upon the Christian home the higher consecration of a temple. In the case of a death the sympathy of the congregation is also largely enlisted; but members of the family are as a rule affected more than others, and the position of the minister thus leads him not only into the Church and to the grave, but also to the house of mourning and into the circle of the bereaved. The address delivered should be primarily adapted to the condition of the latter company; for which reason more extended funeral sermons should only be preached when demanded by the extraordinary nature of the case.[1] The more nearly perfect the development of piety in a family, the less inclination will there be to avoid the clergyman until a *casus mortis* shall demand his services in an official capacity; free intercourse with the clergyman will develop itself naturally, whose influence will tend to crowd out of sight more and more the distinction between *clerus naturalis* and *positivus*. When, on the other hand, the Christian home is yet upon a low level of piety, even the official visits of a clergyman will be productive of good; and in case such visits should not be formally

Marriage.

Baptism.

Death.

[1] Palmer, *Homiletik*, p. 389, has adduced an illustration, which shows in a pointed way how contrary to good taste it is to select far-fetched texts for funeral sermons: "And the king said unto Barzillai, Who desires to hear about Barzillai now?"

required, a faithful pastor will know how to secure admission to such homes, not for the purpose of asserting his official character, but in order to aid the family in attaining to that freedom of action which is needed in all the occurrences of life by exciting its love and confidence.

3. THE PASTOR'S RELATION TO THE MASSES OUTSIDE OF ALL CHURCHES.

Reaching the masses.

The problem of reaching the masses is very simple, if ministers have the disposition to preach the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men. As the masses, so called, constitute in every country the bulk of the population, it is as easy to find them as it is to find the sun or the sea; and they can be reached by a sincere Christian sympathy, even if at the first they repel our attempts to do them good.

Professor Phelps, of Andover, quotes as one of the sayings of his honored father: "The man who belongs nowhere belongs to me, and I must give account of him;" and Payson showed his readiness to serve all men by adopting as his motto: "The man who wants to see me is the man whom I want to see." All things are not possible to the minister, but the recognition of the fact that the people of all classes and conditions, dwelling in one neighborhood, are a *community* should be unmistakably made by every pastor and Church.

Pastoral work demands a humble spirit.

It may even be said in a certain sense that the aim of Pastoral Theology should be to render the specific office of pastor more and more unnecessary; for if the co-operation of the congregation is required in the public worship, it is far more necessary here. Such co-operation must of course be conceived of as analogous in character to the work of the pastor, and not as counteracting the latter in a separatist spirit. In this field, as everywhere, one extreme leads to the other. Any overstraining of the idea of *office* can only lead to evil consequences in one way or another. A distinction exists between the shepherd and the sheep in the economy of nature, but not in the spiritual field. The shepherd must not forget that he is himself a sheep belonging to the great flock, and that *One* alone is the Good Shepherd. And even he is designated in Scripture as "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." There are endless modifications, however, with reference to what has now been said. The duties of a rural pastor will differ from those of the city pastor, and further differences arise from the contrast of conditions in farming villages as compared with those of manufacturing towns,

those of inland towns with those of large commercial cities. And, finally, there are also special fields of labor, such as those occupied by the chaplains of hospitals, prisons, orphanages, and of troops in garrison or in the field, all of which require a special theory, and all of which likewise require a suitable man, endowed with all the necessary qualities for his position.

SECTION XIX.

PRACTICAL SCIENCES AUXILIARY TO PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

A true insight into the conditions of the different spheres of life, and a scientific apprehension of their character, are necessary to the clergyman, because his duties everywhere reach over into the various relations of life. He will therefore need to become acquainted with various forms of knowledge which lie outside of the different departments of strictly theological science, and hence outside of Pastoral Theology as well, but which nevertheless involve a practical character. Among such forms we reckon the theory of education, the theory of public charities, psychical, and, to some extent, also physical, therapeutics.

Pedagogics.

These matters certainly lie beyond the range of studies prescribed for the theologian, as such, and remarks like the above cannot, therefore, be intended to urge the incorporation of such branches with the theological course.[1] But it is important, in view of the practical nature of the future calling, that the conditions among which that calling must be exercised should at least be known. If the clergyman should be required to share in the supervision of Christian schools, and to express his judgment upon school matters in general, it will be necessary that he should be acquainted with the principles involved; and an additional argument arises from the fact that catechetics stand

The pastor should be a practical man.

[1] It has been wittily observed that they constitute "Pontius in the Credo" (comp. Graf, Prakt. Theol., p. 174). Very well; but a hint which prevents the inquirer from being sent from Pontius to Pilate, and gives him the necessary information at once, can do no harm. Our idea does not require that lectures should be delivered upon all such topics; many things may be preserved for the future *ad notam.* Harms asks his hearers (Pastor, p. 16): "Can you estimate architectural plans correctly? Can you draft a lease? Do you know what amount of clover seed should be sown to the acre? Can you deal roughly with lazy artisans employed upon your house at the expense of the Church?" We are entirely agreed with Schweizer that Theology proper has no answer to give to questions of this kind; but such questions are not so much out of place as may at first sight be supposed, and constitute interrogation points which in their appropriate sphere serve to show the way beyond the borders of a different territory.

connected with pedagogics. If he is to render substantial aid in the department of public charities he will not find questions relating to pauperism, now so frequently discussed, to be wholly foreign to his position. It will be necessary that he should learn to know the sources of poverty which lie in existing social conditions, if he is to aid in bringing it to an end; and for this reason a course in Political Economy, for instance, might be recommended to the theologian, in so far as it relates to the amelioration of pauperism. The clergyman will also need to understand the nature of the forms of business if he would be competent to estimate their influence over the physical, social, and moral welfare of the people. The opinion of religious teachers respecting the mighty progress of industrial enterprises in our day, for instance, is not an unimportant matter, for the latter not infrequently come into conflict with the Christian life, in appearance, at least, as appears from the low degree to which interest in the Church has sunken in a majority of manufacturing towns, the neglect of the Sabbath, and of Christian schools, and the exclusive attention given to business, the fashions, luxury, and recreations. Can any thing be accomplished with reference to such matters by merely protesting against the spirit of the age, while unable to resist its progress? And is not the cultivated clergyman compelled to learn the character of the time, with its requirements and its needs, if he would successfully deal with its excrescences and perverted tendencies? Will he not be compelled to devise methods of relief for breadless sufferers who complain that they lack remunerative employment? But all this can be accomplished only when he has obtained an insight into the conditions of the time.

Should know the forms of business.

SECTION XX.

THE METHOD OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

The Seminary and Vicariate.

L. Hüffell, über die Errichtung praktischer Institute zur Ausbildung der angehenden evangel-christl. Geistlichen; Eine Vorarbeit für die bevorstehende badnische Generalsynode und zugleich allen Regierungen gewidmet, denen das Wohl der protestantischen Kirche am Herzen liegt. Karlsruhe, 1831; Hupfeld a. a. O. S. 52–55; Derselbe: "Ist die Bildung, welche Theologen auf der Universität erhalten, auch ausreichend für ihren Seelsorgerberuf?" in den Annalen der gesammten Theologie und christl. Kirche, Jahgr., 1833; Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit; one of the best exhibitions of practical pastoral life extant in English. See also J. W. Alexander's Thoughts on Preaching, p. 125, et seq.

The student will not be able to do more in the period devoted to academical instruction than to secure a clear understanding of the task of Pastoral Theology in its general outlines, and to cultivate a sympathy for its work. The appropriate school for this, and all

other practical accomplishments, will be found either in the seminary or in the period of candidature which opens the way to the exercise of official functions. A practical school affording valuable aid in the work of preparation during the years of candidacy, is found in frequent intercourse with people belonging to different classes in society, and particularly in associating with experienced clergymen, in observing the signs of the times, in aiding to carry forward the objects of the numerous associations for Christian work; and a further special aid will be found in the reading of the biographies of eminent pastors.

Aids to a preparation for the pastorate.

To provide a bare sketch of Pastoral Theology is all that theory can accomplish; and it is therefore a question what shall be done to furnish a thorough practical training supplementary to that of the schools? Medical men have their hospitals and their clinics; should not something similar be provided for theologians? The proposition is not devoid of difficult considerations. At this point we come to consider the practical or professional seminary which may exist under diverse conditions, either as forming a part of the university, or as entirely distinct from it. It might be asked whether the monastic aspect which seminary training may assume does not tend to unfit rather than to qualify for actual life; whether theory does not in this, as in other respects, predominate over practice. Every thing will depend upon the spirit which pervades the different seminaries.

What shall be done for practical training?

The testimonies of persons who are familiar with such institutions are in their favor. But it is certain that even the seminary can produce no ready made preacher and pastor. It merely serves to lead over from the college or university into practical life; and lectures upon practical branches of study, which are often entirely too inadequate as delivered at the university, are certainly in place here. But who is to lead the seminary student to the bedside of the sick, or to the dwellings of the poor? Who will furnish him with opportunities for intercourse with farmers, or for studying life in its manifold conditions? Such considerations have led some minds in Europe to discuss the idea of founding seminaries in rural regions which should not be placed under the direction of professors, but of experienced and practical pastors. Such seminaries for Protestant clergyman would become a kind of model and metropolitan pastorates, from which surrounding villages and dependent churches might receive spiritual service, and to which the preachers might return, bringing new experiences, as bees bring honey to their cells. But it is to be questioned whether such a scheme could be carried practically into effect.

Value and limitations of the seminary.

Every candidate for the ministry should consider it a duty to visit clergymen in their fields of labor, and to be made acquainted with the duties of his station, though it should be at first merely as a non-participating observer. The preaching of a trial sermon, or the conduct of a catechization will be sufficient to entitle the youthful clergyman to enter a Christian home in the company of the resident pastor, or to visit the sick. Journeys of limited extent, and simple excursions, even, may likewise yield fruit, when it is sought after; and upon this, as other points, reading must be employed to take the place of personal observation when the latter is deficient. The reading of good popular authors will create an interest for the life and manners of the people, their needs, prejudices, and modes of thought; but it is necessary to guard against the forming of false ideals regarding the life of the people, and also concerning the life of the shepherd of the people. Least of all should one give way to the idyllic dreams of former days in an age like ours, which drives them even from the mind of the dreamer himself. The biographies of faithful pastors which describe their joys and sorrows, their lives, labors, and aspirations, are of greater value than the romantically tinged and imaginary pictures of model clergymen. The former constitute the true legends of saints for the evangelical theologian.

Association with experienced pastors.

SECTION XXI.

THE HISTORY OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

The earliest pastoral instructions are those which were given by Christ to his Apostles (Matt. x), and those which they, in their turn, addressed to their pupils, especially through the pastoral epistles. Scattered elements are to be found in the early teachers of the Church, and in their works. When the care of souls became a priestly and hierarchical function, chiefly through the institution of auricular confession, the instructions provided for the use of confessors took on a similar character. The Reformation urged the importance of the pastoral work in addition to the work of preaching, with special emphasis. Zwingle wrote his Shepherd according to the Image of Christ and the Word of God, and many of Luther's letters afford rich materials for the use of pastoral learners. The literary and more or less systematic treatment of the subject begins with the Pastorale of Erasmus Sarcerius (1558), which was followed by the Pastor of Nicol. Hemming (1566) and the Pastorale Lutheri compiled by Conrad Porta (1582). The guides to pastoral work which

The first instructions from Christ.

First systematic treatise.

appeared at a later day were again of a casuistical character (comp. Quenstedt, Ethica Pastoralis, 1678). Gottfried Olearius brought out a direct Pastoral Theology in his Collegium Pastorale, etc., which was written by him at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Leipsic, 1718). Spener's Theologische Bedenken[1] unquestionably originated in the recognition, according to the true spirit of Protestantism, of a priesthood which is common to all Christians; but the later Pietism led the way back into the casuistical discussion of clerical ethics, and thereby introduced many inappropriate elements into the practical administration. The Sammlungen by Steinmetz, abbot of Klosterbergen, and the Sammlungen zur Pastoraltheologie by Philip David Burk (1771–73) furnish a beautiful testimony in favor of the better Pietism and its tendencies, especially as displayed in its Wurtembergian representatives. Rationalistic Pastoral Theology took gound in opposition to the Pietistic treatment, making of the clergyman a philanthropic educator of the people, and restricting his field of labor principally to the banishing of prejudices and the elevating of social conditions, and, in the loftiest theories, to the improvement of the schools for the people (Sebaldus Nothanker, by Nicolai). Modern Pastoral Theology is based on more correct views respecting the nature of religion and the spiritual office, and must, therefore, be conceded to have divested itself of much of what Rosenkranz stigmatizes as savouring of priestcraft.

English and American works.

English literature abounds in practical treatises upon the duties of the pastor, although the discussions of pastoral theology on its theoretical side are not very many. Probably the one work which has made the deepest impression is Richard Baxter's Gildas Salvianus, or Reformed Pastor (1656). It was prepared by a most successful pastor for a conference of pastors, and is still a model of its kind. Doddridge advised the reviewing "of the practical part of it every three or four years," and John Wesley made the reading of it one of the duties of his lay preachers. Bishop Burnet wrote A Discourse on the Pastoral Care, and John Fletcher of Madeley, The Portrait of St. Paul. Among modern works may be named The Ministry of the Gospel, by Francis Wayland; Office and Work of the Christian Ministry, by Francis M. Hoppin; Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, by William G. T. Shedd; and The Christian Pastorate, by D. P. Kidder. The Yale Lectures on Preaching contain, both directly and incidentally, valuable suggestions for the right ordering of the pastorate.[2]

[1] Comp. the collection for the times made by Hennicke, Halle, 1838.

[2] For the English Literature of this subject, see M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, vol. vii, p. 757.

SECTION XXII.

THE FURTHER CULTIVATION OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES.

The study of theology can never be exhausted,[1] more than that of any other science, and hence constant progress in its development is required. The germs of knowledge imparted by the schools are to be thoroughly elaborated, and especially in the years subsequent to graduation. Much, therefore, depends on a faithful improvement of the years of candidacy; but intercourse with the science is never to cease, even after the pastorate has been reached. Theological science can only retain its vitality, however, so long as it is sustained by theological views which have been tried and approved in the conflict of life. Much has been said with reference to the tendency of clergyman to deteriorate as students. There was a time in Germany and Switzerland when more good bee keepers than Church guardians, more capable florists and cattle raisers than capable trainers of human beings, were to be found among the clergy. They were more skilful in the plant nursery than in the village school, and more at home in their cattle stalls than in the sheepfold of Christ. But the Church derives no greater benefit from one sided philologists and critics, nor from authors in the department of belles-lettres, or even of theology or ethics, if such employments cause the interests of the congregation to be neglected. A pastor who has not yet completed his studies in this regard should prefer not to be a pastor. His studies, in one word, ought not to be separated from his practical life so as to assume the appearance of *ἀλλότρια*, but ought rather to be enlisted in the service of the practical life.

Study never to cease.

Some wasteful occupations.

This does not imply that he should read only devotional works; at no time is he to remain unacquainted with the progress of theological science, because his entire efficiency must rise and fall with the Church, and Theology is the finger on the dial of the latter. But let him not study merely as a scholar or an amateur, but as a pastor, who has an eye to his congregation, and also to the Church, of which the congregation forms simply a part. Let him carry his people in his heart, and cause them to profit by all which he secures, and let him know how to obtain new seed for the field he has to cultivate from among the finest

All study for the profit of the people.

[1] I have always been unable to regard the period of the university course otherwise than as a time of sowing and collecting materials, and have believed that the collecting must precede the digesting.—Rothe (Studienjahre, in Nippold, i, p. 70).

fruits that science affords. The best means for preserving the vitality of scientific pursuits among clergymen are found, aside from societies for reading, in the conferences of preachers and pastors, and in the more extended ministerial associations which have been springing up in increasing number in recent years. The object for which such associations have been established differs from that of the synods. The latter are directly engaged in the service of the Church, the former in that of the clergy; the latter fall within the department of Church government, the former in that of Church ministrations, to which they contribute a further incitement. The more thoroughly the two elements interpenetrate each other, the better it will be. The school affords training that fits for life, and life in turn becomes a school; and thus it should ever be with each one. Life ripens through conflict, and character, disposition, without which, beyond dispute, there can be no real *theological* science, are likewise steeled and purified by the heat of conflict.[1]

THE LITERATURE OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

GERMAN AND FRENCH.

I. *In General.*

C. W. Oemler, Beiträge zur Pastoraltheoligie für Landprediger. Jena, 1783.

P. F. Ach. Nitsch, Anweisung zur Pastoralklugheit für künftige Landpfarrer. Lpz., 1791.

J. Krünitz, Der Landprediger nach seinen verschiedenen Verhältnissen. Berl., 1794.

C. B. Kindervater, Ueber nützliche Verwaltung des Predigtamtes. Lpz., 1802–6. 2 vols.

Sam. Baur, Repertorium für alle Amtsverrichtungen eines Predigers. Halle, 1805–18. 12 vols.

Ch. L. Mirow, Der Prediger in seinen verschiedenen Verhältnissen. Hannov., 1808.

J. F. Jacobi, Ueber Bildung. Lehre und Wandel protest. Religionslehrer. Frankf. and Heidelb., 1808.

Fr. Strauss, Glockentöne. Erinnerungen aus dem Leben eines jungen Geistlichen. Elberfeld, 1815. 7th ed., Lpz., 1840. 3 vols.

J. G. Tobler, Gotthold oder der wackere Seelsorger auf dem Lande. Aarau, 1820.

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[1] The pastor needs to possess a real creative faculty, a certain poetic element (ποιητικόν τι). This creative faculty is primarily related to the sermon, of course, but afterward also to the other departments of clerical labor, to instruction and pastoral care. The clergyman needs to understand the requirements in either field, and must know how to meet them all. If, therefore, he does not carry about with him an adequate fund, he can be, in his capacity as clergyman, only a sorry comforter, a chatterer, or a silent dog. Subordinate, unproductive, and otherwise contracted characters are usually able to make themselves useful in all offices, in some form, at least, but they are not qualified for the spiritual office. To be required, and yet not able to produce, is the most terrible torture conceivable by man.—Vilmar, p. 30.

† J. M. Sailer, Vorlesungen aus der Pastoraltheologie. 3 vols. 5th ed. Sulzb., 1835.
W. Schröter, Lebens- und Amtserfahrungen in ihren psychologisch-geschichtlichen Zusammenhange dargestellt. Altona, 1827.
C. Wyss, Ueber Antinomien im Berufe des Geistlichen. Bern, 1828.
† F. S. Häglsperger, Festabende im priesterlichen Leben, gefeiert mit Betrachtungen und Erinnerungen. Sulzb., 1828–30. 3 vols.
*Fr. Hoffmann, Pastoral-Grundsätze. Stuttg., 1829.
* J. C. F. Burk, Evangel. Pastoraltheologie in Beispielen, aus den Erfahrungen reue. Diener Gottes zusammengestellt. Stuttg., 1838, 1839. 2 vols.
E. L. Fecht, Der christliche Geistliche. Lahr, 1849.
† F. Vogl, Pastoraltheologie. 6th ed. Regensb., 1851. 2 vols. 7th ed., 1855.
F. Ch. H. Schönheit, Fingerzeige für junge Geistliche bei ihrem Eintritt in das Landpredigerleben. Weim., 1853.
O. Müller, Die pastorale Seelsorge. Berl., 1854.
† F. Herbst, Lebensbilder aus der Seelsorge. Augsb., 1854.
C. Wyss, Etwas vom Kern und Stern der Seelsorge. Basel, 1858.
* Palmer, Evangelische Pastoraltheologie. 2d. ed. Stuttg., 1863.
Emil Ohly, Vademecum pastorale. 3d ed. Wiesb., 1872.
W Löhe, Der evangelische Geistliche. 2d ed. Stuttg., 1866. 2 vols.
A. W. Schlag, Der Landpfarrer, oder Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen, Ansichten und Wünsche. Lpz., 1865.
* A. F. C. Vilmar, Lehrbuch der Pastoraltheologie. Gütersloh, 1872.
—— Kirche und Welt oder die Aufgaben des geistlichen Amtes in unserer Zeit. Zur Signatur der Gegenwart und Zukunft. Gesammelte pastoraltheolog. Aufsätze. Vol. 1. Gütersloh, 1872.
* H. Guth, Pastoralspiegel. Erlangen, 1873.

II. *Ecclesiastical Polity.*

J. H. Boehmer, Jus ecclesiat. Protestantium. Hal., 1714 ss. Vols. i–iv, 5th ed., 1756–89; vol. v, 3d ed., 1763; vol. vi, 6th ed., 1760. 4.
—— Institutiones juris canonici. Hal., 5th ed., 1770.
Ch. M. Pfaff, Juris eccles., libb. v. 2d ed. Tüb., 1727.
J. L. Mosheim, Allgemeines Kirchenrecht der Protestanten. Helmst., 1760; new ed. by Ch. A. Günther, Lpz., 1800.
G. L. Boehmer, Principia jur. canon. speciatim jur. eccles. publ. et priv. quod per Germaniam obtinet, Gött., 1762; 8th ed., cur. Ant. Baur, 1819.
A. J. Schnaubert, Grundsätze des Kirchenrechts der Protestanten u. Katholiken in Deutschland. 3d ed. Jena, 1805. 2 vols.
G. Wiese, Grundsätze des gemeinen in Deutschland üblichen Kirchenrechts. Gött., 1793. 5th ed., by Kraut, ibid., 1826.
—— Handbuch des gemeinen in Deutschland üblichen Kirchenrechts. Lpz., 1799–1804. 3 vols.
J. Schuderoff, Grundzüge zur evangel.-protestant. Kirchenverfassung und zum evangel. Kirchenrechte. Lpz., 1817.
Th. A. H. Schmalz, Das natürliche Kirchenrecht. Königsb., 1795.
—— Handbuch des kanon. Rechts und seiner Anwendung in den deutschen evangel. Kirchen. Berl., 1815. 34.
† S. Brendel, Handbuch des kathol. und protestant. Kirchenrechts. 3d ed. Hamb., 1839, 1840. 2 vols.
† Ferd. Walter, Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts aller christlichen Confessionen. Bonn, 1822. 13th ed., 1861.

H. Stephani, Das allgemeine kanonische Recht der protestantischen Kirche in Deutschland. Tüb., 1825.

Chr. A. v. Eschenmayer, Grundlinien zu einem allgem. kanon. Rechte. Tüb., 1825.

W T. Krug, Das Kirchenrecht nach den Grundsätzen der Vernunft und im Lichte des Christenthums dargestellt. Lpz., 1826.

J. G. Pahl, Das öffentl. Recht der evangel.-luther. Kirche in Deutschland kritisch dargestellt. Tüb., 1827.

† C. A. v. Droste-Hülshoff, Grundsätze des gemeinen Kirchenrechts der Katholiken und Evangelischen. Münster, 1832–35. 2 vols.

C. Hase, De jure ecclesiastico commentarii historici. Lips , 1828, 1832.

* K. Fr. Eichhorn, Grundsätze des Kirchenrechts der kathol. und evangel. Religionspartei in Deutschland. Gött., 1831–33. 2 vols.

* H. C. M. Rettig, Die freie protestant. Kirche oder die kirchlichen Verfassungsgrundsätze des Evangeliums. Giessen, 1832.

J. A. v. Grollmann, Grundsätze des allgem. kathol. und protestantischen Kirchenrechts. 2d ed. Frankf. a. M., 1843.

† E. W Klee, Das Recht der einen allgemeinen Kirche. Magdeb., 1839, 1841. 2 vols.

F. J. Stahl, Die Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protest. Erl., 1840. 2d ed., ibid., 1862.

G. F. Puchta, Einleitung in das Recht der Kirche. Lpz., 1840.

* Aem. L. Richter, Lehrbuch des kathol. und evangel. Kirchenrechts. 2 vols. 6th ed. Lpz., 1867.

—— Geschichte der evangel. Kirchenverfassung in Deutschland. Lpz., 1851.

Otto Mejer, Institutionen des gemeinen deutschen Kirchenrechts. Gött., 1845. 2d ed., 1856.

* Ch. J. F. Bunsen, Die Verfassung der Kirche der Zukunft. Hamb., 1845. Eng. ed., Lond., 1847.

H. Thiele, Die Kirche Christi in ihrer Gestaltung auf Erden. Zürich, 1844.

—— Die Knechtsgestalt der evangelischen Kirche, oder Roth und Hülfe. Zür., 1846.

* (Weisse) Ueber die Zukunft der evangel. Kirche. Reden an die Gebildeten deutscher Nation. 2d ed., 1849.

J. W. F. Höfling, Grundsätze evangel.-luther. Kirchenverfassung. Erl., 1850. 3d ed., 1853.

* G. V Lechler, Geschichte der Presbyterial- und Synodalverfassung seit der Reformation. (A prize essay.) Leyden, 1854.

C. Trummer, Aphorismen über das christliche Kirchenrecht. Frankf., 1859.

† G. Philipps, Kirchenrecht. Regensb., 1848–64. 6 vols.

† J. F. Schulte, Catholisches Kirchenrecht. I. 1–3. II. 1, 2. Giessen, 1860–67.

J. A. Ginzel, Handbuch des neuesten in Oesterreich geltenden Kirchenrechts. Wien, 1857–62. 2 vols.

K. Kuzmany, Lehrbuch des allgemeinen und österreichischen evangel.-protestant. Kirchenrechts. Wien, 1856. 2 vols.

Fr. Bluhme, System des in Deutschland geltenden Kirchenrechts. Bonn, 1858.

Th. Harnack, Die Kirche, ihr Amt, ihr Regiment. Grundlegende Sätze mit durchgehender Bezugnahme auf die symbolischen Bücher der lutherischen Kirche. Nürnb., 1862.

C. F. Rosshirt, Beiträge zum Kirchenrecht. Heidelb., 1863.

—— Encyklopädie des Kirchenrechts. Heidelb., 1865.

R. W. Dove, Sammlung der wichtigsten neuen Kirchenordnungen des evangel. Deutschlands. Tüb., 1865.

F. Brandes, Die Verfassung der Kirche nach evangelischen Grundsätzen. Elberfeld, 1867. 2 vols.

O. Mejer, Grundlagen des lutherischen Kirchenregiments. Rostock, 1864.

English and American Literature.

I. *Pastoral Office.*

Alfred Barrett, Pastoral Addresses: Adapted for Retirement and the Closet. 2 vols., 3d ed., 16mo, pp. 384.

Richard Baxter, The Reformed Pastor: Showing the Nature of the Pastoral Work. 8vo. N. Y., 1860. New ed., 12mo, pp. xvi, 311. Lond.

John Henry Blunt, Directorium Pastorale. The Principles and Practices of Pastoral Work in the Church of England. 8vo, pp. 456. Lond., 1865.

—— The Acquirements and Principal Obligations and Duties of the Parish Priest; being a Course of Lectures delivered at the University of Cambridge to the Students in Divinity. 12mo, pp. 394. Lond., 1869.

Chas. Bridges, The Christian Ministry; with an Inquiry into the Causes of its Inefficiency. 8vo. N. Y., 1868.

John Brown, The Christian Pastor's Manual. A Selection of Tracts on the Duties, Difficulties, and Encouragements of the Christian Ministry. 12mo. Phila., 1837.

Henry F. Burder, Mental Discipline; or, Hints on the Cultivation of Intellectual and Moral Habits. Addressed Particularly to Students in Theology. 12mo. N. Y., 1830.

J. W. Burgon, A Treatise on the Pastoral Office, Addressed chiefly to Candidates for Holy Orders; or to Those who have Recently Undertaken the Care of Souls. 8vo, pp. xxiv, 470. Lond., 1864.

Gilbert Burnet, a Discourse on Pastoral Care. 32mo. Lond., 1849.

Geo. Campbell, Lectures on Systematic Theology, Pulpit Eloquence, and Pastoral Character. 8vo. Lond., 1840.

J. S. Cannon, Lectures on Pastoral Theology. N. Y., 1853.

St. John Chrysostom, On the Priesthood. In Six Books. Translated by B. H. Cowper. 12mo, pp. 239. Lond., 1866.

Adam Clarke, A Letter to a Preacher on his Entrance into the Work of the Ministry. 18mo. Lond., 1868.

A. F. Douglass, The Pastor and his People: Discussions on Ministerial Life and Character. 12mo. Lond., 1868.

C. J. Ellicott, Homiletical and Pastoral Lectures. Delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral before the Church Homiletical Society. Edited by C. J. Ellicott. 12mo. N. Y.

R. W. Evans, The Bishopric of Souls. 4th ed., 12mo. Lond., 1856.

P. Fairbairn, Pastoral Theology. A Treatise on the Office and Duties of the Christian Pastor. 12mo, pp. 386. Edinb., 1865.

Micaiah Hill, The Principles of the Pastoral Function in the Church. 12mo, pp. 458. Lond., 1855.

James M. Hoppin, The Office and Work of the Christian Ministry. 8vo, pp. 620. N. Y., 1869.

Alvah Hovey, The Christian Pastor, his Work, and the Needful Preparation: a Discourse, etc. 18mo. Boston, 1857.

Heman Humphrey, Thirty-four Letters to a Son in the Ministry. 12mo. Amherst, 1842.

John Angel James, An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times. 12mo. N. Y., 1849.

Daniel P. Kidder, The Christian Pastorate: its Character, Responsibilities, and Duties, 12mo, pp. 569. N. Y., 1871.

Wm. Meade, Lectures on the Pastoral Office: Delivered to the Students of the Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Va. 8vo, pp. 241. N. Y., 1849.

Thomas Murphy, Pastoral Theology; the Pastor in the Various Duties of his Office. 8vo, pp. 509. Phila.

Ashton Oxenden, The Pastoral Office: its Duties, Difficulties, Privileges, and Prospects. 12mo. Lond., 1864.

Edwards A. Park, The Preacher and Pastor, by Fénelon, Herbert, Baxter, and Campbell. Edited and Accompanied by an Introductory Essay. 12mo. N. Y., 1849.

Joseph Parker, Ad Clerum; Advices to a Young Preacher. 16mo, pp. 266. Boston, 1871.

Pastoral Letters from the House of Bishops to the Clergy and Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. 12mo. Phila., 1845.

W S. Plumer, Hints and Helps in Pastoral Theology. 12mo, pp. 381. N. Y., 1874.

Enoch Pond, The Young Pastor's Guide; or, Lectures on Pastoral Duties. 16mo, pp. 377. Bangor, 1844.

William G. T. Shedd, Homiletics and Pastoral Theology. 8th ed., 8vo, pp. 429. N. Y., 1870.

George Smith, The Doctrine of the Christian Pastorate. 8vo, pp. 123. Lond., 1851.

Edward Spooner, Pastor and People; or, Incidents in the Every-Day Life of a Clergyman. 16mo, pp. 260. N. Y., 1865.

James Stewart Wilson, The Life, Education, and Wider Culture of the Christian Ministry: its Sources, Methods, and Aims. Lectures delivered at Aberdeen, etc. 8vo, pp. 284. Lond., 1882.

Henry Thompson, Pastoralia. A Manual of Helps for Parochial Clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland. 2d ed., 12mo, pp. 263. Lond., 1832.

Tracts on Ministerial Duties. 5th ed., 8vo, pp. 443. Oxford, 1843.

J. J. Van Oosterzee, Practical Theology. N. Y., 1879.

A. Vinet, Pastoral Theology. 12mo, pp. 387. N. Y., 1854.

Francis Wayland, Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel. 16mo, pp. 210. Boston, 1863.

William Wisner, Incidents in the Life of a Pastor. 12mo, pp. 316. N. Y., 1851.

II. *Ecclesiastical Law.*

L. Coleman, Manual on Prelacy and Ritualism. Phila., 1867.

W J. Henry and W L. Harris, Ecclesiastical Law and Rules of Evidence. 8vo, pp. 511. Cin., 1879.

Charles Hodge, Discussions in Church Polity. From Contributions to the Princeton Review. 8vo, pp. xi, 532. N. Y., 1878.

Murray Hoffman, The Ritual Law of the Church; with its Application to the Communion and Baptismal Offices. N. Y., 1872.

—— Ecclesiastical Law in the State of New York. N. Y., 1868.

Sandford Hunt, Laws Relating to Religious Corporations. A Compilation of the Statutes of the Several States in Relation to the Incorporation and Maintenance of Religious Societies. N. Y., 1876.

James W Joyce, The Civil Power and its Relations to the Church; Considered with Special Reference to the Court of Final Ecclesiastical Appeal in England. 8vo, pp. xii, 240. Lond., 1875.

William Strong, Two Lectures upon the Relation of Civil Law to Ecclesiastical Polity Property, and Discipline. 12mo, pp. 141. N. Y., 1875.

R. H. Tyler, American Ecclesiastical Law: the Law of Religious Societies, Church Government and Creeds, Disturbing Religious Meetings, and the Law of Burial Grounds in the United States. 8vo. Albany, 1866.

F. Vinton, Commentary on the General Canon Law and the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. N. Y., 1870.

APPENDIX.

I.

RELIGION AND SCIENCE.

The following titles, chiefly of English and American works, upon the relations of Religion and Science, may be useful to theological students. The list, though large, does not profess to be complete.

Ackland, T. S. The Story of Creation as told by Theology and Science. 16mo. London.

Agassiz, Louis. Contributions to the Natural History of U. S. of America. (An essay on classification. Vol. I, pp. 232. Boston, 1857.

—— Methods of Study in Natural History. Pp. 313. Boston, 1871.

—— The Structure of Animal Life. 8vo, pp. 128. New York, 1870. (The last lecture is entitled: Evidence of an Intelligent and Constantly Creative Mind in the Plans and Variations of Structure.)

Anniversary Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History. 1830–1880. Boston. (Contains a Critique of Darwinism by Prof. Hyatt.) 4to, pp. 635.

Annual of Scientific Discovery. Edited by Spencer F. Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; formerly by David A. Wells. New York and London, 1860–62. (Gives frequent notices of the discussions of the antiquity of man, origin of life, etc.)

Argyll, The Duke of. Primeval Man. An Examination of some Recent Speculations. Pp. 200. New York, 1869.

Bain, Alexander. Mind and Body, Theories of their Relations. 12mo. New York.

Bascom, John. Science, Philosophy, and Religion. 12mo, pp. 311. New York, 1871.

Bastian, H. C. Evolution, and the Origin of Life. New York, 1880.

—— The Beginnings of Life. Being some Account of the Nature, Modes of Origin, and Transformations of Lower Organisms. With Numerous Illustrations. 2 vols., 12mo. New York, 1872.

Beale, Lionel S. Protoplasm; or, Life, Matter, and Mind. 12mo, pp. 160. 2d ed. London, 1870. (A scientific refutation of Huxley's protoplastic theory.)

Birks, T. R. The Difficulties of Belief in Connection with the Creation and Fall. 12mo. Cambridge, 1855.

—— The Scripture Doctrine of Creation, with Reference to Religious Nihilism and Modern Theories of Development. 16mo. New York, 1875.

Brace, Charles L. The Races of the Old World. A Manual of Ethnology. 12mo, pp. 540. New York, 1863. (Discusses the geological question of the antiquity of man.)

Bruntin, T. Landon. The Bible and Science. London, 1881. 12mo, pp. 415. (Aims to show the agreement of evolution with the Pentateuch.)

Büchner, Louis. Force and Matter. Empirico-Philosophical Studies, intelligibly rendered. Edited by J. Frederick Collingwood. 12mo, pp. 374. London, 1870.

Büchner, L. Man in the Past, Present, and Future. A Popular Account of the Results of Recent Scientific Research as regards the Origin, Position, and Prospects of the Human Race. 8vo. London, 1872. (Atheistic.)

Cabell, J. L. The Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind. 12mo, New York, 1860.

Calderwood, Henry. The Relations of Science and Religion. The Morse Lecture, 1880. 12mo, pp. xiii, 323. New York, 1881.

Chadbourne, P. A. Instinct: its Office in the Animal Kingdom, and its Relation to the Higher Powers of Man. 16mo, pp. 307. New York, 1872. (Argues that man has an instinctive belief in the existence of God.)

Chapin, James H. The Creation and the Early Developments of Society. 12mo, pp. 274. New York, 1880.

Christianity and its Antagonisms: Evangelical Alliance, Conf. of 1873. Division III. 8vo. New York, 1874.

Christlieb, Theodor. The Best Methods of Counteracting Modern Infidelity. A Paper read before the Evangelical Alliance, 1873. 18mo, pp. 89. New·York, 1874. (Discusses scientific unbelief.)

Church and Science (The). The Debate between; or, the Ancient Hebraic Idea of the Six Days of Creation; with an Essay on the Literary Character of Tayler Lewis. Andover, 1860.

Claims of the Bible and of Science: Correspondence between a Layman and the Rev. F. D. Maurice on some Questions arising out of the Controversy respecting the Pentateuch. 12mo. London, 1863.

Clark, Edson L. Fundamental Questions: Chiefly Relating to the Book of Genesis and the Hebrew Scriptures. 12mo, pp. vi, 217.

Clark, Henry James. Mind in Nature; or, the Origin of Life and the mode of Development of Animals. With over Two Hundred Illustrations. 8vo. New York, 1865.

Cook, Joseph. Biology. 15th ed., 12mo, pp. 325. Boston, 1878. (Wholly popular in its treatment of the subject.)

Creation, Vestiges of. 12mo. New York.

Dabney, R. L. The Sensualistic Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century Considered. 8vo. Edinburgh.

Dana, James D. Manual of Geology; with Special Reference to American Geological History. 8vo, pp. 814. Philadelphia and London, 1863. (Discusses the Antiquity and Unity of the human race.) 2d ed., pp. 828. New York, 1875.

Darwin, Charles. The Descent of Man, and Selection in relation to Sex. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 409, 436. New York, 1875.

—— The Origin of Species by Natural Selection; or, the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life. 6th ed., pp. xx, 458. London, 1873.

—— Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication. 2 vols., pp. 494, 568. New York, 1875.

Dawkins, W B. Early Man in Britain, and his Place in the Tertiary Period. Pp. xxiv, 537.

Dawson, J. W. Archaia; or, Studies of the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures. 12mo, pp. 400. Montreal, 1860.

—— Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives. An Attempt to Illustrate the Character and Condition of Prehistoric Men in Europe by those of the American Races. 12mo. New York.

—— Nature and the Bible. Lectures delivered in Union Theological Seminary on the Morse Foundation. New York, 1875. Pp. 257.

Dawson, J. W. The Chain of Life in Geological Time. London, 1880. Pp. 272.

—— The Story of the Earth and Man. 12mo, pp. 493. New York, 1873.

Dick, Thomas. Christian Philosophy; or, the Connection of Science and Philosophy with Religion. Revised edition. Illustrated with upward of 50 Engravings, 12mo. New York, 1857.

Draper, John William. History of the Conflict between Religion and Science. New York, 1875. Pp. 373.

Duns, John. Biblical Natural Science. Being the Explanation of all References in Holy Scriptures to Geology, Botany, Zoölogy, and Physical Geography. Super-royal 8vo, pp. 1152. London, 1864.

Elam, Charles. Winds of Doctrine. An Examination of Modern Theories of Atomatism and Evolution. Pp. 163. London, 1877.

Farrar, Adam Storey. Science in Theology. Sermons preached in St. Mary's, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 250. Am. ed. Philadelphia, 1860.

Figuier, Louis. Primitive Man. Revised Translation. Illustrated with Thirty Scenes of Primitive Life, etc. 8vo. New York, 1870.

—— The To-morrow of Death; or, the Future Life According to Science, translated by S. R. Crocker. 16mo, pp. 395. Boston, 1872.

—— The World before the Deluge. Edited by H. W Bristow. 12mo, pp. 518. New York, 1872.

Fiske, John. Darwinism, and other Essays. 12mo, pp. viii, 283. London, 1879.

—— Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, based on the Doctrine of Evolution. 2 vols., pp. 465, 523. Boston, 1875.

Fly, E. M. The Bible True; or, the Cosmogony of Moses compared with the Facts of Science. 12mo. Philadelphia, 1871.

Fowle, T. W. The Reconciliation of Religion and Science. Being Essays on Immortality, Inspiration, Miracles, and the Being of Christ. 8vo, pp. 404. London, 1873.

Fraser, William. Blending Lights; or, the Relations of Natural Science, Archæology, and History to the Bible. 12mo. New York, 1874.

Geikie, Cunningham. Hours with the Bible; or, the Scriptures in the Light of Modern Discovery from the Creation to the Patriarchs. (Discusses the geological age of the world and the antiquity of man.) New York, 1881. (Vol. II is from Moses to Judges.)

Geikie, James. The Great Ice Age and its Relation to the Antiquity of Man. Pp. xxv, 545. New York, 1874.

Gibson, Stanley. Religion and Science: their Relations to each other at the Present Day. Three Essays on the Grounds of Religious Belief. 8vo. London, 1882.

Gloag, Paton J. The Primeval World. A Treatise on the Relations of Geology to Theology. 12mo, pp. 194. Edinburgh, 1859.

Gray, Asa. Darwiniana. Essays and Reviews pertaining to Darwinism. 12mo, pp. 396. New York, 1876. (Aims to show that natural selection is not inconsistent with natural theology.)

—— Natural Science and Religion. Lectures to the Theological School of Yale College, 1880. 12mo, pp. 111.

Haeckel, Ernst. The History of Creation; or, the Development of the Earth and its Inhabitants from Natural Causes. (A popular exposition of the doctrine of Evolution.) Translated by E. Ray Lancaster. 2 vols., pp. 408, 374. London, 1876.

Harcourt, L. V. The Doctrine of the Deluge, Vindicating the Scriptural Account from the Doubts which have been recently cast upon it by Geological Speculations. 2 vols., 8vo. London, 1838.

Harris, John. Man Primeval; or, the Constitution and Primitive Condition of the Human Being. 12mo. Boston, 1870.

—— The Pre-Adamite Earth. Contributions to Theological Science. 5th ed., 12mo, pp. 300. Boston, 1857.

Heard, J. B. The Tripartite Nature of Man: Spirit, Soul, and Body. 12mo, pp. xxiv, 374. Edinburgh, 1870.

Hedge, Frederic Henry. The Primeval World of Hebrew Tradition. 12mo, pp. 283. Boston, 1870.

Henslow, George. The Theory of Evolution and the Application of the Principles of Evolution to Religion. Pp. 220. London, 1873.

Hill, Thomas. Geometry and Faith. A Supplement to the Ninth Bridgewater Treatise. 3d ed. greatly enlarged. 12mo, pp. 109. Boston and New York, 1882.

Hitchcock, Edward. Religious Truth Illustrated from Science, in Addresses and Sermons upon Special Occasions. 12mo. Boston, 1857.

—— The Religion of Geology and its Connected Sciences. 12mo, pp. 511. Boston, 1851.

Hodge, Charles. What is Darwinism? 12mo, pp. 178. New York, 1874. (Argues that Darwinism is Atheistic.)

Homo *versus* Darwin. A Judicial Examination of Statements recently Published by Mr. Darwin regarding "The Descent of Man." 12mo. Philadelphia, 1872.

Huxley, Thomas H. Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature. 12mo, pp. 184. New York, 1862.

—— Critiques and Addresses. Pp. 350. London, 1873.

—— Lay Sermons, etc. London and New York, 1872.

—— The Origin of Species; or, the Causes of the Phenomena of Organic Nature. Pp. 150. New York, 1872.

—— The Theory of Evolution. Lectures delivered in New York. New York Tribune Extra No. 36. Popular Science Monthly, 1876 and 1877.

Janet, Paul. The Materialism of the Present Day: a Critique of Dr. Büchner's System. From the French. 12mo, pp. 202. London and New York, 1866.

Jevons, W Stanley. The Principles of Science. A Treatise on Logic and Scientific Method. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 463, 480. London and New York, 1874. (Argues that Science as well as Religion rests on probable evidence; and that there is no necessary antagonism between Science and Theology.)

Kurtz, John Henry. The Bible and Astronomy; an Exposition of the Biblical Cosmology, and its Relations to Natural Science. 12mo. Philadelphia, 1861.

Laidlaw, John. The Bible Doctrine of Man. The Seventh Series of Cunningham Lectures. 8vo, pp. 397. Edinburgh and New York, 1879. (Discusses Evolution.)

Lange, F. A. History of Materialism. With a Criticism of its Present Importance. 3 vols., 8vo. Boston, 1880.

Le Conte, Joseph. Religion and Science. A Series of Sunday Lectures on the Relation of Natural and Revealed Religion; or, the Truths Revealed in Nature and Scripture. Pp. 324. New York, 1874.

Lenormant, François. The Beginnings of History, according to the Bible and the Traditions of Oriental Peoples. From the 2d French ed. 12mo, pp. 588. New York, 1882.

Leslie, J. P. Man's Origin and Destiny Sketched from the Platform of the Physical Sciences. (Argues the consistency of evolution with theism, but rejects revelation.) Boston, 1881. 12mo, pp. 442.

Lewes, George H. The Physical Basis of Mind. Forming the Second Series. 8vo. Boston, 1880.

—— Problems of Life and Mind. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 434, 487. Boston, 1874–5.

Lewis, Tayler. The Bible and Science; or, the World Problem. 12mo. Schenectady, 1856.

—— The Six Days of Creation; or, the Scriptural Cosmogony. 12mo, pp. 416. New ed., 1879.

Lubbock, Sir John. Prehistoric Times, as Illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages. 8vo, pp. 640. New York, 1872.

—— The Origin of Civilization, and the Primitive Condition of Man. Mental and Social Condition of Savages. 8vo, pp. viii, 380. New York, 1870.

Lyell, Sir Charles. Principles of Geology; or, 'the Modern Changes of the Earth and its Inhabitants, considered as Illustrative of Geology. 2 vols., pp. 671, 652. New York, 1873. (Furnishes, in his "Uniformitarian" theory, the ground for Darwinism.)

—— The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man, with Remarks on Theories of the Origin of Species by Variation. 8vo, pp. 526. Philadelphia, 1863. Revised edition, pp. xix, 572. London, 1873.

—— The Student's Elements of Geology. Pp. 624. London, 1871.

Macdonald, Donald. The Creation and Fall. A Defense of the First Three Chapters of Genesis. 8vo. Edinburgh.

M'Causland, Dominick. Adam and the Adamites; or, the Harmony of the Scriptures and Ethnology. 12mo, pp. 324. London, 1868.

—— Sermons in Stones; or, Scripture confirmed by Geology. 16mo. London, 1870.

M'Cosh, James. The Development Hypothesis. Is it Sufficient? 12mo, 104. New York, 1876.

Martineau, James. Modern Materialism and its Relations to Theology and Religion. With an Introduction by H. W. Bellows. 18mo, pp. 211. New York, 1877.

Maudsley, Henry. The Physiology and Pathology of Mind. From the London edition. 8vo, pp. 442. 1867. (Resolves Psychology into Physiology, and holds that mind is the highest form of force.)

Mill, John Stuart. A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Deductive. 8vo, pp. 600. New York, 1867. (Argues that we can give no account of the permanent causes in nature.)

Miller, Hugh. The Testimony of the Rocks; or, Geology in its Bearing on the Two Theologies, Natural and Revealed. 12mo, pp. 511. Boston, 1870.

Mivart, St. George. Lessons from Nature as Manifested in Mind and Matter. 12mo, pp. viii, 462. New York, 1876. (Anti-Darwinian.)

—— Man and Apes. An Exposition of Structural Resemblances and Differences bearing upon questions of Affinity and Origin. 12mo, pp. 200. London, 1874.

—— The Genesis of Species. 12mo, pp. 296. London, 1871. (An argument against Darwin for a Special Creation.)

Molloy, Gerald. Geology and Revelation; or, the Ancient History of the Earth Considered in the light of Geological Facts and Revealed Religion. 12mo, pp. 380. New York, 1870.

Müller, Max. Chips from a German Workship. 5 vols., 12mo. New York, 1876. (The essays in Vol. IV are chiefly on the science of Language.)

Murphy, Joseph John. Habit and Intelligence in their Connexion with the Laws of Matter and Force. 2 vols., pp. 349, 240.

—— The Scientific Basis of Faith. 8vo. London, 1873

Nott, Josiah, and Gliddon, George R. Types of Mankind; or, Ethnological Researches. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1854.

—— Indigenous Races of the Earth; or, New Chapters of Ethnological Inquiry Including other valuable contributions. Royal 8vo. Philadelphia, 1857.

Ormathwaite, Lord. Astronomy and Geology Compared. 16mo, pp. 179. New York, 1872. (An argument against Darwinism as atheistic.)

Owen, Richard. Palæontology; or, a Systematic Survey of Extinct Animals and their Geological Relations. 2d ed., pp. 463. Edinburgh, 1861.

—— The Anatomy of the Vertebrates. 3 vols. London, 1868. (Chapter 40 is especially important.)

Paine, Martin. Physiology of the Soul and Instinct as distinguished from Materialism. With supplementary demonstrations of the Divine Communication of the Narratives of the Creation and the Flood. 8vo, pp. 707. New York, 1872.

Painter, R. B. Science a Stronghold of Belief; or, Scientific and Common Sense Proofs of the Reasonableness of Religious Belief. 12mo. New York, 1880.

Paul, William. The Scriptural Account of Creation Vindicated by the Teaching of Science. 12mo.

Peabody, Andrew P. Christianity and Science. Lectures delivered before the Students of the Union Theological Seminary. 16mo, pp. 287. New York, 1874.

Pendleton, N. W. Science a Witness for the Bible. 12mo. Philadelphia, 1860.

Peschel, Oscar. The Races of Man and their Distribution. From the German. 12mo, pp. 528.

Phin, John. The Chemical History of the Six Days of Creation. 12mo. New York, 1870.

Poole, R. S. The Genesis of the Earth and of Man; or, the History of Creation and the Antiquity and Races of Mankind. 12mo. London, 1860.

Pratt, John H. Scripture and Science not at Variance. With Remarks on the Historical Character, Plenary Inspiration, and Surpassing Importance of the Earlier Chapters of Genesis. 7 ed., revised and corrected. 12mo. London, 1872.

Pratt, Henry T. A. The Genealogy of Creation, Newly Translated from the Unpointed Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis. Showing the General Scientific Accuracy of the Cosmogony of Moses and the Philosophy of Creation. 8vo. London, 1861.

Primeval Man Unveiled; or, the Anthropology of the Bible. Crown 8vo. London, 1871.

Problems of Faith. A Contribution to Present Controversies. Third Series of Lectures to Young Men delivered at the Presbyterian College, London, by the Duke of Argyll, Professor Watts, Dr. Donald Fraser, and William Carruthers. Edited by Oswald Dykes. 12mo. London, 1875.

Quarry, John. Genesis and its Authorship. Two Dissertations. 8vo, pp. 635. London and Edinburgh, 1866. (Argues that revelation was not designed to teach any system of science.)

Ragg, Thomas. Creation's Testimony to its God. The Accordance of Science, Philosophy, and Revelation. A Manual of the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion. 12mo. London, 1867.

Rawlinson, George. The Origin of the Nations. 12mo, pp. 272. New York, 1878. (Aims to show the harmony between Genesis and the science of Ethnology.)

Recent Scientific Conclusions, (Thoughts on,) and their Relation to Religion. 12mo. London, 1872.

Rigg, A. The Harmony of the Bible with Experimental Physical Science. A Course of Four Lectures. 18mo. London, 1869.

Ritchie, A. T. The Creation. The Earth's Formation on Dynamical Principles, in Accordance with the Mosaic Record and the Latest Scientific Discoveries. 5th ed., revised, 8vo, pp. 680. London, 1882.

Sandys, R. H. In the Beginning. Remarks on certain Modern Views of the Creation. 2d ed., crown 8vo. London, 1880.

Saville, B. W. The Truth of the Bible. Evidence from the Mosaic and other Records of Creation; the Origin and Antiquity of Man; the Science of Scripture; and from the Archæology of Different Nations of the Earth. 8vo. London, 1870.

Schmidt, Oscar. The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism. Pp. 334. London, 1875.

Science and the Gospel; or, the Church and the Nations. A Series of Essays on Great Catholic Questions. 12mo. London, 1870.

Science and Revelation. A Series of Lectures in Reply to the Theories of Tyndall, Huxley, Darwin, Spencer, etc. Lectures delivered in Belfast in 1874–75. Belfast and New York, 1875.

Sewall, J. B. Evenings with the Bible and Science. 16mo, pp. 151. Boston and New York, 1864.

Sewell, William. Christian Vestiges of Creation. 12mo. Oxford, 1861.

Shields, Charles W. Religion and Science in their Relations to Philosophy. 8vo. New York, 1875.

—— The Final Philosophy. A System of Perfectible Knowledge, issuing from the Harmony of Science and Religion. 8vo, pp. 609. New York, 1877.

Smith, John Pye. Geology and Scripture; or, the Relation between the Holy Scriptures and Geological Science. 12mo, pp. 364. New York, 1840.

Smyth, Thomas. The Unity of the Human Races proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason, and Science. 12mo. New York, 1850.

Smyth, William W. The Bible and the Doctrine of Evolution. Being a Complete Synthesis of their Truth, and giving a Sure Scientific Basis for the Doctrines of Scripture. 12mo. London, 1873.

Southall, James T. The Recent Origin of Man, as Illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Prehistoric Archæology. 8vo, pp. 606. Philadelphia, 1875.

Spencer, Herbert. First Principles of a New System of Philosophy. 12mo, pp. 503. New York, 1864. (The fifth chapter attempts a reconciliation of Religion and Science.

—— The Principles of Biology. 2 vols., pp. 492, 569. New York, 1871.

St. Clair, George. Darwinism and Design; or, Creation by Evolution. Pp. 359. London, 1873.

Stirling, James H. As Regards Protoplasm. In relation to Prof. Huxley's Essay on the Physical Basis of Life. 18mo, pp. 71. New Haven, 1870.

Thompson, Joseph P. Man in Genesis and in Geology; or, the Biblical Account of Man's Creation tested by Scientific Theories of his Origin and Antiquity. 12mo, pp. 149. New York, 1870.

Tullidge, Henry. Triumphs of the Bible, with the Testimony of Science to its Truth. 12mo, pp. 439. New York, 1863.

Tyndall, Professor John. Fragments of Science for Unscientific People. A Series of Detached Essays, Lectures, and Reviews. New York. 12mo, pp. 422. 1871. (The second essay discusses prayer and natural law; the sixth, the scope and limit of scientific materialism.)

Venn, J. On some of the Characteristics of Belief, Scientific and Religious. (Hulsean Lectures for 1869.) 8vo. London, 1870.

Wallace, Alfred Russell. Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection. 2d ed., pp. 384. New York, 1869.

Wallace, Alfred Russell. The Geographical Distribution of Species, etc. 2 vols., pp. 607, 503. New York, 1876. (Aims to apply certain facts in the distribution of species to the Darwinian theory of their origin.)

—— The Malay Archipelago. Pp. 638. New York, 1869.

Warring, Charles B. The Mosaic Account of Creation, etc.; or, New Witnesses to the Oneness of Genesis and Science. 16mo, pp. 292. New York, 1875.

Warrington, George. The Week of Creation; or, the Cosmogony of Genesis, considered in its Relation to Modern Science. 12mo. London, 1870.

Whewell, Wm. History of the Inductive Sciences. 3d ed., 2 vols., pp. 566, 648. New York, 1870.

—— The Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences. 2 vols., pp. 586, 523. London, 1840.

Whitney, M. Dwight. Language and the Study of Language. 12mo, pp. 505. New York, 1868.

—— Oriental and Linguistic Studies. First and second series. 12mo, pp. 416, 431. New York, 1873, 1874.

Wight, George. Geology and Genesis. A Reconciliation of the two Records. Recommendatory Note by W L. Alexander. 12mo. London, 1857.

Williams, Charles. The First Week of Time; or, Scripture in Harmony with Science. 12mo. London, 1863.

Wilson, Daniel. Prehistoric Man. Researches into the Origin of Ciivlization in the Old and the New World. 2 vols., 8vo. London, 1865.

Winchell, Alexander. Pre-Adamites; or, a Demonstration of the Existence of Man before Adam. 8vo, pp. xxvi, 500. Chicago and London, 1880.

—— Reconciliation of Science and Religion. 12mo, xvi, 403. New York and Cincinnati, 1877. (Argues that there is no contradiction between evolution and direct creation.)

—— Sketches of Creation. A Popular View of some of the Grand Conclusions of the Sciences in Reference to the History of Matter and of Life. With Illustrations. 12mo, pp. xii, 459. New York, 1870.

—— The Doctrine of Evolution. Its Data, its Principles, its Speculation, and its Theistic Bearings. 12mo, pp. 148. New York, 1874.

Wiseman, (Cardinal,) Nicholas. Twelve Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion. 8vo, pp. xii, 404. London, 1837.

Wright, G. Frederic. Studies in Science and Religion. 16mo, pp. 406. Andover, 1882. (The seventh essay discusses the Bible and Science.)

—— The Logic of Christian Evidences. 12mo, xiv, 312. Andover, 1880.

Wythe, Rev. Joseph H. The Agreement of Science and Revelation. 12mo, pp. 290. Philadelphia and London, 1872.

Yorke, J. F. Notes on Evolution and Christianity. 8vo, pp. 296. London, 1882.

Young, J. R. Modern Skepticism Viewed in Relation to Modern Science. 12mo. London, 1865.

See also J. W. Dawson's address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Montreal, 1875; John L. Leconte's address before the same, Salem, 1875; Huxley's article on Biology in ninth edition of Encyclopædia Britannica; Professor Clerk Maxwell's article on Atoms in same; Edward S. Morse's paper before American Association in Popular Science Review, 1876; Goldwin Smith's article on Ascent of Man, in Macmillan's Magazine for January, 1877; M. A. Wilder's article on Natural Law and Spiritual Agency, in the New Englander for October, 1874.

For an account of recent German works on Theology and Science, Darwinism, etc., see Bibliotheca Sacra for April, 1877, pp. 386 and 387, and July, 1877, pp. 577–584.

II.

Histories of the Christian Churches in the United States.

The histories of the Churches in the United States are of so much importance to the theological student that we offer here a list of those most accessible. As many of the denominational publishing houses, from which they are generally issued, are not well known, the location of each has also been stated.

General.

Baird, Robert. Religion in America; or, An Account of the Origin, Relation to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States. With Notices of the Unevangelical Denominations. 8vo, pp. xvii, 696. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856.

Religious Denominations of the United States. Their past History, Present Condition, and Doctrines, Accurately set forth in Fifty-three Articles by Clergymen and Lay Authors Connected with the Respective Persuasions. 8vo. Philadelphia: C. Desilver & Sons. 1871.

Rupp, I. Daniel. History of the Religious Denominations in the United States. 8vo, pp. vi, 734. Philadelphia: J. Y. Humphreys. 1844.

Sprague, William B. Annals of the American Pulpit; or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, with Historical Introductions. 10 vols., 8vo. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1859–69.

Baptist.

Anderson, Geo. W. The Baptists in the United States. 18mo, pp. 72. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1420 Chestnut Street.

Backus, Isaac. A History of New England; from 1629 to 1804. With Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists. 2d ed., with Notes by David Weston. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. x, 538; ix, 584. Newton, Mass. 1871.

Bailey, G. S. The Trials and Victories of Religious Liberty in America. A Centennial Memorial, 1776–1876. 18mo, pp. 72. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

Barrows, C. E. Development of Baptist Principles in Rhode Island. 18mo, pp. 104. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

Benedict, David. General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 970. New York: L. Colby. 1848.

Bitting, C. C. Religious Liberty and the Baptists. 18mo, pp. 72. Philadelphia: Bible and Publication Society.

Cramp, J. M. Baptist History. From the Foundation of the Christian Church to the Close of the Eighteenth Century. 12mo, pp. 598. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 1869.

Crowell, W. Literature of the American Baptists During the Last Fifty Years. Missionary Jubilee Volume. New York. 1865.

Curry, J. L. M. Struggles and Triumphs of Virginia Baptists. A Memorial Discourse. 18mo, pp. 71. Philadelphia: Bible and Publication Society.

Hovey, Alvah. Progress of a Century. 18mo, pp. 70. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

Minutes of the General Conference of the Free-will Baptist Connection from 1829 to 1856. Pp. 444. Dover, N. H.

Moss, Lemuel, Editor. The Baptist and the National Centenary. A Record of Christian Work, 1776–1876. 8vo, pp. 310. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 1876.

Stewart, J. D. History of the Free-will Baptists for Half a Century. 12mo, pp. 480. Dover, N. H., 1862.

—— The Centennial Record of Free-will Baptists, 1780–1880. Pp. 266. Dover, N. H.

Taylor, Geo. B. The Baptists and Religious Liberty. 18mo, pp. 36. Philadelphia: Bible and Publication Society.

Taylor, G. B. Virginia Baptists. 18mo, pp. 35. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

Williams, A. D. Memorials of the Free Communion Baptists. 8vo. Dover, N. H.: Free-will Baptist Printing Establishment. 1852.

Williams, William R. Lectures on Baptist History. Philadelphia. 1877.

Also various biographies of Free-will Baptist ministers, to wit: John Colby, pp. 316; William Burr, pp. 208; Clement Phinney, pp. 190; John Stevens, pp. 120; Martin Cheney, pp. 471; David Marks, pp. 516; George F. Day, pp. 431. Dover, N. H.: Free-will Baptist Publishing House.

Christian.

Summerbell, N. History of the Christians. Dayton, O.: Christian Publishing Association.

Congregational.

Bacon, Leonard. The Genesis of the New England Churches. 8vo, pp. xvi, 485. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

—— Historical Discourses on the Completion of Two Hundred Years, from Beginning of the First Church in New Haven, Conn. 8vo. Boston: A. H. Maltby. 1849.

Cambridge (Mass.) Platform of (Congregational) Church Discipline, 1648. Confession of Faith, 1680. Platform of Ecclesiastical Government, by N. Emmons. 12mo, pp. ii, 20–84. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, Beacon Street. 1855.

Clark, Joseph S. Historical Sketches of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, from 1620 to 1858; with an Appendix. 12mo, pp. 344. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.

Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut; Prepared under the Direction of the General Association, to Commemorate the Completion of One Hundred and Fifty Years since its First Annual Assembly. 8vo, pp. 578. New Haven: W. L. Kingsley. 1861.

Dexter, Henry M. Congregationalism: What it Is, Whence it Is, etc. 8vo, pp. 338. 4th ed., Revised and Enlarged. 12mo. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks, & Co. 1876.

—— The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in its Literature. With a Biographical Index. 4to, pp. xxxviii, 326. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

—— A Monograph. As to Roger Williams and his "Banishment" from the Massachusetts Plantation, with a Few Further Words Concerning the Baptists, the Quakers, and Religious Liberty. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.

Felt, Joseph B. The Ecclesiastical History of New England; Comprising not only Religious, but also Moral and Other Relations. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 664, 721. Boston: Congregational Library Association. 1855.

Government and Communion, Practiced by the Congregational Churches in the United States of America, which were Represented by Elders and Messengers in a National Council at Boston, A. D. 1865. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.

Mather, Cotton. Magnalia Christi Americana; or, Ecclesiastical History of New England, from 1620 to 1698. With Notes and Translations by Robbins and Robinson. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 626, 682. Hartford: S. Andrus & Son. 1853.

Minutes of the National Councils of the Congregational Churches of the United States, from 1821 to 1883. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.

Morton, Nathaniel. New England Memorial, with Gov. Bradford's History; an Appendix Containing the Views of the Pilgrims and Early Settlers on the Subject of Church Polity. 8vo, pp. 536. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.

Palfrey, John G. History of New England During the Stuart Dynasty. 4 vols., 8vo, pp. xxxi, 636; xx, 640; xxii, 659; xxiv, 604. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1858–77.

The Congregational Year-Book. 5 vols. 1854–59. New York. Also for Succeeding Years.

Tracy, Joseph. The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield. 12mo, pp. 433. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.

Tyler, Bennet. Memoir of Asahel Nettleton, D.D. 12mo, pp. 376. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.

Uhden, H. F. The New England Theocracy; a History of the Congregationalists in New England to the Revivals of 1740. Translated from the German by H. C. Conant. 12mo, pp. 303. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1858.

Young, Alexander. Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1620 to 1628. Boston. 1841.

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THE END.